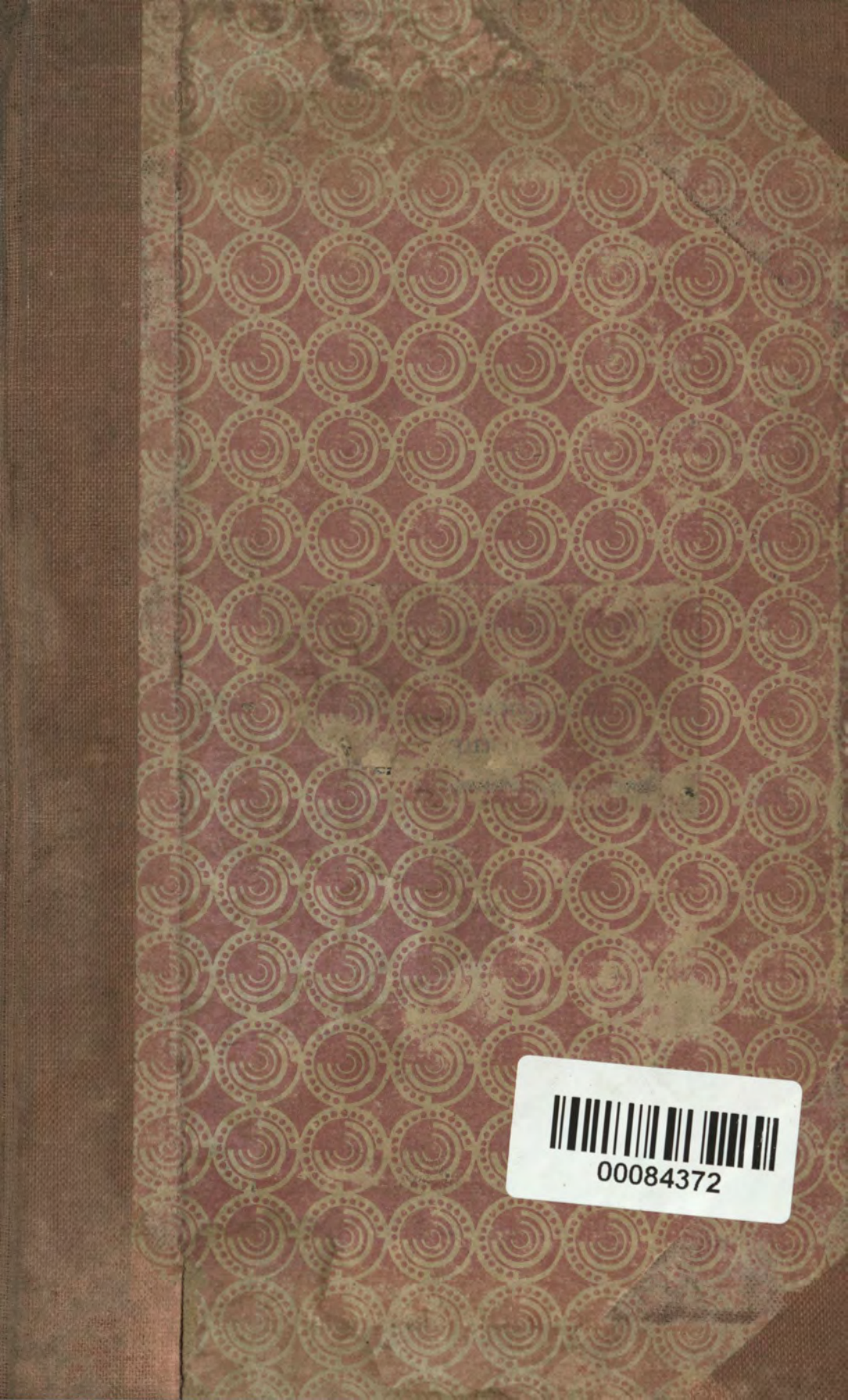
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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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VOLUME V.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

WITH

THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS OF EACH PAPER.

		Page
CI.—DOCTORS' COMMONS	J. Saunders	1
CII.—THE TEMPLE CHURCH. No. II.	„	17
CIII.—ADVERTISEMENTS	W. Weir	33
CIV.—THE EAST INDIA HOUSE	J. C. Platt	49
CV.—HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GUILDHALL	J. Saunders	65
CVI.—CIVIC GOVERNMENT	„	81
CVII.—THE EXCISE OFFICE	J. C. Platt	97
CVIII.—THE COMPANIES OF LONDON	J. Saunders	113
CIX.—COVENT GARDEN	J. Saunders & J. C. Platt	129
CX.—THE ADMIRALTY AND THE TRINITY HOUSE	W. Weir	145
CXI.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON	J. Saunders	161
CXII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON. No. II.	„	177
CXIII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON. No. III.	„	193
CXIV.—THE HORSE GUARDS	W. Weir	209
CXV.—THE OLD LONDON BOOKSELLERS	G. L. Craik	225
CXVI.—EXETER HALL	J. C. Platt	241
CXVII.—THE GARDENS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY	J. Saunders	257
CXVIII.—THE THEATRES OF LONDON	„	273
CXIX.—THE TREASURY	W. Weir	289
CXX.—THE HORTICULTURAL AND ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETIES	J. Saunders	305
CXXI.—PRISONS AND PENITENTIARIES	J. C. Platt	321
CXXII.—LONDON NEWSPAPERS	W. Weir	337
CXXIII.—THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c. IN THE ADELPHI	J. Saunders	353
CXXIV.—MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HOSPITALS AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS	J. C. Platt	369
CXXV.— LONDON SHOPS AND BAZAARS	G. Dodd	385

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

CI.—DOCTORS' COMMONS.

	Page
Doctors' Commons, a mysterious locality	1
The Lodge of Doctors' Commons	1
The Porters at Doctors' Commons	1
The Royal Wardrobe	2
The Fair Maid of Kent	2
Knight Rider Street	2
Herald's College	2
The Prerogative Will Office	2
Scene in the interior of Doctors' Commons	2
The two Prerogative Courts	3
Introduction of the Funding System	3
Increase in the business of Doctors' Commons since the year 1789	3
Shakspere's Will	4
Original Wills in Doctors' Commons	4
Connexion between the Church and Wills	4
Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Testamentary Causes	5
Endeavours of the Priesthood, after the Establishment of Christianity, to obtain authority in temporal, as well as in spiritual, affairs	5
Earliest English Ecclesiastical Courts established by William the Conqueror	5
The partial authority of the Canon Law established by the Ecclesiastics	5
The Court of Arches	6
The Consistory Court of the Bishop of London	6
The Court of Admiralty	6
Interior of the Common Hall of the College	6
Cases brought before the Court of Arches	7
Penance for Defamation, still in practice in some parts of England	7
Report of the nature of the business in the Court of Arches	7
Mode of procedure in the Arches' Court	8
Chaucer's Sumpnour	8
Statement of the Bank Solicitor to the Commissioners	9
Value of Cross-Examination in Courts of Justice	9
Doctors of Civil Law	10
Dr. Henry Harvey, the founder of Doctors' Commons	10
Ceremony of the admission of Doctors to practise as Advocates at Doctors' Commons	10
Admission of Proctors to practise at Doctors' Commons	10
The system of Appeal one of the legal beauties of the Ecclesiastical Courts	10
Stages through which an Appeal sometimes passes	11
Bill brought before Parliament for abolishing the abuses of Doctors' Commons	11
Outline of the measure of Reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts now before Parliament	11
Jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty	12
The Instance Court	12
The Prize Court	12
Peculiar position of the Judge of the Admiralty	13
Lord Stowell at the head of the Admiralty Court through the most eventful period of the last great war	13
Case of the ship 'Minerva,' as related by Lord Stowell	14
Judgment of Lord Stowell in the 'Minerva' suit	15
The name of Arches' Court derived from the arches below Bow Church, Cheapside	16
Original connexion between the Court of Arches and Bow Church	16

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
1. Prerogative Will Office	Tiffin	Jackson	1
2. Hall of Doctors' Commons	"	"	7
3. Vestry-room, formerly Court of Arches, St. Mary-le-Bow	"	"	16

CII.—THE TEMPLE CHURCH.—No. 2.

ITS RESTORATION.

	Page
Impulse to the public taste given by the Restoration of the Temple Church	17
Character of the Exterior of the Temple Church accordant with the character of its founders	18
Differences of style which prevail in the Rotunda and Chancel of the Temple Church	18
The Round	19
Restoration of the Effigies in the Temple Church	20
Effigy of William Pembroke the younger, in the Temple Church	20
Sarcophagi discovered beneath the pavement of the Temple Church	21
Present arrangement of the Effigies in the Temple Church	21
Aisles of the Round	21
Heads in the left Aisle of the Round	22
Idea that the heads in the Round are probably intended to convey	23
Pillars in the Round	24
Pavement in the Round	25
Taste for Eastern magnificence acquired by the Crusaders in their visits to the Holy Land	25
The early Church Reformers	26
The oblong portion of the Temple Church	26
First Impression on entering the Temple Church	27
Banners in the Temple Church	27
Inscriptions on the walls of the Temple Church	28
Decorations of the roof of the Temple Church	28

	Page
The central Window of the Temple Church	28
History attached to the Organ in the Temple Church	29
Present position of the Organ	29
Bust of Lord Thurlow in the Vestry-room of the Temple Church	30
Effigy of Plowden	30
Portraits of the Kings, in the arches between the Chancel and the Rotunda	30
Persons employed in the decorations of the Temple Church	30
Present state of the Cathedrals in England	31
Possible progress of Art in England	31

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
4. The Temple Church from the South	Anelay	Jackson	17
5. The Temple Church Interior from the Entrance	"	"	24
6. The Eastern Window, Altar, &c., Temple Church	"	"	32

CIII.—ADVERTISEMENTS.

External Paper-hangers' Stations	33
The 'Hanging Committee' of London	33
Most fashionable places in London for the exhibitions of the Hanging Committee	33
Attractive character of the objects exhibited by the Hanging Committee	34
Liberties taken by modern Playwrights with the Chronicles of contemporary Newspapers	34
Utility of the Ornaments which adorn the stations of the external Paper-hangers	34
Heralds, the first advertising mediums	35
Town Drummers	35
Town Bellmen	35
Manuscript Placards	35
Refinement to which the art of Advertising has been carried in London	35
Advertisements, direct and indirect, explicit and by inuendo	35
Various vehicles of Advertisements, and forms which Advertisements assume in London in the present day	36
The appearance of the external Paper-hanger	36
Distinction between the real Artist and the mere mechanical external Paper-hanger	36
Bill-distributors	36
Distinction between the Bill-sticker and the Bill-distributor	36
Peripatetic Placards	37
Vehicular Placards	37
The Advertising Hat	38
Advertising Vans	38
Newspaper Advertisements	39
Dramatic interest connected with the Advertising columns of a Newspaper	39
Newspaper Advertisements not confined to matters of business alone	39
Specimens of Newspaper Advertisements deserving a place in the 'Romance of Real Life'	39
Advertisement taken from the columns of the 'Chronicle' in 1843	41
Matrimonial Advertisements	41
School Advertisements	42
Medical Advertisements	42
George Robins's Advertisements	43
Progressive improvement in the art of Advertising in London	43
Newspaper Advertisements in the reign of Queen Anne	43
Advertisements in the 'Tatler'	43
The Advertisers of 1711	44
Advertisement by the Duchess of Buckingham in 1734	44
Advertisement by the Reverend Orator Henley, in 1726	44
Advertisement by Henley in November, 1728	44
Medical Quackery at its height at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century	45
Dr. Pechey's Advertisements	45
Announcement by Dr. Herwig	45
Advertisement by J. Moore, in the 'Tatler' of August, 1710	45
Bill-distributors largely employed by Quack Practitioners	45
Mr. Baker's Advertisements in the 'Tatler'	46
Advertisement in the 'Tatler' of April, 1710	46
Advertisements of Private Lotteries	46
Lotteries, the great school of mutual instruction	47
Raffles	48
Little-goes for the sale of Printsellers' and Picture Dealers' unsaleable stock	48

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
7. Procession of Placards	Tiffin	Jackson	33
8. Perambulating Hat	"	"	38
9. Bill Sticker	"	"	48

CIV.—THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

Interesting associations connected with the East India House	49
Burke's familiarity with whatever related to India	49
Historical Recollections attached to the East India House	50
Progress of English Dominion in the East	50
Present and former state of Official Servants in India	50
Nabobs	51
Progress of good Government evident in the Administration of India	51
Length of the Voyage to and from India Seventy Years back	51

PAGE

Uncertainty and Unfrequency of the Intercourse between England and India until the middle of the Eighteenth Century 51
The Character and Objects of Indian Policy elevated by the introduction of Steam Navigation 51
Bombay now within Five Weeks' distance of England 51
Rapid Increase of Private Intercourse between England and India 51
Capture of a Portuguese Ship in the reign of Queen Elizabeth 52
Charter granted to the Earl of Cumberland in 1600, for Trading to the East Indies . . 52
Little progress made by the English in India during the Seventeenth Century . . . 52
East India Company's Charter Renewed in 1609 52
The 'Trades Enerease' built by the East India Company in 1609 52
Management of the business of the East India Company committed in 1612 to a few principal parties 53
The History of the East India Company, chiefly a Narrative of Mercantile transactions during the whole of the Seventeenth Century . . 53
The London History of the East India Company during the Seventeenth Century . . . 53
The sum of 10,000*l.* extorted from the East India Company by the Duke of Buckingham . . 53
Licence granted to Captain John Weddell by Charles I. in 1635 53
The Trade to India thrown open by the Republican Government 53
Tea first an article of the East India Company's Trade in 1667-8 53
Dispute as to whether the right of granting Charters to the East India Company devolved upon the Sovereign or the Parliament . . 53
New Charter granted to the East India Company by the King in 1693 53
The Old East India Company dissolved in 1698 54
A New Company, incorporated by the name of the 'English Company,' invested with the privileges of exclusive trade 54
Act passed in 1702 for uniting the two Companies 54
Important changes made on the renewal of the Charter to the East India Company in 1781 . 54
Establishment of the Board of Control in 1784 . 54
Infringement made on the Company's Charter in 1794 54
Act by which the Company is now governed passed in 1833 54
First English Factory in India established at Bantam in 1602 55

PAGE

Firman obtained by the English from the Great Mogul allowing certain privileges at Surat . 55
Commercial privileges received by the English from the Sultan of Achin 55
Erection of Fort St. George in 1639 . . 55
The privilege of trading custom-free obtained by the English in 1680 55
Bombay made over to the East India Company by Charles II. in 1668 55
Calcutta founded in 1692 55
Bombay made in 1687 the head of all the Establishments in India 56
Warren Hastings made Governor General in 1773 56
The Home Government of the East India Company 56
The Court of Proprietors, or General Court . 56
The Court of Directors 56
Discussions of the Court of Directors conducted by the same rules as those of the House of Commons 56
Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors in 1773 57
Functions of the Court of Directors . . . 57
The Committee of Secrecy 58
Functions of the Board of Control . . . 58
Routine of business between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control . . . 58
The Military department of the East India House 59
Various offices of the East India House . . 59
Sales of the East India Company . . . 59
Facility in composition a necessary qualification in Public Men in India 60
Testimony to the industry and ability of the East India Clerks borne by Mr. Canning in 1822 . 60
The business of the East India Company probably transacted first at the 'Nag's Head Inn' 60
Sir William Craven's House in Leadenhall Street leased to the East India Company in 1701 . 60
The Old East India House built in 1726 . . 60
Portico and Pediment of the present East India House 61
Interior of the East India House 61
The General Court Room 61
The Court Room 61
Statues in the Court Room 62
The Finance and Home Committee Room . 62
The Library of the East India House . . 62
The Museum of the East India House . . 62
The Oriental curiosities in the Museum of the East India House 63
Piece of Musical Mechanism, once belonging to Tippoo Sultan, preserved in the Museum of the East India House 63

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
10. Exterior of East India House	ANERAY	JACKSON . .	49
11. East India House of 1726	FAIRHOLT	SEARS . . .	61
12. The Museum, East India House	ANELAY	JACKSON . .	63

CV.—HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GUILDHALL.

Greatest events of which Guildhall was the scene in former times 65
No place throughout England so favourable as Guildhall for Royal and Political manœuvres . 66
Scene in Guildhall on the 24th of June, 1483 . 66
Death of Edward IV. 66
Speech of the Duke of Buckingham at Guildhall on the 24th of June, 1483 66
King Richard III. proclaimed 67
First effects of the Reformation 68
Controversies between Henry VIII. and Catherine Parr 68
Anne Askew favourably noticed by the Queen and the Court 68
Arrest of Anne Askew 68
Examination of Anne Askew 68

	Page
Discharge of Anne Askew	68
Anne Askew apprehended again, and committed to Newgate	68
Anne Askew condemned to death for heresy	68
Torture and Martyrdom of Anne Askew	69
Sir Thomas Wyatt's Insurrection	70
The Gunpowder Plot	70
Sir Nicholas Throckmorton appointed Server to the King in 1543	70
Rise of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in the favour of the King	70
Behaviour of Throckmorton at the Death of Edward VI.	70
Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain	70
Incident in the character of Philip of Spain	70
Insurrection headed by Sir Thomas Carew	71
Throckmorton's attachment to Queen Elizabeth	71
Trial of Throckmorton	71
Judges on the Bench at the Trial of Throckmorton	72
Charges brought against Throckmorton	72
Throckmorton charged with having devised to kill the Queen	73
Deposition of John Fitzwilliams at the Trial of Throckmorton	73
Throckmorton's answer to the Charges brought against him	74
Legal learning of Throckmorton	76
Discharge of Throckmorton	77
Effect of the Gunpowder Plot upon the mind of King James	78
Proclamation issued for the apprehension of Gerard, Greenway, and Garnet	78
Hendlip House used as a place of concealment by Garnet	78
Search instituted at Hendlip House	79
Committal of Garnet to the Tower	79
Trial of Garnet on the 28th of March, 1606	79
Garnet's Straw	79
Trial of Waller at Guildhall	80

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
13. Guildhall, about 1750	ANELAY	JACKSON	65
14. Martyrdom of Anne Askew and others	FAIRHOLT	SLY	69
15. Hendlip House, 1800	,,	,,	78

CVI.—CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

Ancient Saxon Law	81
Trade Guilds	82
The Municipal Government of England one of the great and still existing Institutions of Antiquity	82
The exterior of Guildhall	82
Commencement of Guildhall in 1411	82
Modes adopted for obtaining the requisite moneys for the construction of Guildhall	82
The Justice Room of Guildhall	83
Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas	83
Portraits of the Judges in the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas	83
Chapel or College formerly standing on the site of the Law Courts	83
Interior of Guildhall	84
Hall of Guildhall	84
Crypt below the Hall	84
Monuments of great Men in Guildhall	85
Uses to which Guildhall is put	85
Corporation Banquets	85
Feast at Guildhall in 1814	85
Banquet attended by Charles I. at Guildhall in 1641	86
Attempts of Charles I. to soften the harshness of the City politics	87
Annual Feast in Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day	87
Election of the Lord Mayor	87
The Mayoralty of London an arduous and responsible position	88
Duties of the Lord Mayor of London	88
Overwhelming amount of business transacted by the Lord Mayor	89
History of the Lord Mayors of London four or five Centuries back	89
Interference of Royalty in the earlier Elections of the Lord Mayors	89
Chaucer, an Exile in the cause of Corporate Freedom	89
The liberties of the City threatened with utter destruction by Richard II.	89
Open Hostility shown by Richard II. towards the Citizens	90
Struggle between Richard II. and the Citizens for the right of electing the Mayor	90
Motives that actuated Chaucer to engage in the struggle between Richard II. and the popular party in the City	90
Defeat of the Citizens by Richard II.	91
Proceedings against the principal Leaders of the defeated Party	91
Flight of Chaucer to Zealand	91
Chaucer's return to London in 1386	91
Committal of Chaucer to the Tower	91
Liberation of Chaucer in 1389	91
The Court of Aldermen	91
High rank and importance of Aldermen in former times	92
The Wards of London the heritable property of the Aldermen of former times	92
Present constitution of the Corporation of London	92
The Council Chamber of Guildhall	92
Functions of the Common Council	92
The Folkmote	93
The Livery and Freemen of the City	93
Analogy between the National and Civic Parliament	93
Works of Art in Guildhall	94
The Old Court of King's Bench	94
The Court of Hustings	94
The Lord Mayor's Court	94
The Sheriff's Court	94
The Chamberlain's Office	94
Productions of Mr. Thomas Tomkins in the Chamberlain's Office	94
Duties of the Chamberlain	94
The Waiting or Reading Room	95
Household and Expenditure of the Lord Mayor	95
Erection of the Mansion House in 1753	95
The Justice Room at the Mansion House	95
The Egyptian Hall	95
Most important event of which the Annals of the Mansion House can yet boast	96

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
16. Council Chamber, Guildhall	ANELAY	JACKSON	81
17. The Crypt, Guildhall	,,	,,	84
18. Interior of Guildhall	,,	,,	86
19. The Mansion House, 1771	,,	,,	96

CVII.—THE EXCISE OFFICE.

	Page
The Officer of Excise	97
The Board of Stamps and Taxes	97
One-half of the Customs' Duty of the United Kingdom collected in the Port of London	98
Nature and Operations of the Excise	98
History of the Excise System	98
Establishment of Excise Duties in England	98
Attempt to introduce Excise Duties in 1626	98
Determination of the Parliament in 1641 not to levy Excise Duties	98
Ordinance issued in 1643 for the levying of Moneys for the Maintenance of the Forces raised by Parliament	99
Establishment of the Office of Excise	99
Appointment of the Commissioners of Excise	99
Riots in London created by the Excise Duty	99
Declaration of Parliament made in 1646	99
Endeavour of the Royalists to show that the Excise was a Scheme of the Republicans	100
Abolition of Excise on all Articles of Consumption after the Restoration	100
The Hereditary and the Temporary Excise	100
The Temporary Excise granted for Life to James II. on his Accession	100
Duty on Glass and on Malt first imposed in the reign of William III.	101
Laws for the Protection of the Excise	101
Sir Robert Walpole's Scheme for extending the Excise	101
Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1732 for inquiring into the Frauds and Abuses committed in the Customs	101
Introduction in 1733 of Walpole's plan for the Correction of the Abuses of the Customs	102
Frauds committed in the Tobacco Trade	102
Discovery of the illegal practices of the Custom-House Officers in 1728	102
The Laws of the Customs thought insufficient to prevent fraud	102
Proposal of Sir R. Walpole to have Tobacco subjected to the Laws of the Excise as well as to those of the Customs	102
Opposition to Sir R. Walpole's scheme for extending the Excise	103
Deputies from the Provincial Towns sent to London to oppose Sir R. Walpole's Measure	103
Debate on Sir R. Walpole's Bill	103
Meeting of the principal Supporters of Sir R. Walpole's Bill	103
Abandonment of his Scheme by Sir R. Walpole	104
Public demonstrations of joy at the Defeat of Sir R. Walpole's Project	104
Rejoicings throughout England on the Receipt of the Intelligence of the Rejection of Walpole's Bill	104
Rejoicings at Oxford and Cambridge on the Defeat of Sir R. Walpole	104
Extravagant ideas of Liberty entertained by the English satirized by Goldsmith's 'Chinese Philosopher'	105
Andrew Marvell, Blackstone, and Johnson great vilifiers of the Excise	105
Commissioners of Excise Inquiry	105
The Gin Act of 1736	105
Fears entertained of an Insurrection of the Populace in London after the passing of the Gin Act	106
Struggle against the Operations of the Gin Act	106
Extensive Evasions of the Law after the passing of the Gin Act	107
The Gin Act modified in 1742	107
Excise Duty on Bricks imposed by Pitt in 1784	107
Pitt's Plan for transferring the greater part of the Duty on Foreign Wine from the Customs to the Excise	107
Transfer of the greater part of the Duty on Tobacco from the Customs to the Excise	108
Number of Excise Officers employed in England in 1797	108
Gross Excise Revenue for the United Kingdom in 1841	108
Number of Traders surveyed periodically by Excise Officers in 1835	108
Duty on Spirits in the London Collection	108
Administrative Improvements in the Excise	109
Officers employed in the Collection and Management of the Excise Revenue	109
Considerable reductions made in the Excise Office in the first twenty years after the Peace	110
The out-door business of the Excise Office in London conducted by twelve general surveyors	110
The Collector	110
The Supervisor	110
The Surveying General Examiner	111
The Excise Office previous to 1768, formerly the Mansion of Sir J. Frederick	111
Gresham College pulled down in 1768	111
Erection of the present Excise Office on the site of Gresham College	111
Arrangements of the interior of the Excise Office	112

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
20. Excise Office, Broad Street	SHEPHERD	SEARS	97
21. Hall of Excise Office	,,	NUGENT	109
22. Excise Office Exchange	,,	WRAGG	112

CVIII.—THE COMPANIES OF LONDON.

	Page
The once mighty Fellowships of London	113
Companies of London now in their Decline	114
The Musicians	114
The Masons	114
The Pin-Makers	114
The Festival of Corpus Christi	114
The Skinners	114
Banquet in the Hall of the Skinners' Company on the day of Corpus Christi	115
Election of the Master and Wardens of the Skinners' Company	115
Nature of the business transacted by the Master and Wardens	116
Preventing or arranging Disputes among the Members an important branch of the Duties of the Officers of the London Companies	116
Apprentices directly under the Supervision and Control of the Master and Wardens	117
Interference of the Companies in the matter of the Dress of the Apprentices	117
Anxiety of Queen Elizabeth to restrain the love of Splendour amongst her Subjects	117
The Trade Searches	117
Petition presented to the Court of Aldermen by the Wax Chandlers' Company in the reign of Edward III.	118
Chief places where the Trade Searches had generally to be pursued	118
Localities of the different London Trades	118
Jurisdiction of the Mayor and Aldermen over the Companies	118
Duties arising from the Connexion between the Companies and the Civic Corporation	119
Monopoly enjoyed by the Companies	119
Richard Whittington	119
System of making presents to the Mayor	120
Most important labours undertaken by the Companies and the City	120
Supply of Corn and Coal in times of scarcity to the poorer Citizens by the London Companies	120
Arrangement respecting Corn concluded between the City and the Companies in 1578	121
Letter from the Duke of Lennox in 1622 to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Grocers	121
Connexion of the Companies with the Government	121
Application for Money from Queen Elizabeth to the Ironmongers	122
Establishment of the first Lottery in 1567	122
Lottery for Armour established in 1585	122
Patents, a system of direct infringement upon the chief Powers and Rights of the Companies	122
Patent obtained by Edward Darcy to search and seal all the Leather through England	122
System of Patents at its highest point in the reign of James I.	123
Liberality shown by the London Companies on any great public occasion	123
The Army of the London Companies reviewed by Queen Elizabeth in 1572	124
Origin and Rise of the London Companies	124
Charter received by the Weavers of London in the reign of Henry II.	124
Origin of the Knighten Guild	124
Semi-religious Character of the London Companies	125
Incorporation of the Guilds in the reign of Edward III.	125
Edward III. enrolled a Member of the Merchant Tailors' Company	125
Struggles for Precedence between the London Companies	125
Endeavour of Charles II. to destroy the Independence of the London Companies	126
The Companies of London divided into three classes	126
The Government of the Companies intrusted to Courts of Assistants	126
Charities of the London Companies	127
Annual Payments of the Goldsmiths' Company to their Poor	127
The chartered Festivals of the London Companies	127
Halls of the London Companies	127
The Fishmongers' Hall	128
Merchant Tailors' Hall	128
Drapers' Hall	128
Mercers' Hall	128
Clockmakers' Hall	128
The Painter Stainers' Hall	128

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
23. Interior of Merchant Tailors' Hall, Threadneedle Street	Anelay	Jackson	113
24. Front of Mercers' Hall, Cheapside	"	"	119
25. Leather-sellers' Hall, Bishopsgate Street	Fairholt	——	123
26. Arms of the Weavers' Company	Anelay	Jackson	124
27. Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge	Shepherd	Sears	128

CIX.—COVENT GARDEN.

	Page
Origin of Covent Garden	129
Covent Garden in 1560	129
Changes in the Metropolis caused by the Dissolution of the Monasteries	130
Long Acre granted by Edward VI. to the Earl of Bedford in 1552	130
Southampton House built by the Earl of Bedford in 1552	130
Magnificent Improvements commenced by the Earl of Bedford in the early part of the reign of Charles I.	131
Proclamation issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1580 respecting the Erection of Houses in London	131
Buildings commenced by Inigo Jones at Lincoln's Inn Fields	131
Inigo Jones, the true Founder of the modern domestic Architecture of the Metropolis	131
Squares and Streets erected in London in the reigns of William and Anne	132
Erection of the Chapel of St. Martin's	132
Covent Garden formed into a Parish in 1645	132
Alterations and Repairs of Covent Garden Church	132

	Page
Damage done to Covent Garden Church by Fire in 1795	133
Eminent Men buried within the Walls or in the Churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden	133
Interesting Associations of Covent Garden not confined to the Church	133
Dryden waylaid and beaten in Rose Alley, Covent Garden	134
Duel between Sir H. Bellasses and Tom Porter	134
Death of Bellasses	134
Powell's Theatre, Covent Garden	134
The Beefsteak Club	135
Lord Peterborough and Rich	135
Distinguished Persons who have been Members of the Beefsteak Club	135
Migrations of the Beefsteak Club	136
Aspect of Covent Garden in the beginning of the last century	136
Proposals made in 1654 for establishing a Herb-market in Clement's Inn Fields	136
Origin of Covent Garden Market	136
The Honey Lane Market	137
Act passed in 1824 for the establishment of Farringdon Market	137
Company incorporated in 1830 for re-establishing Hungerford Market	137
Act passed for the establishment of Portman Market	137
Covent Garden Market seventy years ago	137
Act obtained by the Duke of Bedford in 1827 for rebuilding Covent Garden Market	137
Present Arrangements of Covent Garden Market	138
Farringdon Market	138
Provincial Markets	139
Extensive System of Co-operation involved in the Supply of Fruit and Vegetables to the Population of London	139
Market-days at Covent Garden	140
Houses of Refreshment around Covent Garden	140
The Vegetable and Fruit Market at Covent Garden	141
The Business of the Flower Market at Covent Garden	141
Covent Garden the Londoners' Flower-garden	142
The Costermongers	142
The Borough Market	143
Spitalfields the largest Potato Market in the Metropolis	143
Potato-salesmen in London	143
Consumption of Potatoes in the Metropolis	144
London chiefly supplied with Potatoes from Essex and Kent	144
Supply of Potatoes to London by Water	144

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
28. Covent Garden Market	SHEPHERD	SEARS	129
29. House built by Inigo Jones, in Great Queen Street	——	——	131
30. Group of Market People	SLY	SEARS	141

CX.—THE ADMIRALTY AND THE TRINITY HOUSE.

Architecture of the Admiralty	145
The Commissioners of the Admiralty	145
The Admiralty Telegraph	146
Interior of the Admiralty	146
Associations connected with the Admiralty	147
The Admiralty one of the most interesting Localities in London	147
Duties of the 'Amiral de la Mer du Roi d'Angleterre' in 1297	147
Attention paid to Naval Affairs by Henry VII.	148
The Admiralty and the Navy Office instituted by Henry VIII.	148
Establishment of the Trinity House and the Dock-yards in the Reign of Henry VIII.	148
Ships of the Time of Henry VIII.	148
Navy of the Time of Queen Elizabeth	148
Progress of Naval Architecture in the Reign of Elizabeth	148
Phineas Pett the first scientific Ship-builder	149
Advance in Naval Matters during the Reign of James I.	149
Consequences of the Growth of the Spirit of Maritime Enterprise in England in the Time of Elizabeth	149
Voyages of Discovery fitted out in the Reign of Elizabeth	149
Burst of National Energy in the Reign of Elizabeth	149
Michael Lok	149
Frobisher's Voyage	150
Englishmen a Nation of Mariners in the Age of Elizabeth	150
Controversy between Charles I. and John Hampden	150
The Navy under Charles I.	150
The Navigation Laws originated by Cromwell	150
The Navy after the Restoration	150
Improvements in the Navy in the Reign of James II.	151
The sailing and fighting Men of the Navy not one Class under the Restoration	151
The Seamen of the Time of the Commonwealth and the Restoration	151
The Management of the Navy permanently put into Commission in 1688	151
The Affairs of the Navy managed by a Committee of Parliament during the Commonwealth	151
The Duke of York Lord High Admiral during the greater Part of the Reign of Charles II.	152
The House of Judge Jefferies converted to the Use of the Commissioners of the Admiralty	152
Removal of the Admiralty to Wallingford House	152
The present Admiralty erected on the Site of Wallingford House in the Reign of George II.	152
Screen erected by Adam before the Admiralty in the Reign of George III.	152
Improvements made in the Navy since the Revolution	152
An Hydrographer permanently annexed to the Admiralty Board in 1795	153
Important Improvements made of late Years in the Navy	153
Vessels composing the British Navy at present	153
The Peace-establishment of the Navy	153
Peculiar Character attributed to the British Tar	153
Lord Anson	154
The Naval College	155

	Page
The Lower School at Greenwich	155
The Hydrographer's Office	155
Difference between the Sailors of Marryat and those of Smollett and his Contemporaries	155
Branches of the Navy Office at Somerset House	155
Various Branches of the Management of the Navy	155
The Characteristics of British Government	156
The Trinity House	156
Records of the Trinity House destroyed by Fire early in the eighteenth Century	156
The Holy Trinity of Deptford Strand	156
Jurisdiction of the Trinity House	156
Charter granted to the Trinity House by James II.	157
Corporation of the Trinity House	157
The Board of the Trinity House	157
The Committee of Wardens	157
Lighting, Beaconing, and Buoying of the Coasts, Branches of Maritime Police	157
The Merchant Service	158
A valuable Branch of the Merchant Service formed by the East India Trade	158
High Character attained by the Mercantile Marine of England	158
Efficiency of the English Marine	158
The Hydrographer's Office a connecting Link between the Admiralty Board and the Trinity Board	158
Habitations of the Naval Rulers of England in ancient Days	159
The Navy Office in Crutched Friars	159
Pursuit of Mr. Pepys by a Bum-Bailiff	159
The Old Trinity House, in Water Lane	159
Mr. Pepys of real Service to the Navy	159
The Edifices of London, with few Exceptions, essentially modern	160

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
31. The Admiralty	Shepherd	Sears	145
32. The Admiralty as it appeared before Adam's Screen was built	B. Sly	Holloway	152
33. Old Trinity House, from an Anonymous Print in the Pennant Collection		Nugent	160

CXI.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. I.—Before the Fire.

Tablet in the Church of St. Peter, Cornhill	161
The Church of St. Peter supposed to have been founded by Lucius, the first Christian King of England	161
Information given by Stow regarding St. Peter's, Cornhill	162
Churches in London in the twelfth Century enumerated by Fitz-Stephen	162
Churches in and about London in the Time of Stow	162
Eighty-nine of the Metropolitan Churches destroyed by the Great Fire	162
Buildings referred to by Stow almost identical with the Buildings mentioned by Fitz-Stephen	163
Conventual Buildings mentioned by Fitz-Stephen	163
St. Martin's-le-Grand, founded in 700	163
St. Martin's the Alsatia of early Days	163
Churches of London and the Suburbs before the Fire	164
Origin of the Names of some of the Metropolitan Churches	164
Many of the Churches of London rich in Memorials of the Dead	165
Inscription on a Tomb in St. Leonard's, Foster Lane	165
Existing Churches in London spared by the Fire	165
The Dutch Church, Austin Friars	166
Persons buried in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars	166
The Church of Allhallows, Barking	166
Image to the Virgin erected by Edward I. in Allhallows, Barking	167
Inscriptions and Monuments in Allhallows	167
The Earl of Surrey and the Bishops Fisher and Laud interred in Allhallows	167
Allhallows injured by an Explosion of Gunpowder in 1649	167
The Majority of the earliest Churches in London probably built of Wood	168
Tower of Allhallows Staining	168
Visit of Queen Elizabeth to the Church of Allhallows Staining	168
Entries in the Parish Books of Allhallows Staining	168
Festivals at Allhallows Staining	169
Noticeable Signatures in the Parish Books of Allhallows Staining	169
St. Olave's, Hart Street	170
Interior of St. Andrew Undershaft	170
Stow's Monument in St. Andrew Undershaft	170
The original Edifice of St. Katherine Cree, pulled down about 1107	170
The Church of St. Katherine Cree rebuilt by Inigo Jones in 1628	170
Distinguished Persons buried in the Church of St. Katherine Cree	170
Consecration of St. Katherine Cree by Laud in 1630	170
Description given by Prynne of the Ceremony of the Consecration	171
The Churchyard of St. Katherine Cree a popular Place for the Exhibition of Dramatic Interludes	171
Remnant of St. Michael's Church existing beneath a House in Aldgate	172
Remarkable Aspect of the Exterior of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate	172
Interior of St. Helen's	172
Canonization of Helena, the Mother of Constantine the Great	173
Priory of Benedictine Nuns, founded in 1212 near St. Helen's, Bishopsgate	173
Monument of Sir John Crosby and his Lady in St. Helen's Church	173
Tomb of Sir W. Pickering in St. Helen's	173
Tomb of Sir Thomas Gresham in St. Helen's	173

PAGE

Tablet to Sir William Bond and his Son . . 173
Complaints made against the Nuns of St. Helen's by the Dean of St. Paul's in 1439 . . . 173
Monument to Richard Bancroft in St. Helen's Church 174
Monument to Sir Julius Cæsar in the Chancel of St. Helen's 174
St. Giles's Cripplegate partially burnt in the Sixteenth Century 174
Eminent Persons buried in the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate 174
Interesting Recollections of St. Giles's . . 174
Marriage of Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bouchier in St. Giles's Cripplegate . . 174
Archbishops interred in Lambeth Church . 174
Monument to the Tradescants in the Churchyard of Lambeth Church 175
St. Margaret's, Westminster 175
Remarkable Persons buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster 175
The painted eastern Window of St. Margaret's . 175

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
34. Exterior of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars . . .	Brown	Jackson	161
35. Procession of the Wooden Ass on Palm Sunday . .	Buss	Sly	169
36. Interior of St. Helen's	Brown	Jackson	172
37. East Window of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster .	"	"	176

CXII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. II.—Wren's Churches.

Position of the Citizens of London after the Great Fire 177
Erection of Places of Worship after the Fire . 178
Earliest Movement towards the rebuilding of Allhallows, Lombard Street . . . 178
Various Means of raising the Funds for rebuilding of Allhallows 179
Pecuniary Difficulties experienced by Wren during the Progress of the rebuilding of the Churches of London after the Fire . . 179
The Design of the London Churches materially affected by the pecuniary Difficulties encountered by Wren 179
Funds for rebuilding St. Mary Aldermary bequeathed by Mr. Rogers 179
Presents given to Wren by the Churchwardens of St. Clement's East Cheap and St. Mary Aldermanbury 180
Wren the Inventor of a Style of Ecclesiastical Architecture adapted to the Wants of a Protestant Community 180
Exteriors of Wren's Churches 180
Characteristics of the Interiors of Wren's Churches 180
Donation to the Old Church of Mary Aldermary by the Father of Chaucer 180
Churches belonging to the Miscellaneous Class of Wren's Buildings 181
The Church of St. Lawrence, Jewry . . 181
Residence of the Jews in the Old Jewry . . 181
The Jews expelled from England by Edward I. 181
Stained Glass in the Church of St. Edward the King 181
Monument of Anthony Munday in the Church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street . . . 182
Inscription on the Monument to Thomas Tusser in St. Mildred's, Poultry 182
Death of Inigo Jones in 1651 182
Architecture of the Church of Allhallows the Great 182
The Name of Whittington inseparably associated with the Church of St. Michael's, Paternoster Row 182
History of Whittington's Monument . . 182
Hilton's Picture of Mary Magdalene in the modern Church of St. Michael's 182
The Head of James IV. of Scotland buried in St. Michael's, Wood Street 182
Churches in London of the Basilical Class . 183
Miles Coverdale Rector of St. Magnus till 1566 183
The Church of St. Bartholomew . . . 183
Eminent Men interred in Bride Church . . 183
Monument to Bishop Newton in Bow Church . 184
Associations connected with Bow Church . 184
Accident to Queen Philippa at Bow Church . 184
Murder of Lawrence Ducket in the Tower of Bow Church 184
Taillage levied upon the City of London during the Absence of Richard I. in the Holy Land . 184
The corrupt Practices of the Managers of the Tax denounced by William Fitz-Osbert . 184
Conspiracy in the Reign of Richard I., headed by William Fitz-Osbert 185
The Tower of Bow Church barricaded and maintained for three days by William Fitz-Osbert 185
Fitz-Osbert and his Followers hung at Smithfield 185
Pilgrimages performed to the Place of Fitz-Osbert's Death 185
Interior of St. Andrew's, Holborn . . . 186
Record of the Baptism of the Poet Savage in the Parish Register of St. Andrew's . . . 186
Few literary Lives more truly melancholy than that of Savage 186
Friendship of Johnson and Savage . . . 187
Death of Savage in 1743 187
Miseries and Death of Chatterton . . . 187
Entry of the Burial of Chatterton in the Parish Register of St. Andrew's 187
Combination of the Italian and Gothic Styles in the Church of St. Michael's, Cornhill . 187
Doubts of Wren as to the Stability of the Tower of St. Dunstan's in the East . . . 187
Quarrel in St. Dunstan's Church between the Ladies of Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel in the Year 1417 188
Penance inflicted upon Lord and Lady Strange 188
Features of the Interior of St. James's, Westminster 188
The Domed Class of Wren's Churches . . 189
Characteristics of the Architecture of St. Stephen's, Walbrook 189
The Church of St. Benet Fink 189
Flocking of the Citizens of London to St. Anthony's to hear the Sermons of Alexander Henderson just before the Outbreak of the Civil War 189

	Page
Memorial to Sir T. Crisp in the Church of St. Mildred, Bread Street	190
Exertions of Sir Nicholas Crisp in the Cause of Charles II.	190
Corinthian Altar Piece in the Church of St. Mary Abchurch	191
Magnificence of the former Church of St. Mary-at-Hill	191
Costs of the Erection of Wren's Churches	191
Cost of the Erection of St. Stephen's, Walbrook	192

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
8. Interior of St. James's, Westminster	Brown	Jackson	177
39. Bow Church, Cheapside, 1750	Fairholt	Sly	186
40. Interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook	W. B. Clarke	Jackson	192

CXIII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. III.—Modern Churches.

Gibbs and Hawksmoor, the most eminent Successors of Wren	193
Great Reputation of Palladio in Italy	194
Introduction of the Italian-Roman Style of Architecture into England by Inigo Jones	194
Act passed in the 10th Year of the Reign of Queen Anne for building fifty Churches in London	194
Birth and Education of James Gibbs	194
Employment obtained by Gibbs from the Church Commissioners	195
St. Mary's-in-the-Strand the first of Gibbs's Ecclesiastical Structures	195
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields the Building on which Gibbs's Fame chiefly rests	195
Interior of St. Martin's	196
Notorious Persons buried in the Precincts of St. Martin's	196
St. Mary Woolnoth, the first Church built by Hawksmoor	196
The Church of St. Anne, Limehouse	197
St. George's Church, the Product of the united Genius of Gibbs and Hawksmoor	197
St. George's, Bloomsbury Square	198
St. George's, Hanover Square, completed in 1724	198
St. Luke's, Old Street, erected by James in 1732	198
St. John's Church, Westminster, erected by Archer in 1728	198
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields attributed to Hawksmoor	199
St. Giles's ascribed by Walpole to Flitcroft	199
The Resurrection Gate at the Entrance of the Churchyard of St. Giles	199
Monument to Sir Roger L'Estrange in the Old Church of St. Giles	199
The Remains of Andrew Marvell interred in St. Giles	199
Chapman the Poet buried in St. Giles's	199
Comparison between Cowper's and Chapman's Translation of Homer	199
Burial of Flaxman in St. Giles's in 1826	200
Interesting circumstance connected with the Death of Flaxman	200
The ground on which St. Giles's stands formerly occupied by a Hospital	200
Sir Peter Paul Pindar buried in the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate Street	200
Munificence of Sir Peter Paul Pindar	201
Inscription on the Tomb of a Persian Merchant in the Churchyard of St. Botolph	201
Bishop Bonner interred in the Churchyard of St. George in the Borough	201
Anecdote of Bonner on his Committal to Prison	201
The Porch of St. Alphage	201
Record in the Parish Register of St. Alphage of the persons touched by Charles II. for the evil	201
Canterbury Defended by Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1011	202
Murder of Elphege by the Danes, in 1012	202
The Church of St. Alphage Erected to the Memory of Elphege, on the place of his Death	202
Pause in the Erection of Churches in London during the reign of George III.	202
The Church of St. Pancras, New Road, an avowed Imitation of the Temple of Erechtheion, at Athens	203
Porches of St. Pancras imitated from the Pandrosium attached to the Erechtheion	203
The Steeple of St. Pancras imitated from the Temple of the Winds, at Athens	203
Interior of St. Pancras	204
Chapel of St. Mark, North Audley Street	205
Trinity Chapel, Poplar	205
New Church at Stepney, erected by Mr. Walters about 1822	206
St. Luke's, Chelsea	206
All Souls, Langham Place	206
St. Katherine's, Regent's Park	206
Benefactresses to the Convent of St. Katherine.	206
Distinguished Persons buried in the Old Church of St. Katherine's	207
Disgraceful circumstance connected with the pulling down of the Old Church of St. Katherine	207
Clock of St. Dunstan's in the West	207
Booksellers' Shops in the Churchyard of St. Dunstan's	207
St. Dunstan's rebuilt by Mr. Shaw about 1833	208
Christ Church, Westminster	208

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
41. St. Mary's, Southwark	B. Sly	Welch	193
42. S. Martin's Church	"	"	195
43. Interior of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street	Paynter	Jackson	197
44. Female Caryatid Figure in the British Museum	——	——	204
45. Trinity Chapel, Poplar	B. Sly	Wragg	205
46. St. Peter's Church, Bankside	"	Holloway	207
47. Christ Church, Westminster	"	Murdon	208

CXIV.—THE HORSE GUARDS.

	Page
The Horse Guards, built about the middle of the Eighteenth Century	209
Kent, the Architect of the Horse Guards	209
The Architectural Pretensions of the Horse Guards	209
Ceremony of Changing Guard at the Horse Guards	210
Movements of the Queen's Guard of the Household Brigade of Cavalry, regulated nominally by the Gold Stick in Waiting	210
Barracks in London where the Foot Guards are stationed	210
The Guards	211
The Blues	211
A Soldier's not an Idle Life	211
Resources of an Officer in London	211
The Guards' Club	212
The Guards' Dinners at St. James's	212
The Tower or Fort Major	212
The Bank Piquet	212
The Bank Dinners	212
The Duke of York's Dinners at the Horse Guards	213
Character of the Duke of York	213
Debt of gratitude owing by England to the Duke of York	214
The British Soldier of the present day	214
The Non-commissioned Officer	214
Qualities required to enable a man to fill a Subordinate Situation with perfect efficiency	214
High Spirit and Honourable Ambition of the British Serjeant illustrated by Steele in the 'Tatler'	214
The Guards at Waterloo	215
Want of Centralised Authority in the management of the Army	215
The Guards of Charles II. and James II.	215
The Army of modern growth when compared with the Navy	216
The Army of England made after foreign models	216
The Army of England equal, if not superior, to any in Europe	216
The Commander-in-Chief	216
The Master-General of the Ordnance	216
Departments of Government connected with the Administration of Military Affairs	216
All power and control over the Army vested in the Crown	217
Functions of the Secretary of State	217
The Secretary of State for the War Department and Colonies	217
Financial Arrangements of the Army entrusted to the Secretary at War	217
Duties of the Secretary at War	217
The Commander-in-Chief	218
Duties of the Adjutant-General	218
Principal Duties of the Quarter-Master-General	218
Board of Topography attached to the Office of Quarter-Master-General	218
The Ordnance Office	218
Duties of the Master-General of the Ordnance	219
The Deputy-Adjutant-General of Artillery	219
The Royal Artillery Corps	219
The Worshipful Artillery Company of the City of London	219
Corps subject to the Ordnance	219
Origin of the present Organisation of the Royal Engineers	219
The Artillery Regiment	220
The proceedings of the Board of Ordnance subject to the control of the Master-General	220
Duties of the Board Officers of the Ordnance	220
Business of the Board of Ordnance	220
The Commissariat Establishment	221
The Commissariat a peculiar and important service	221
Part of the duties of the Commissariat department thrown upon the Ordnance	221
Abolition of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts	221
The Commissariat and Audit Board both branches of the Treasury	221
Proceedings of the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital	222
The Secretary at War and the Commander-in-Chief the heart of the Military Organisation of Great Britain	222
Answers of Sir Augustus Fraser to the questions of the Commissioners on the Civil Administration of the Army in 1833	222
The Horse Guards the centre of vitality of an Army	222
Military discipline	223
Superiority of an organised Army over the Enthusiasm of Individuals or Nations	223

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
48. Principal front of the Horse Guards	Sargent	Welch	209
49. Park front of the Horse Guards	"	"	224

CXV.—THE OLD LONDON BOOKSELLERS.

The Sale of Books probably not a regular Trade till after the invention of Printing	225
Bibles and other Books sold at Fairs in many of the principal Cities of the Continent	225
The Religious Treatises of Wycliffe the first Books sold to any extent in London	226
No Book Shops in London till after the Fourteenth Century	226
Printing Press set up by William Caxton in 1474	226
Stationers' Company Incorporated in 1557	226
Influence of the Bookseller on Literature	226
Bookselling in London till the middle of the Seventeenth Century	226
Paternoster Row before the Fire of London	227
Booksellers' Shops principally in St. Paul's Churchyard before and at the time of the Great Fire	227
Pepys's Visits to the Booksellers' Shops in St. Paul's Churchyard	227
Destruction of Books by the Great Fire	227
Rise in the Price of Books after the Fire	228
Booksellers' Shops near Westminster Hall	228

	Page
Pepys's ineffectual endeavours to comprehend the wit of Hudibras	228
Return of the Booksellers to St. Paul's Churchyard on the re-building of the City after the Fire	229
Scott the first London Bookseller in the time of Pepys	229
Scott said to have been, in his time, the greatest Librarian in Europe	229
Little Britain and Duck Lane mainly inhabited by Booksellers in the end of the Seventeenth and beginning of the Eighteenth Century	230
Paternoster Row began to be occupied by Booksellers about the middle of the Eighteenth Century	230
Benjamin Franklin and James Ralph in Little Britain	230
'Life and Errors' of John Dunton	231
Birth and Education of John Dunton	231
A Bookseller's Shop established by Dunton in 1685	231
Picture given by Dunton of Literature and its followers in London	231
Sermons and other Religious disquisitions the most saleable of all Publications in the time of Dunton	232
Marriage of Dunton with Elizabeth Annesley	232
Dunton's Journey to New England	232
Dunton's rambling propensities	232
Death of Dunton's Wife in 1697	233
Marriage of Dunton with Sarah Nicholas	233
Dunton's latter years passed in quiet and obscurity	233
Death of Dunton in 1721	233
Dunton's 'Athenian Mercury'	233
Comparison between Dunton and Defoe	234
Estimation in which Booksellers were held about the end of the Seventeenth Century	234
Review by Dunton of his Literary Contemporaries in his 'Life and Errors'	234
Extent and activity of the publishing business in London at the end of the Seventeenth Century	234
Mr. Richard Chiswell	235
Thomas Guy, the Founder of Guy's Hospital	235
Superior acquirements of the Booksellers of the time of Dunton	235
Distinguished Booksellers noticed by Dunton	236
Mr. George Sawbridge, according to Dunton, the greatest Bookseller that had been in England for many years	237
Jacob Tonson and Bernard Lintott immortalized by the association of their names with the writings and wranglings of Dryden and Pope	237
Mr. Ballard the last survivor of the Booksellers of Little Britain	238
Thomas Osborne celebrated as the publisher of the Harleian Miscellany	238
Castigation bestowed on Edmund Curll in Pope's 'Dunciad'	239
The early part of the Eighteenth Century still an age of pamphleteering	239
First Number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' brought out by Cave in 1731	239
Revolution in the Commercial system of English Literature brought about by James Lackington	240
Lackington's 'Memoirs of the first Forty-five Years of his Life'	240

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
50. John Dunton	Fussell	Jackson	225
51. Thomas Guy	"	"	235
52. Jacob Tonson	"	"	238
53. Edward Cave	"	"	240
54. James Lackington	"	"	244

CXVI.—EXETER HALL.

Individual Charity probably weakened by the general Philanthropy of modern times	241
Educational Charities	242
Assemblage of Charity Children at St. Paul's	242
Exeter Hall the recognised Temple of modern Philanthropy	242
Effects of the Supremacy of the Puritans	243
Societies instituted in 1692 for the Reformation of Manners	243
Establishment of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1688	243
Incorporation in 1701 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts	243
Its first efforts for the Conversion of the Heathen made amongst the American Indians	243
Danish Foreign Mission commenced under Frederick IV. in 1705	243
The reigns of George I. and George II. characterised by an extraordinary degree of apathy in the Church	243
The Church awakened to a sense of its duties by the zeal and energy of Wesley and Whitefield	243
Association formed by Wilberforce in 1787 to resist the Spread of open Immorality	244
Royal Proclamation against Vice issued in 1787	244
Hannah More's 'Thoughts on the Manners of the Great,' published in 1788	244
Publication of Hannah More's Religious Tracts in 1796	244
Wilberforce's 'Practical Christianity,' published in 1797	244
Endeavours of Wilberforce to promote the Observance of the Sabbath	245
Bill brought into Parliament in 1799 for the Suppression of Sunday Newspapers	245
Endeavour of the Bishop of London to put down Sunday Concerts and Sunday Club-meetings	245
Sunday Card-parties and Sunday Concerts now unheard of amongst the higher classes	245
Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807	246
Act passed in 1833 for emancipating every Slave in the British Dominions	246
The Consumption of West India Produce abstained from by the Friends of the Slave Trade Abolition	246
Associations formed to stop the Consumption of West India Produce	246
Obstacles encountered by the Friends of Anti-Slavery	246
Motion for the Reform of the Criminal Laws brought forward by Sir Samuel Romilly in 1808	247
Bill to repeal the Shoplifting Act thrown out in the Lords in 1813	247

	Page
Death of Sir Samuel Romilly in 1818	247
Plan set on foot by Government for promoting the Emigration of the Natives of Africa to the British Colonies in the West	248
Extract from Mr. Carlyle's 'Past and Present'	248
Wild Beasts at Exeter 'Change	249
Exeter Hall completed in 1831	249
Interior of Exeter Hall	249
Aspect of Exeter Hall on the occasion of a Public Meeting	249
Anniversary Meetings held at Exeter Hall	250
Meeting held at Exeter Hall in June, 1843, for the purpose of promoting Christian Union among the different Religious Bodies of England	250
Enthusiasm generally prevailing at the Meetings in Exeter Hall	251
Haydon's Picture of the Meeting of Delegates for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the World, held in June, 1840	251
Address of Thomas Clarkson at the Anti-Slavery Meeting in June, 1840	251
Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society	252
Meeting in Exeter Hall of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade	252
Speakers at the May Meetings in Exeter Hall	252
Circumscribed Fame of the Speakers and Leaders at Exeter Hall	252
Meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society at Exeter Hall in May, 1843	253
Meeting of the Church Missionary Society	253
Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society to complete the Organization of the New Institution	253
First Meeting of the Bible Society held in May, 1804	253
The Baptist Missionary Society	254
Income and Expenditure of the London Missionary Society	254
The Church Pastoral Aid Society	254
Income of the Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews	254
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge	254
Religious Tract Society established in 1798	254
Summary of the Receipts and Expenditure of Religious and Benevolent Societies for 1841-2	255
Hanover Square Rooms occasionally used for the Meetings of Religious Societies	256
Exhibitions at Exeter Hall of Mr. Hullah's System of Popular Singing	256

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
55. Exeter Hall, from the Strand	Shepherd	Quick	241
56. Interior of Exeter Hall	"	Sears	256

CXVII.—THE GARDENS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Zoological Gardens one of the most attractive spots in London	257
Modes of obtaining Admission to the Zoological Gardens	258
The Carnivora Terrace in the Zoological Gardens	259
The Curassow	259
The Cinnamon Bears	259
Mode of catching the American Black Bear	260
The Macaw Cage	260
The Coreopsis Goose	260
Swiftness of the Dromedary	261
The Mouflon	261
Strong attachment to Man evinced by the Wolf	261
Ordinary use to which the Cuba Bloodhound is put by the Spaniards	261
Anecdote of the Cuba Bloodhound given in Dallas' 'History of the Maroons'	262
Use made by the Kamtchatkan of the Brown Bear	263
The Malayan Sun-Bear	263
The Hyæna the subject alike of ancient and modern fable	263
The Hyæna's love of human flesh	263
Aquatic Birds in the Zoological Gardens	264
The Polar Bear	264
Remarkable tenacity of life in the Condor	264
The Otter	265
The Monkey-House	265
Gambols of the Monkeys	265
The Monkey's power of locomotion	266
The Parrot-House	266
The Owls' Cages	266
The Bison	267
Passage from Franklin on the Habits of the white-headed Eagle	267
The Note of the wild Swan	267
The Emu one of the Wonders of the Animal Creation	267
Repository for the Carnivorous Animals in the Zoological Gardens	268
The Puma erroneously supposed to be irreclaimable	268
Miraculous Feats attributed to the Lion and the Tiger	268
Habitations made by the Natives of South Africa to protect themselves against the Incursions of Wild Beasts	268
Collection of Dogs in the Zoological Gardens	269
The Nyl-ghau	269
The Wapiti Deer	269
Ferocity of the Cape Buffalo	269
Peculiarities of the Indian Rhinoceros	269
Alleged hostility between the Elephant and the Rhinoceros	269
The Wild Boar	270
The Collared Peccary	270
The Giraffe House and Park	270
Characteristics of the Ourang-outan	271
Expenditure on the Zoological Gardens, from 1825 to 1840	272
Sources of the Funds of the Zoological Society	272
Number of Fellows and Fellows Elect of the Zoological Society	272

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
57. The Carnivora Terrace	Tiffin	Jackson	257
58. Coreopsis Geese	Freeman	Whiting	260
59. Chasseur and Cuba Bloodhounds	"	"	262
60. View of the Gardens from the Bridge	Tiffin	Jackson	266
61. Rhinoceros, from the specimen in the Gardens	Jarvis	"	270
62. The Giraffe House	Tiffin	"	271

CXVIII.—THE THEATRES OF LONDON.

	Page
Suddenness of the growth of the Drama of the Elizabethan Era	273
Dramatic Writers up to the year 1580	273
Shakspere, unquestionably Contemporary with Peele, Greene, Marlowe, &c.	273
Shakspere a Shareholder in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589	274
Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine the Great,' and 'Massacre of Paris,' probably written before 1589	274
Dramatic Writers after Shakspere	274
State of the Theatres of London in the time of Shakspere	274
Court favour enjoyed by Players in the reign of Elizabeth	275
Chief London Theatres in the year 1583	275
Number of Actors in London in 1586	275
The Blackfriars the Theatre at which Shakspere probably made his first appearance, both as Actor and Writer	275
The Blackfriars Theatre erected in consequence of the expulsion of Players from the limits of the City	276
The Children of Her Majesty's Revels	276
Accommodations of the Blackfriars Theatre	276
The Blackfriars probably pulled down soon after the permanent close of the Theatres	276
The Globe Theatre erected in 1593	276
Description of the Globe Theatre in the Chorus to 'Henry the Fifth'	277
Simplicity of the Old Stage	277
Interior of a Theatre on the first night of a new piece in the time of Jonson	277
The Globe Theatre burnt to the ground in 1613	278
The Globe, rebuilt in 1614	278
The Fortune Theatre, built about 1599	278
Arrangement of the Interior of the Fortune	278
The Balcony of the Old Theatres	278
Chief Actors in the time of Shakspere	279
Prices of Admission to the Old Theatres	280
Passage from Ben Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair'	280
Painted Scenes of the Theatres of the Shaksperian Era	280
Old Stage Directions	280
Stage Directions to Greene's 'Alphonsus'	280
Dresses and Properties of the Old Theatres	280
Extract from 'The Antipodes'	280
Ordinance of the Long Parliament in 1642, commanding the cessation of Plays	281
Re-opening of the Theatres in 1647	281
Act passed in 1648 for putting down Stage Plays	281
Plays acted occasionally in private at the residences of Noblemen	282
The Cockpit in Drury Lane re-opened in 1658	282
Characteristic feature of the Restored English Theatre	282
The Dramatic Writers of the Latter Part of the Seventeenth Century	282
Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields built by D'Avenant in 1662	282
Favours shown to D'Avenant by Charles II.	282
Appearance of Actresses on the Stage in the reign of Charles II.	283
Betterton, the Actor	283
Dryden's Tragedies	283
Rise of the School of Genteel Comedy in the reign of Charles II.	283
The English Opera in the reign of Charles II.	283
Purcell's 'King Arthur'	283
Theatrical Literature of the present day	284
The Italian Opera House erected by Vanbrugh at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century	284
Ill success of the Italian Opera at its first Opening	284
Musical Entertainments given in Italian at York Buildings in 1703	285
Dramatic Italian piece brought out at Drury Lane in 1705	285
Attempts to introduce the Italian Opera into England	285
Peformance of 'Almahide' in the Italian Language, and by Italian Performers, in 1710	285
Popularity soon obtained in England by the Italian Performers	285
Licence obtained by Killigrew for the formation of a Company to play at the Cockpit in Drury Lane	285
Drury Lane Theatre purchased by Garrick and Lacy in 1745	285
Sheridan part-proprietor of Drury Lane in 1776	285
Drury Lane destroyed by fire in 1809	285
Covent Garden Theatre opened in 1733	286
Covent Garden burnt down in 1808	286
Covent Garden Theatre rebuilt by Smirke in 1809	286
Stage Reformation carried on by Kemble	286
Cause of the O. P. Riots	286
Haymarket Theatre erected about 1720	286
Foote's Performances at the Haymarket	286
Lesser places of Dramatic Entertainment in London	286
Injury done to the principal Theatres by the lesser houses	287

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
63. View of the Old Stage and Balcony	Fairholt	Sears	273
64. The Paris Garden Theatre, Southwark	"	"	275
65. The Globe Theatre, Bankside	Shepherd	Holloway	277
66. The Fortune Theatre, Golden Lane, Barbican, as it appeared in 1790	Fairholt	"	279
67. The Adelphi Theatre	B. Sly	Burrows	287
68. Covent Garden Theatre	Shepherd	Whiting	288

CXIX.—THE TREASURY.

	Page
The Treasury the key-stone of the Arch of Government	289
The Royal Treasury of England manufactured out of a Cockpit	289
Tennis-court and Cockpit constructed at Whitehall by Henry VIII.	289
The Treasury Office kept at the Cockpit, near Whitehall, in 1708	290
Print of the Treasury in Pennant's 'London'	290
Plan of the Interior of the Treasury in the British Museum	290
Account given in the 'Londinum Redivivum' of the Rise and Progress of the Treasury Buildings	291
Description of the Treasury given by Dodsley in 1761	291
The Cockpit still existing in 1761	291
The Exchequer lodged in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey in the reign of Edward I.	291
The Duties of Treasurer in the reign of Edward I.	291
Exchequer of Receipt	292
The Court of Exchequer the lowest in rank of the four Courts of Westminster	292
The Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being nominally one of the Judges	292
Sir Robert Walpole the last Chancellor of the Exchequer who sat in a judicial capacity	292
The Court of Exchequer formerly held in the King's Palace	292
The Treasury robbed in the reign of Edward I.	292
Derivations assigned to the name Exchequer	293
Removal of the Exchequer from Westminster to Northampton in 1210	293
Difficulty of ascertaining the precise locality of the Exchequer during the Wars of the Roses	293
The Exchequer a check upon the malversation of the Treasurer	294
Business of the Exchequer in its simplest form	294
Office of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury at Whitehall	294
The Chancellor of the Exchequer not unfrequently the same person with the First Lord of the Treasury	294
Old forms of transacting business long retained in the Exchequer	294
Strange designations of the Officials of the Exchequer	295
Present system of the Exchequer	295
Forms in use in the Exchequer up to 1831	295
The real business of Finance formerly transacted by the Clerks of the Bank of England	295
All Payments nominally made into the Exchequer formerly received by the Bank	295
Deleterious influence of the old system of the Exchequer	296
The old formalities of the Exchequer abolished	297
Personal associations of the Treasury	297
Clerks in Government Offices	297
Familiarity with great objects erroneously supposed to expand the Mind	298
The Government Office Clerk's routine of Life	298
The young Government Clerk	299
The subordinate Government Clerk	299
The Irish Government Clerk	300
Characteristics of the Scotch Government Clerk	300
The Treasury the centre of the Kingdom of Government Clerks	301
Statesmen who have presided at the Treasury since the reign of Anne	301
Sir Robert Walpole	301
The talent of governing an instinct with Pitt	301
Pitt's power of Oratory in a great measure artificial	301
Prominent place occupied by the Treasury in political caricatures and lampoons	302
Caricatures of Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Argyle	302
Gilray's attack upon the Treasury	303
Devices by which Metaphor and Allegory have attempted to represent the Treasury and its Influence	303
Reverence entertained by some for the Treasury	303

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
69. The Treasury, from St. James's Park, 1775	Shepherd	Nugent	289
70. Board of Trade, &c., on the site of the old Cockpit	Shepherd, Jun.	Wragg	304

CXX.—THE HORTICULTURAL AND ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETIES.

	Page
Horticultural Exhibition at Chiswick in June, 1843	305
Tent at Chiswick for the Exhibition of new seedling Plants and Flowers	306
The Fruit Tent	306
Innumerable Specimens of all the finest flowering Plants brought to Chiswick from all parts of the Kingdom	307
The Glass Conservatory at Chiswick	307
Character of the Assemblage at the Chiswick Horticultural Exhibition	307
Beauty of the Women of England	308
Number and Value of the Prizes given by the Horticultural Society	308
Services rendered to Horticulture since the establishment of the Society in 1820	309
Objects of the Founders of the Horticultural Society	309
Gardens and Orchard of the Horticultural Society	309
Scarcity of Plants known in England until the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century	309
Most of the Fruits and Vegetables now cultivated in England introduced by the Romans	309
Privileges of the Fellows of the Horticultural Society	309
Expenditure of the Horticultural Society for the Year 1842	309
Importation of Foreign Plants and Seeds by the Horticultural Society	310
Gardens in the Middle Ages	310
Description given by James I. of Scotland of the Garden of Windsor Castle	310
Gardens in the Suburbs of London in the reign of Henry II.	310
Gardening in the Sixteenth Century	311
The Knotted Garden	311
Vegetable Productions for the Table in the reign of Henry VIII.	312
Gardens of Nonsuch	312

	Page
Introduction of the Lilac-tree about the middle of the Seventeenth Century	312
Features of the Gardens of the Sixteenth Century	312
Illustration of a popular superstition in Quintinye's 'Complete Gardener'	312
Changes of Taste in Gardening since the Sixteenth Century	313
Greenwich and St. James's Parks laid out under the direction of Le Nôtre in the reign of Charles II.	313
Kensington Gardens commenced by William III.	313
Kensington Gardens laid out by Wise in the reign of Anne	314
Rise of a more natural Taste in gardening in the reign of Anne	314
Waller's Garden at Beaconsfield	314
Kensington Gardens enlarged under the superintendence of Bridgeman	314
Formation of the Serpentine in Hyde Park	314
Evidence given by Mr. Loudon of the state of the general ideas on the Subject of Garden or Landscape Scenery	314
Kent the first true English Landscape Artist	315
The Gardens at Claremont and Esher laid out by Kent	315
The oldest Botanic Gardens in England those of Oxford and Chelsea	315
One of the earliest attempts to supply Plants with artificial heat made at Chelsea in 1684	315
Chelsea Gardens under the management of Philip Miller for a period of nearly Fifty Years	315
Arboretum at Kew established in 1760	315
The Arboretum at Kew greatly inferior to the Collection in the Gardens of the Horticultural Society	315
The Year 1815 the period from which the commencement of the present prosperity of English gardening may be dated	316
The Horticultural Society the chief moving impulse of gardening in the present Day	316
Services rendered to Botany by the Royal Botanic Society of London	316
Incorporation of the Botanic Society in 1839	316
Grounds of the Botanic Society in the Regent's Park	317
Winter Garden about to be erected in the Grounds of the Botanic Society	317
Collection of Agricultural Plants in the Botanical Gardens	318
Proposed Museum in the Botanical Gardens	318
American Plants in the Botanical Gardens	318
Appropriate and Poetical Names for Flowers chosen by Linnæus	319
Andromeda and Perseus	319
View from the Mount in the Botanical Gardens	319

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
71. The Horticultural Gardens during an Exhibition	Tiffin	Jackson	305
72. Interior of the Conservatory, Horticultural Gardens	"	"	308
73. A Knotted Garden	Fairholt	Kirchner	311
74. Bowling Green	R. W. Buss	Landells	313
75. Gardens of the Royal Botanical Society, Regent's Park	Tiffin	Jackson	320

CXXI.—PRISONS AND PENITENTIARIES.

Number of Persons taken into Custody by the Metropolitan Police in the Year 1839	321
Highway Robberies, Burglaries, House and Shop-breaking, more frequent in the Suburbs than in the Metropolis	321
Average of Burglaries fewer in London than in the Country	322
Preponderance of Pocket-picking and Forgery in Middlesex	322
Greater proportion of Female Criminals in the Metropolis	322
Amount of loss by Robbery in the Metropolitan Police District in 1838	322
Return made by the Constabulary Commissioners of the Number of Depredators and Offenders against the Law	323
Return made by the Constabulary Commissioners of the Number of Houses open for the Accommodation of Delinquency and Vice in London	323
Number of Persons supporting themselves by Criminal Pursuits in London	324
Proportion of known bad Characters in the Metropolis	324
Total Number of notoriously bad Characters in the Parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark	324
Kent Street and the Mint the most notorious districts in London for their vicious population	324
Causes of Vice in London	324
Eighteen Prisons in London in the Year 1796	325
Newgate a Gaol in the reign of King John	325
The Marshalsea and King's Bench both ancient Prisons	325
Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., confined by Judge Gascoigne in the King's Bench	325
The King's Bench thrown open during the Gordon Riots	325
Extent of the jurisdiction of the Marshalsea Prison	325
The White Lion Prison in Southwark	325
The postern of Cripplegate used as a Prison in the Thirteenth Century	325
Present Number of the Metropolitan Prisons	325
The Fleet Prison and the Marshalsea discontinued in 1842	325
Old Prison Regulations	325
Prisons in London used exclusively for Debtors	326
Old Newgate Prison pulled down and re-built between 1778 and 1780	326
Improvements made at Newgate since the commencement of the Nineteenth Century	326
Attempts made at a classification of the Prisoners in Newgate	326
Duties of the Chaplain of Newgate Thirty Years ago	326
Newgate formerly a positive Institution for the Encouragement of Vice	327
The Classification of Prisons proposed by the Parliamentary Committee on Metropolitan Gaols in 1818	327
Attempts of Mrs. Fry to improve the Female Prisoners in Newgate	327
Occupations and Amusements of the Female Prisoners in Newgate in 1808	327

	Page
The Discipline and Administration of Newgate still defective	328
Report of the Inspectors of Prisons on the State of Newgate in 1843	328
Giltspur Street Compter	329
About 6000 Prisoners Annually Committed to Giltspur Street	329
Giltspur Street the most insecure of the Metropolitan Prisons	329
Total Number of Persons confined in Bridewell in the Year 1842	330
Report of the Inspectors of Prisons on the City Bridewell	330
Coldbath Fields Prison the largest and most important in England for Criminal purposes	330
Number of Prisoners confined in Coldbath Fields Prison in 1841	330
Discipline and proceedings of the Coldbath Fields Prison	331
Prison Offences in Coldbath Fields Prison in the Year 1842	331
Punishments in Coldbath Fields	332
Clerkenwell Prison established by Patent granted by James I.	332
Demoralising effects of Imprisonment in Clerkenwell Prison	332
The Westminster Bridewell erected in 1834	332
Horsemonger Lane Prison under the jurisdiction of the Surrey County Magistrates	332
The Silent System in operation for the convicted Prisoners in Horsemonger Lane	332
History of Improvements in Prisons and Prison Discipline	333
Howard's Work on 'The State of Prisons in England and Wales'	333
Bentham's Plan for Prison Management	333
The Penitentiary at Millbank commenced in 1813	333
The Separate System brought into operation in England in 1790	333
Unhealthy situation of the Millbank Penitentiary	333
The Penitentiary in future to be designated the Millbank Prison	334
Relaxation of the Separate System in Millbank Prison in consequence of an increase in the Number of Insane Prisoners	334
Plan of the Millbank Prison	334
Mode of Discipline adopted at the New Model Prison at Pentonville	334
Commissioners for the Control of the Model Prison nominated by the Queen in Council	335
Objects to be kept in view at the Model Prison explained by Sir James Graham	335
Internal arrangements of the Model Prison	335
Treatment of the Prisoners in the Model Prison	335

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
76. The Model Prison, Pentonville	Anelay	Jackson	321
77. Newgate	„	Sly	336

CXXII.—LONDON NEWSPAPERS.

A Newspaper indispensable to the Englishman	337
Newspapers in the Colonies	337
The Newspaper a European Invention	338
The *Acta Diurna* of the Romans	338
Publicity given to all the Proceedings of the Senate during the Consulship of Julius Cæsar	338
Private Gazetteers in London before the introduction of Printed Newspapers	338
Mode of communicating Military and Commercial News resorted to by the Venetian Government	338
'The English Mercurie' preserved in the British Museum	339
The News Book	339
Object of the private News Publisher	339
Government Gazettes	339
Periodical Newspapers first published at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century	340
'The News of the Present Week,' the first Weekly Newspaper in England	340
Difference between the London and Parisian Type of Newspapers	340
Paris the Focus of the Intellectual Activity of Europe	340
Difference between the Political Character and Relations of London and Paris	341
Difference in the Historical Development of the Frame of Government in France and England	341
'The Intelligencer'	341
The Manufacture of English Newspapers for a long time confined exclusively to London	342
The 'Norwich Postman' published in 1706	342
The 'Mercurius Politicus' printed at Leith in 1652	342
The earliest permanent Scotch Newspapers	342
All new Provincial Newspapers framed upon the Model of the London Journals	342
The greater part of London Newspapers printed and published in the Strand and Fleet Street	342
Three distinct Classes of Persons employed about Newspapers	342
Capital Invested in the Daily Papers of London	343
The 'Times' taken as an Example of the Manner in which a Daily Paper is got up	343
Duties of the Editors and Reporters of the 'Times'	343
Process of Reporting Parliamentary Debates	343
Printing of the 'Times'	344
Size of the 'Times'	344
Extract from the Returns of the Newspaper Stamp and Advertisement Duty	344
Management of a Weekly Paper Establishment	345
Offices of the Weekly Papers in Fleet Street	345
Business of the Publisher of a Newspaper	346
Small Newsvenders	346
The Radical Newsvender	347
The London Newspaper Agent	347
Supply of London Newspapers to the Provinces	348
Activity set in Motion in order to keep up the London Newspapers	348
Sunday and Saturday alike Days of Sale with the Newsvender	348
The Newsvenders' Boy	349
Dinner given by the Proprietors of the London Papers to the Newsvenders and their Servants	349
Intellectual Character of British Journalists	349
Alleged Superiority of the French Newspaper Press over the English	350

	Page
Character of Mercantile Speculation preponderating in English Newspapers	350
The Daily Papers less Narrators of Events than Mirrors of the Transactions themselves	350
Newspapers at one Time not allowed to report the Proceedings of Parliament	350
Wearisome Fidelity with which the Debates in Parliament are reported in the Daily Papers	350
Strongly-marked Spirit of Individuality of each of the leading Daily Papers	350
Characteristics of the 'Times'	350
Characteristics of the principal Daily Papers	351
The exclusively Literary Papers	351
The leading Political Weekly Papers	351
'Bell's Life in London' the only exclusively Sporting Paper	351
The Fashionable Papers	351
Agricultural Papers	351
Commercial Journals	351
Special Journals of almost every Glass and Profession	351
Newspapers of Religious Sects	352
Illustrated Newspapers	352

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
78. 'A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament'	B. Sly	Sly	337
79. 'Glorious News.'—Horn-boys	Anelay	Jackson	352

CXXIII.—THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c. IN THE ADELPHI.

Services rendered by the Society of Arts	353
The Society of Arts established in 1754	353
The Society of Arts settled in the Adelphi in 1774	354
Figure of Peace sent to the Society of Arts by Bacon in 1758	354
Bacon's Works now at the Adelphi	354
Rewards of Merit given by the Society of Arts	354
First public Exhibition of Paintings in England in the Rooms of the Society of Arts	354
Services rendered by the Society of Arts to the Manufactures and Commerce of England	354
Impulse given to the Growth of Forest Trees by the Society of Arts	354
Movement in Agriculture made through the Agency of the Society of Arts	354
Improvements made in Chemistry, Manufactures, and Mechanics generally, through the Means of the Society of Arts	355
Rewards given by the Society of Arts to the Bethnal Green and Spitalfields Weavers	355
Distinguishing Features of the Society of Arts	355
Rewards given by, and general Proceedings of, the Society of Arts during the Year 1842	355
Model-Room of the Society of Arts	356
Course pursued by the Society of Arts in bestowing Rewards or Premiums	357
Subjects for which Premiums are offered by the Society of Arts	357
Improvement capable of being made in the Society of Arts	358
Characteristics of Barry	359
Struggles of Barry in the early Part of his Career	360
The Decoration of St. Paul's proposed to the Royal Academy	360
Offer of Barry to decorate the Rooms of the Society of Arts	361
Magnitude of Barry's Undertaking	361
The Principle of Civilization forcibly embodied in Barry's Picture of Orpheus	362
Alterations made by Barry in his Etching of his Picture of 'Orpheus civilizing the Inhabitants of Thrace'	362
Barry's 'Grecian Harvest Home'	363
'The Victors at Olympia'	363
Diagoras of Rhodes	363
Barry represented by himself in the Character of Timanthes in the 'Victors at Olympia'	364
Canova's Testimony to the Merits of Barry's Picture of the 'Victors at Olympia'	364
Failure of the fourth of Barry's Pictures	364
Barry's Picture of the Meeting of the Members of the Society of Arts for the Annual Distribution of the Premiums	365
Barry's 'View of Elysium'	365
Answer of Barry to the Objections raised against 'Elysium'	365
Grouping of the Characters in Barry's 'Elysium'	366
Features in the 'View of Elysium' conspicuously exhibiting Barry's Judgment	366
Anecdotes relating to the 'View of Elysium' told in Cunningham's 'Lives of the Painters'	367
Barry's Mode of Subsistence during the Progress of his Work	367
Completion of Barry's Paintings in 1783	367
Exhibition of Barry's Pictures for his Benefit	367
Sum of Money gained by the Exhibition of Barry's Paintings	367
Money presented to Barry on the Completion of his Work	367

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
80. Barry's Pictures—Grecian Harvest Home	Dukes	Sears	353
81. Model Room of the Society	Anelay	Jackson	357
82. Portrait of Barry	Melville	Holloway	359
83. Barry's Pictures—Orpheus Civilizing the Inhabitants of Thrace	Dukes	Vasey	362
84. Barry's Pictures—The Victors at Olympia	"	Whiting	364
85. Barry's Pictures—View of Elysium	"	Burrows	366
86. Barry's Pictures—Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution	"	Sears	368

CXXIV.—MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HOSPITALS AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

	Page
The London Hospitals more eminent as Schools of Medicine than for their influence as Social Institutions	369
Limited Capacity of the London Hospitals	369
St. Bartholomew's Hospital Founded in 1122	369
St. Bartholomew's Hospital granted to the City in 1548	370
St. Bartholomew's Hospital newly Incorporated in 1544	370
Expenditure of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1552	370
Present Income of St. Bartholomew's Hospital	370
Interior of St. Bartholomew's Hospital	370
Range of Buildings at the back of the Western Wing of St. Bartholomew's Hospital	371
St. Thomas's Hospital originally a Religious Establishment	371
St. Thomas's Hospital opened for the reception of Diseased People in 1552	371
Gross Annual Income of St. Thomas's Hospital	371
Additions made to St. Thomas's Hospital in 1732	371
The Museum of St. Thomas's Hospital	371
The Founder of Guy's Hospital	372
Bequests to Guy's Hospital since its Foundation	372
Statue of Mr. Guy in the Square of Guy's Hospital	372
Arrangement of the Interior of Guy's Hospital	372
Lunatic House belonging to Guy's Hospital	372
Botanic Garden of Guy's Hospital	373
Constitution of the London Hospitals	373
Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital	373
The Government of Guy's Hospital settled by its Founder	373
Medical and Surgical Establishment at St. Bartholomew's	373
Duties of the Hospital Dressers	374
The Sisters of the Wards	374
Duties of the Hospital Nurse	374
Most Common Offences against the Hospital Regulations	374
Form of Admission to the London Hospitals	375
Average Number of Daily Admissions into the London Hospitals	375
General Arrangement and Regulations of St. Thomas's Hospital	375
Arrangements and Regulations of Guy's Hospital	375
Importance of the Great London Hospitals as Schools of Medicine	376
John Hunter's Medical Lectures, the first ever delivered in London	376
Medical Lectures delivered by Mr. Abernethy	376
Advantages of a Medical School connected with a Hospital	376
The Schools of Surgery of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospital United, from 1760 to 1825	376
The Office of Anatomical Lecturer at St. Thomas's filled for many years by Sir Astley Cooper	376
Privileges of the Students in Guy's Restricted by the Authorities of St. Thomas's Hospital	377
Westminster Hospital Established in 1719	377
Establishment of St. George's Hospital in 1733	377
The London Hospital removed to Whitechapel in 1759	377
The Floating Hospital	378
The Middlesex Hospital Established in 1740	378
Date of the Establishment of the Principal Hospitals of London	378
Population of the Principal General Hospitals of London on the day of the Census in 1841.	378
Sanatorium in the New Road Opened in 1842	379
Lying-in-Hospitals in different parts of the Metropolis	379
Number of Lunatics and Idiots in Confinement within the limits of the Metropolitan Lunacy Commissioners	379
Bethlem Hospital Founded as a Convent in 1247	379
The House of Bethlem converted into an Hospital in 1330	379
Purchase of Bethlem by the City in 1546	379
Bethlem Hospital under the Control of the Governors of Bridewell	379
Funds of Bethlem Hospital	380
Total Income of the Real and Personal Estate of Bethlem Hospital for the year ending Christmas, 1836	380
Description of Old Bethlem Hospital in 1632	380
New Bethlem Hospital Commenced in 1675	380
Description of Bethlem Hospital in an Edition of Stow, in 1754	381
Report of a Committee in April, 1799, on the state of Bethlem Hospital	381
Present Site of Bethlem Hospital settled in 1810	381
Steps taken to obtain the Necessary Funds for the Building of Bethlem Hospital	381
Completion of Bethlem Hospital in 1815	382
The Wings of Bethlem Hospital appropriated to Criminal Lunatics	382
Additions made to Bethlem Hospital in 1837	382
Regulations and Arrangements of Bethlem Hospital	382
Brutal system of Treatment formerly carried on at Bethlem	382
Report of a Committee Appointed in 1598 to view Bethlem	382
Indiscriminate admission of Visitants to Bethlem Hospital	383
Exposure in 1814 of the Wretched System pursued at Bethlem	383
Description of one of the Women's Galleries in Bethlem Hospital	383
Improvements in the System of Management at Bethlem Commenced about 1816	383
St. Luke's Hospital opened in 1751	383
Income of St. Luke's Hospital	384
Lunatic Asylum for the County of Middlesex, situated at Hanwell	384
Admirable System of Management at the Hanwell Lunatic Asylum	384

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
87. Bartholomew's Hospital	ANELAY	JACKSON	369
88. St. George's Hospital	"	"	377
89. Bethlem Hospital	"	"	384

CXXV.—LONDON SHOPS AND BAZAARS.

	Page
The Shops of London in themselves a very Cyclopædia of Knowledge	385
The Shops of London among the most suggestive of all Subjects for Reflection	385
General Character of the Shops in Old London	386
Old Houses in Gray's Inn Lane	386
The Bazaar System more extensively adopted in London in the Twelfth Century than at the present time	386
Names of the older London Streets	386
Eating-houses on the Banks of the Thames in the Twelfth Century	386
The Frippery or Clothes-shops of the Time of the Edwards and Henrys	387
Print in Smith's 'Antiquities of London' of an old House formerly standing in Chancery Lane	387
Shop-windows common in the reign of Edward VI.	387
Print of Winchester Street, London Wall, in Smith's 'Antiquities of London'	388
Representations of old Houses in London given in Smith's 'Antiquities of London'	388
Sash-windows to Shops introduced about the beginning of the Eighteenth Century	388
Universal practice of placing Sign-boards over Shops until the commencement of the Eighteenth Century	388
Itinerant Shops in London in the Eighteenth Century	389
Progress of Improvement in the London Shops	389
Picture of the London Shops given in Southey's 'Letters of Espriella'	389
The Public Houses of London	389
Taverns and Gin Palaces	389
The London Tavern-keeper	389
Interior of the London Gin Palaces	389
Splendour of the Gin Palaces situated in the Seven Dials and Whitechapel	390
Respectability of the Taverns at the West End of London	390
Bakers' Shops in London	391
Advance made by Chemists in Shop Architecture and Arrangements	391
Little change which has taken place in the Butchers' Shops in London	391
Magnificence of the Grocers' Shops of the Metropolis	391
The Shops devoted to the Sale of Wearing Apparel the most remarkable in London	391
The Principle of Competition driven farther in the Drapery Business than in most others	391
Effects of the Rise of Cotton Manufactures in England	391
The Goods exposed in the Drapers' Shops in Whitechapel generally of an humble and cheap Kind	392
Extraordinary Shop in Aldgate	392
Magnificence of the Drapers' Shops in St. Paul's Churchyard	392
Draper's Shop on Ludgate Hill	392
Remarks in the 'Westminster Review' on the Architecture of the Draper's Shop on Ludgate Hill	392
Elegance of the Shops in Oxford Street	393
Observations in the 'Companion to the Almanac' on a Draper's Shop at the Southern End of the Quadrant in Regent Street	393
System of Competition carried on in the London Shops	394
Changes in Shop Arrangements	394
Letters to attract Notice over Shop Windows	394
Catch-words in Shops to attract the Notice of the Passers-by	394
Undersellers	394
Remarks in Defoe's 'Complete Tradesman' on underselling	394
Tailors' and Hatters' Shops	395
Fanciful Arrangements of Modern Times exhibited in the Shops of the Bootmakers of London	395
A Modern English Bazaar not a genuine representative of the Class	395
Articles sold in the Soho Bazaar	396
Rules of the Soho Bazaar	396
Interior of the Pantheon Bazaar	396
Commodities sold at the Pantechnicon	397
Chief commodities displayed in the Baker Street Bazaar	397
The North London Repository	397
The Burlington and Lowther Arcades	397
Multifarious articles displayed in the Window of a Pawnbroker's Shop	397
Brokers' Shops	398
Curiosity Shops in Wardour Street	398
Cellar Shops in Monmouth Street	398
Shops for the Sale of Second-hand Garments in Holywell Street and Field Lane	398
Assemblage of Shops for the Sale of old Commodities in the vicinity of Drury Lane	398
The daily economy of London Shops	398
Opening of London Shops in the Morning	399
Art and dexterity displayed in the arrangement of the commodities in Drapers' and Mercers' Shops	399
Duties of the Shop Walker	399
Brilliancy of the London Shops at Night	399
The question of Shop-shutting a subject of much discussion	399
Sketch given in Defoe's 'Complete Tradesman' of Shopkeeping in 1727	400

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
90. Old Shop, corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane, in 1799	Fairholt	Slader	385
91. A Frippery	"	Sears	387
92. Kemble Tavern, Bow Street, Long Acre	"	Holloway	390
93. Shop in Regent Street	Shepherd	Gorway	393
94. Pantheon Bazaar	Anelay	Jackson	400

[Prerogative Will-Office.]

CI.—DOCTORS' COMMONS.

Among those mysterious places which one constantly hears of, without being able very clearly to understand, is that known by the scarcely less mysterious appellation of Doctors' Commons. We are aware that it is a locality which has a great deal to do with wills, and something with matrimony—that husbands, for instance, go there to get rid of unfaithful wives—wives of unfaithful or cruel husbands; and that, we believe, is about the extent of the general information on the subject. Many, no doubt, like ourselves, have thrown a passing glance into that well-known gateway in the south-western corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, with a vague sentiment of curiosity and expectation, and have added as little as we have to their slender stock of information by so doing: the most noticeable feature being the board affixed to the wall by the "Lodge," calling on strangers to "stop," and warning them against the blandishments of certain porters; whilst, as an amusing commentary, one of the said offenders is sure to come up to you with a delightful air of unconscious innocence to repeat the offence. But the desire to serve their fellow-creatures is evidently a passion with the porters of Doctors' Commons: there is nothing they are not prepared to do for you, even if it be to offer to relieve your failing sight by reading aloud the very warning in question. Well, we have no cause to answer or to institute, so are in no

danger of being seduced into employing our volunteer guide's favourite proctor: but he shall lead us through these comparatively unknown regions. The word Lodge naturally makes us look for the edifice of which it is an appendage, and as we pass through the gateway a stately house, on the right of the small open square, presents itself, enclosed within lofty walls: but that, it appears, is the Dean of St. Paul's house. As we step into Carter Lane, we are reminded of the palace formerly standing here, called the Royal Wardrobe, and to which the widow of the Black Prince, the once "Fair Maid of Kent," was brought after the frightful scene in the Tower, in 1381, when the followers of Wat Tyler broke into it, murdered the chief men they found there, and treated her so rudely that she fell senseless; and here in the evening of the same day her son King Richard joined her. From Carter Lane a narrow passage leads us into Knight Rider Street, deriving its name from the circumstance, as our guide informs us, with a smile and a look which seem to express his wonder at his own learning, that the train of mounted knights used to pass through this street in the olden time on their way from the Tower to the tournaments in Smithfield. That fact having been duly impressed, he next points out to us the famous Heralds' College on Bennett's Hill; and, lastly, the inscription over a plain-looking building opposite, "the Prerogative Will Office"—one of the most interesting and important features of Doctors' Commons. Persons are passing rapidly in and out the narrow court, their bustle alone disturbing the marked quiet of the neighbourhood. At the end of the court we ascend a few steps and open a door, when the scene exhibited in the engraving at the head of this paper is before us. At first all seems hurry and confusion, or at least as if every one had a great deal of work to do, in a very insufficient space of time. Rapidly from the top to the bottom of the page run the fingers of the solicitors' clerks, as they turn over leaf after leaf of the bulky volumes they are examining at the desks in the centre, long practice having taught them to discover at a glance the object of their search; rapidly move to and fro those who are fetching from the shelves or carrying back to them the said volumes; rapidly glide the pens of the numerous copyists who are transcribing or making extracts from wills in all those little boxes along the sides of the room. But as we begin to look a little more closely into the densely packed occupants of the central space, we see persons whose air and manners exhibit a striking difference to those around them: there is no misunderstanding that they are neither solicitors nor solicitors' clerks acting for others, but parties whose own interests may be materially affected by the result of their search. Even that weather-beaten sailor just come in, whose face one would think proof against sensibility of any kind, reveals the anxiety of its owner. He has just returned probably from some long voyage, and one can fancy him to have come hither to see whether the relative, who, the newspapers have informed him, is dead, has left him, as he expected, the means of settling down quietly at home at Deptford, or Greenwich, or some other sailor's paradise. He steps up to the box here on our right hand, just by the entrance, pays his shilling, and gets a ticket, with a direction to the calendar where he is to search for the name of the deceased. He must surely be spelling every name in that page he has last turned over; aye, there it is; and he now hurries off, as directed, with the calendar, to the person pointed out to him as the clerk of searches. A

volume from one of the shelves is immediately laid before him, the place is found, and there lies the object of his hopes and fears—the eventful will. Line by line you can see his face grow darker and darker—a grim smile at last appears—he has not been forgotten—there is a ring perhaps—or five-pounds to buy one, or some such trifle: the book is hastily closed; and the sailor hurries back to his old privations and dangers, deprived of all that had so long helped him to pass through them with patience, if not cheerfulness. Here again is a picture of another kind: a lady, dressed in a style of the showiest extravagance, whose business is evidently of a more important kind than a mere search—an executrix probably—is just leaving the office, when at the door she is met by another lady, with so low a curtesy, and with such an expression of malice in the countenance, as at once tells the story confirmed by their respective appearances. The successful and the unsuccessful have met. The former, however, hurries away, or we should have a scene from nature, that Fielding or Molière might have been pleased to witness.

When we consider the immense amount of business transacted in this Court, we need not wonder at the bustle that prevails in a place of such limited dimensions. As the law at present stands, if a person die possessed of property lying entirely within the diocese where he died, probate or proof of the will is made or administration taken out before the Bishop or Ordinary of that diocese; but if there were goods and chattels only to the amount of 5*l.** (in legal parlance, *bona notabilia*) within any other diocese, and which is generally the case, then the jurisdiction lies in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of the province, that is, either at York or at Doctors' Commons—the latter, we need hardly say, being the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The two Prerogative Courts therefore engross the great proportion of the business of this kind through the country; for although the Ecclesiastical Courts have no power over the bequests of or succession to unmixed real property, if such were left, cases of that nature seldom or never occur. And, as between the two provinces, not only is that of Canterbury much more important and extensive, but since the introduction of the funding system, and the extensive diffusion of such property, nearly all wills of importance belonging even to the province of York are also proved in Doctor's Commons, on account of the rule of the Bank of England to acknowledge no probates of wills but from thence. To this cause, among others, may be attributed the striking fact that the business of this Court between the three years ending with 1789, and the three years ending with 1829, had been doubled. The number of wills proved in the latter period was about 6500, the number of administrations granted (that is, where no will had been left) about 3500; since then, we believe, the business has not materially increased. Of the vast number of persons affected, or at least interested in this business, we see, not only from the crowded room before us, but from the statement given in the Report of the Select Committee on the Admiralty and other Courts of Doctors' Commons in 1833, where it appears that in one year (1829) the number of searches amounted to nearly 30,000. In the same year extracts were taken from wills in 6414 cases. Should any of our readers wonder how this latter estimate is obtained, or why it should be necessary to employ the office clerks in so many

* Except in the Diocese of London, where the amount is 10*l.*

instances, if that be the explanation given, let him amuse himself by stepping into the office, and call for one of the great treasures of the place—nay, the greatest—Shakspere's will. As he gazes with reverential eyes on the writing that bequeathed the poet's property to his offspring, traced by the same fingers that from boyhood upwards had seldom touched paper but to bequeath wealth beyond all price to posterity,—as he pauses over even the most indifferent words, hoping to find some latent meaning, or turns with a feeling of heartfelt congratulation to the passage respecting Shakspere's wife, till of late so inexplicable, if not painful—now, through the recent discovery, so clear and satisfactory*—he will very likely feel an inclination to copy some remarkable phrase or sentence. But as he unwittingly takes out a pencil for that purpose, in the very sight of one of the officers passing at the time, who shall paint the horror that overspreads the countenance of the latter! A pencil in the hands of a stranger in the Prerogative Court!—it is well for the offender that Prerogative has grown comparatively mild and amiable of late centuries, or at least that its claws have been very closely pared, which comes to the same thing, for else there is no saying what might not be the consequence. In sober truth, there is something very ludicrous in the excessive jealousy shown in this matter. Sir W. Betham complained that they would not, even for genealogical purposes, allow a person to make a memorandum or list of wills from the *index*, much less from the office *copies* of wills; and, in consequence, one naturally wonders how much of this is proper and necessary for the safety of the documents, to prevent their being tampered with, and how much of it is produced by the contemplation of the profits made from the enforced employment of those busy gentlemen in the boxes. In other points the management of the office is admirable. Wills, of whatever date, are always to be found at half an hour's notice—generally a very few minutes suffice. They are kept (those only excepted which have come in recently, and have not passed through the preliminary processes of engrossing, registering, and calendaring,) in a fire-proof room called the Strong Room. The original wills begin with the date of 1483, the copies from 1383. The latter are on parchment, strongly bound with brass clasps, and so numerous as to fill with dingy-looking volumes every nook and corner of the public room, and also partially to occupy a room above stairs. We must add to this notice of the Office, that in country cases, when it is inconvenient for parties to come to London to be sworn, commissions are issued. The number of such commissions issued in one year (1832) was 4580, besides 300 special commissions for particular cases, such as of limited administrations, special probates of trust property, and the wills of married women.

But what, it may be and no doubt often is asked, is the meaning of the connection between the Church and wills,—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the goodly estate left by the retired cheesemonger who died last week? The answer is a somewhat startling one. Dr. Nicholl, in his recent speech in the House of Commons, referring to the testamentary causes, says, "These came under such jurisdiction at a period when the bishops and other clergy claimed the property of intestates to be applied to pious uses, without even being required to pay their debts. In the course of time this claim had been considerably limited, and

* See 'Pictorial Shakspere;' note on Postscript to 'Twelfth Night.'

the clergy were obliged to pay the debts of the intestate out of his property before any of it could be applied to pious uses. Subsequent restrictions had, however, required that the property of the intestate should be given to his widow and children; and afterwards it was enacted, that where such relations did not exist, the property should go to the next of kin, and, failing these, should go to the Crown." So that, instead of being surprised that so much of our property should pass into the jurisdiction of the Church, we have reason rather to be thankful in many cases that it ever comes out again. As the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in testamentary causes is not an isolated feature of Doctors' Commons, but, on the contrary, both in its origin and history, intimately connected with the other Courts we are about to mention, and as so much of that jurisdiction is at this very moment passing away by the consent of the heads of the Church itself, we must enter a little more closely into the matter. All readers of history are familiar with the endeavours made by the priesthood in every country of Europe, after the complete establishment of Christianity, to obtain authority in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; endeavours which were nowhere more characterised by greater pertinacity and boldness than in England, because nowhere more energetically resisted; and, though defeated in their grand object of reducing our sovereigns to a state of vassalage to the Pope, even if they could not get the sovereign power itself vested in ecclesiastics, as they did in some of the states of the great German confederation, yet, short of that, their influence could hardly have been much greater than it was in this country for some centuries. And it could not well be otherwise. Being the only large class of persons that could be deemed an instructed one, during the middle ages, power naturally flowed into their hands, and though used no doubt in the main more for the benefit of the people than it could have been if vested elsewhere, was, it is equally doubtless, perverted to their own selfish gratifications. Hence their enormous wealth, hence their countless privileges, by which they were enabled to avoid all the duties of citizenship, and obtain a thousand advantages which just citizenship cannot bestow; hence their castles and hosts of retainers; hence their full-blown pride and ambition. But the most striking evidence of their power, and, we must add, of their comparative fitness for power, is the existence among us to this hour of the canon law, which is simply a collection of the ordinances, decrees, decretal epistles, and bulls issued by the Popes or the councils of the Roman Catholic Church, and the general tendency of which was to establish the supremacy of the spiritual over the merely temporal authority. A new system of law thus sprung up by the side of the Civil or Roman law, with which it became gradually connected. The earliest English Ecclesiastical Courts appear to have been established by the Conqueror William, and at the same time the Bishops were forbidden thenceforth to sit, as they had been accustomed, in the civil courts of the country, with laymen. By the time of Henry II. we read of the Courts of the Archbishop, Bishop, and Archdeacon. It was a critical period in the history of the Church. The struggle for supremacy began in the reign of William, and was for a great length of time hotly continued. To a certain extent the Ecclesiastics were successful. They established the partial authority of the canon law in their own courts, and they managed to introduce the civil law into the ordinary tribunals. But that was all. As regards their chief object, spiritual supremacy, they failed.

Their canon law was received, it is true, and became an important part of English jurisprudence, but received in the spirit of a "people" who had "taken it at their free liberty, by their own consent to be used among them, and not as laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate,"* and who, therefore, took considerable liberties with it in so doing. Not only, for example, have the kings and barons of our earlier history steadily opposed all its doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, but the most eminent lawyers at all times exhibited so little deference for its authority, that it gradually sank, with the civil law, into the position described by Blackstone, who observes, "that all the strength that either the papal or imperial laws have obtained in this realm, is only because they have been admitted and received by immemorial usage and custom, in some particular cases, and some particular courts; and then they form a branch of the *leges non scriptæ* (unwritten laws), or customary laws; or else because they are, in some other cases, introduced by consent of parliament, and then they owe their validity to the *leges scriptæ*, or statute law." To the former class essentially belong the courts of Doctors' Commons, and all the numerous minor ecclesiastical courts through the country—which are at once the chief remains of the civil and canon laws among us, and of the mighty temporal power formerly exercised by the church.

The chief courts of Doctors' Commons are—the Court of Arches, which is the supreme ecclesiastical court of the whole province; the Prerogative Court, where all contentions arising out of testamentary causes are tried; the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, which only differs from the other consistory courts throughout the country in its importance as including the metropolis in its sphere of operations; and the Court of Admiralty, which seems, at the first glance, oddly enough situated among such neighbours. All these hold their sittings in the Common Hall of the College, towards which we now direct our steps. We have not far to go. Some fifty yards or so up the street, we pass through an unpretending-looking gateway, and find ourselves in a square, surrounded on three sides with good old handsome houses, each door bearing the name of 'Dr.' —— some one, names mostly familiar to the public in connection with the reports of trials in Doctors' Commons; whilst in front is the entrance to the Hall, which projects into the square from the left, forming a portion of its fourth side. Without any architectural pretension, this is a handsome and exceedingly comfortable court. The dark polished wainscot reaching so high up the walls, whilst above are the richly-emblazoned coats of arms of all the Doctors for a century or two past; the fire burning so cheerily, this winter's day, in the stove in the centre; the picturesque dresses of the unengaged advocates in their scarlet and ermine, and of the proctors in their ermine and black, lounging about it; the peculiar arrangement of the business part of the Court, with its raised galleries on each side, for the opposing advocates; the absence of prisoner's dock or jury-box—nay, even of a public, of which we do not see a solitary representative—altogether impress the stranger with a sense of agreeable novelty. As to the business going on, it is a sitting of the Court of Arches; and the cause one of the least interesting of the subjects that come before this Court, which include, as in Chaucer's time, cases—

* Preamble to Statute 25 Hen. VIII.

[Hall of Doctors' Commons.]

'Of defamation, and avouterie,
Of church reves, and of testaments,
Of contracts, and lack of sacraments,
Of usure and simony also:"

besides those of sacrilege, blasphemy, apostacy from Christianity, adultery, partial or entire divorce, incest, solicitations of chastity, and a variety of others connected chiefly with the discipline of the Church, its buildings, and its officers: a formidable list of offences, when the Church was strong enough to enforce its powers, and, in case of conviction, to punish offenders with the infliction of fines and penances, or the more awful doom of excommunication. Almost the only criminal cases now brought before the ecclesiastical courts throughout England are those for defamation, generally of female character, and for brawling and smiting in churches, or places attached, as vestries. Penance for defamation, though almost banished from the supreme courts here, is still in practice, it appears, in the country. In connection with the dioceses of Exeter, Salisbury, and Norwich we read, in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the Ecclesiastical Courts, in 1832 (the Report on which the measures now pending are based) of cases of this kind;—but the ridicule and excitement caused by the appearance, in open church, of offenders in their white sheets, has caused the penance to be privately performed. The general method seems to be that described by Mr. John Kitson, the "Joint Principal Registrar" of Norwich: the defamer makes retractation in church, "in the presence of the complainant and six or eight of her friends." The nature of the business in the Court of Arches may be best shown by the brief summary given in the Report, for three years—1827, 1828, and 1829. There were twenty-one matrimo-

nial causes: one of defamation, four of brawling, five church-smiting, one church-rate, one legacy, one tithes, four correction—total, thirty-eight; of these, seventeen were appeals from other courts and twenty-one original suits. The last arise from the Court having original jurisdiction in certain cases, and assuming it in others, at the request of the inferior courts. The great majority of cases, it will be seen, are matrimonial. Dr. Nicholl "conceived that the jurisdiction in matrimonial contracts was given to ecclesiastical courts partly in consequence of the fact that marriage, at that period, was regarded as a sacrament, and partly because the marriage law was chiefly founded on the canon law." The peculiar mode of procedure in this Court (and it is the same in the others) demands some notice. At the commencement of a suit a proctor is employed, who obtains a citation, calling upon the party, whether defendant or offender, to appear. This citation is served by one whom Chaucer has made an old acquaintance, though he now appears under a new name. He is no longer the Sumpnour, but the Apparitor. And we may pause a moment to observe that this change is but the slightest of the many this character has undergone. In the very commonplace but, no doubt, respectable person, who now executes the high behests of the Church, who would look for the successor of him whose portrait is given in Chaucer's matchless collection?—

"A Sumpnour was there with us in that place,
That had a fire-red cherubinnes face;
* * * * *
With scalled* browes black, and pilled† beard,
Of his viságe children were sore afeard.
There n' as quicksílver, litarge, ne brimstóne,
Boras, ceruse, ne oil of tartar none,
Ne ointement that woulde cleanse or bite,
That him might helpen of his whelkes‡ white,
Ne of the knobbes sitting on his cheeks.
Well lov'd he garlic, onions, and leeks;
And for to drink strong wine as red as blood,
Then would he speak, and cry as he were wood.§
And when that he well drunken had the wine,
Then would he speaken no word but Latíne,
A fewe termes could he, two or three
That he had learned out of some decree."

Alas! the sources of all these generous tastes, good living, and of so much personal beauty, are gone; he is no longer allowed to seek out, as of old, cases for punishment, with the agreeable alternative of showing a world of kindly feeling and mercy, when melted into compassion by—the proper reasons. From being, as he was, the dread and curse of the community, he has, it must be owned, sunk into melancholy insignificance. Well, the citation served, and the party appearing (if not, he is declared in contempt, which is, even now, a really serious piece of business), a war of allegations and counter-allegations commences; then witnesses are examined, each alone by the examiner, on oath, on a set of questions as well calculated as so vicious a system can admit for the eliciting of the truth; and then the opposing advocates finally appear in Court, each armed with his formidable mass of papers, from which he lays the case before the Court, selecting such evidence as he pleases. Of course his sins, whether of

* *Scalled*—scurfy. † *Pilled*—bald, or scanty.
‡ *Whelkes*—probably some corrupt humour breaking out on the face. § *Wood*—mad.

omission or commission, are pointed out by the advocate in the gallery opposite, and thus the judge, who is busy making notes the whole time, obtains as complete a view of the case as is possible where the witnesses do not appear in Court to give their evidence publicly, when there may be those present who could detect any falsehood, and where they are free from the grand test of all truth—cross-examination. Yet there should be something good in this mode of examining witnesses, when we find the Bank solicitor, Mr. J. W. Freshfield, making the following statement to the commissioners:—

"My opinion is, that *vivâ voce* examination is the very worst method; that the examination in the Court of Chancery [where distinct but unalterable questions are put] is defective in an inferior degree; and that the examination in the Ecclesiastical Court is the most perfect: speaking of my own experience upon that subject, I think that in *vivâ voce* examination it is not the question what is the truth, but how much of the truth shall be allowed to be elicited: it is a question who is to be the examiner, and what will be the state of the nerves of the individual who is to be examined." He adds, that whilst a violent man with good nerve often becomes a partisan from the personal and annoying character of his examination, and says more than he knows—timid men, on the contrary, either give their evidence very insufficiently, or stay away altogether. Being asked whether he has ever known an instance of an honest witness being kept back from examination in the prudent management of a cause, he replied, "Many instances; I have known it done at considerable peril. I have had to tender, or not to tender, in my own discretion, men of the highest honour, upon whose veracity I would pledge my life; but have decided against their production, on account of the anxiety I have felt as to what might be the effect of placing them in the witness-box"*

On the other hand, another highly respectable solicitor, Mr. T. Hamilton, says he knows of a case in which "the plaintiff lost a valuable property from nothing in the world else but because the interrogatories were previously formed; the material witness was the solicitor to the defendant, and it was impossible to get out the whole facts on cross-interrogatories so prepared."† The truth lies, it is tolerably evident, between the two: to our mind there can be no question of the value, nay, the indispensableness of cross-examination in courts of justice; the problem, therefore, to solve is, how the rude, frequently brutal conduct of counsel is to be restrained, and a witness's feelings and character spared the outrages too frequently committed on both without the slightest provocation, with no other object indeed than a reckless determination to misrepresent or to lessen the value of his evidence, simply because it is unfavourable. Mr. Freshfield's statement at all events demands consideration, and, if possible, remedy. Surely the Judges themselves ought to have the power to repress all that tends to the obstruction of justice, even though it be done on the plea of the advancement of justice; and might lay down a few simple, well-considered rules for counsel, and enforce their observance.

With the growth of the canon law there grew up also in connection with it a race of judges, commentators, and practitioners, at first distinct from the analogous body of persons belonging to the civil law, but gradually becoming even more closely connected with them than the laws themselves, until at last there

* Report on Eccles. Courts, p. 38. † Ibid. p. 46.

remained, in England at least, but one body, the existing Doctors of Civil Law, who alone have the right of practising as advocates of Doctors' Commons. The period of the junction of the students in both laws seems to be the Reformation; before that event degrees were as common in the canon as in the civil law, many persons indeed taking both; but in the 27th of Henry VIII. that monarch prohibited the University of Cambridge, and probably of Oxford also, from having lectures or granting degrees in the canon law. The practice of the supreme Ecclesiastical Courts must, therefore, have necessarily fallen into the hands of the doctors of civil law. The founder of what we now call Doctors' Commons was, according to Maitland, "Dr. Henry Harvey, doctor of the civil and canon law, and master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, a prebendary of Ely, and dean (or judge) of the Arches; a reverend, learned, and good man," who purchased a house here for the doctors to live in, in *common* together, hence the name. This house was burnt down in the Great Fire, and the present building erected on the site by the members. The doctors, we may observe, still dine together in a room adjoining the Court, on every court day. The admission of doctors to practice as advocates is a stately piece of ceremony, the new member being led up the Court by two senior advocates, with the mace borne in front, and there being much low bowing and reading of Latin speeches. The number of advocates at present, we believe, is twenty-six; the difference in the dress that we perceive among them marks them respectively as Cambridge and Oxford men. The proctors, who are in effect the solicitors of Doctors' Commons, are also admitted with ceremonials, and have to exhibit their attainments in a similar manner. Every pains are taken to ensure their respectability. When articled, at or after the age of fourteen, they must present a certificate from the schoolmaster as to their progress in classical learning; they are then articled for seven years, and a considerable fee is given to the proctors, and as only the senior proctors are allowed to take such clerks, and to have but two at the same time, a considerable amount of experience and knowledge of the laws and customs of Doctors' Commons is ensured. Finally, they can only be admitted to practise as proctors by presenting a certificate signed by three advocates and three proctors, stating their fitness. Yet, with all this precaution, there appears to be something more than suspicion on the minds of some of the respectable witnesses examined by the commissioners, that there are those among them who—to alter an old phrase—go the way of all lawyers.

One of the legal beauties of the Ecclesiastical Courts' system is that of appeal; a system certainly unique for the admirable skill with which it cherishes the pettiest and weakest cases till they grow into importance and respectability, raising them gradually, a step at a time, till the litigating combatants, instead of having their own little town or village coterie for spectators, look around with amazement at their own grandeur, from the elevation of a supreme metropolitan court. Mark the advancing stages which a case may have to, and often does, pass through. First, there are spread through the country two or three hundred minor courts, essentially the same in all cases, though bearing a variety of appellations, as peculiars of various descriptions, royal courts, archi-episcopal, episcopal, decanal, sub-decanal, prebendal, rectorial, vicarial, and a few manorial courts having similar jurisdiction. This is the base of the edifice, and in one of these we will suppose a case arises, is heard, and decided, and, being unsatisfactory to

one of the parties, is appealed against. This takes us to the first step upwards—the courts of the archdeacons and others in every diocese, where the case is again heard, decided, and appealed against. Of course poor men who cannot afford to go on appealing against what they may believe to be an unjust decision, may stop where they please. Far is it, we are sure, from the minds of all parties concerned to wish any poor man to involve himself in expenses that—he cannot pay. Next we ascend to the Consistorial Courts, one in each diocese, where the whole process of hearing, deciding, and appealing from, proceeds with delightful regularity and steadiness of purpose. The third step is the Chancellor's Court;—the fourth the metropolitan, say the Court of Arches, and here at least one would suppose there would be a final pause. By no means, if the losing party have still hopes of a different decision, or hopes of his adversary's purse or patience failing. An appeal still lies from the Court of Arches to the Privy Council at present, formerly to the Court of Delegates at Doctors' Commons, now abolished. That we may not be supposed to have exaggerated—here are two illustrations: "There was a case," says Dr. Nicholls, "in which the cause had originally commenced in the Archdeacon's Court at Totness, and thence there had been an appeal to the Court at Exeter, thence to the Arches, and thence to the Delegates; after all, the question at issue having been simply, which of two persons had the right of hanging his hat on a particular peg." The other is of a sadder cast, and calculated to arouse a just indignation. Our authority is Mr. S. W. Sweet,* who states—"In one instance, many years since, a suit was instituted, which I thought produced a great deal of inconvenience and distress: it was the case of a person of the name of Russell, whose wife was supposed to have had her character impugned at Yarmouth by a Mr. Bentham. He had no remedy at law for the attack upon the lady's character, and a suit for defamation was instituted in the Commons. It was supposed the suit would be attended with very little expense, but I believe in the end it greatly contributed to ruin the party who instituted it; I think he said his proctor's bill would be 700*l.* It went through several courts, and ultimately, I believe [according the decision or agreement] each party paid his own costs." It appears from the evidence subsequently given by the proctor, that he very humanely declined pressing for payment, and never was paid; and yet the case, through the continued anxiety and loss of time incurred for six or seven years (for the suit lasted that time), mainly contributed, it appears, to the party's ruin.

Abuses of this kind, with a host of others, it is the object of the bill before Parliament, introduced by Dr. Nicholl, to sweep away; and a most gratifying evidence of the change that has come over the episcopal spirit is to be found in the fact, that, effectually as it accomplishes these purposes, great as the sacrifice thereby made by some of the heads of the Church (one sinecure place, in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that is to be abolished, is worth 9000*l.* a year), it is to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1832, among whom were the said Archbishop and six Bishops, that we owe the excellent measure of reform we are about to describe. But we must first notice, that, in addition to the evils of a multiplicity of appeals, and those arising from the variety of cases before mentioned in which the Church has temporal jurisdiction, and is in consequence frequently made the instrument of petty malice and bad feeling, there is one evil

* Report on Eccles. Courts, p. 17.

of still greater magnitude than either:—owing to the number of minor courts in which a will may be proved, it is almost impossible to know where to look for any but a very recent one. And now for the remedy. Dr. Nicholl proposes to divide the exclusively spiritual matters—such as the correction of clerks, and Church discipline generally—from those which are exclusively temporal, or of a mixed nature; the former to be left to the Bishops in their diocesan courts (all minor courts being abolished), with appeals, first to the Archbishop, and subsequently to the Privy Council,—thus "recognising, even in ecclesiastical matters, the principle, that over all causes .... her Majesty's was, in these her dominions, supreme authority;" and the latter to be handed over to a new court, to be called her Majesty's Court of Arches, with a Judge called, as at present, the Dean of the Arches, but appointed by the Queen, like the other Judges, instead of by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The advocates and proctors will of course practise in such new Court, as they do now in the old. The Court is to have no power to pronounce spiritual censures, consequently all those very peculiar causes before enumerated will be abolished, except such as may still be commenced in this Court, and in it only, with the object of asserting or of ascertaining a civil right. Tithe, and all matters pertaining thereto, are transferred to the jurisdiction of the general Courts of Law at Westminster. Lastly, the new Court will have the sole jurisdiction over all testamentary causes throughout the country, both as a court of trial for causes arising out of such matters, and as a Court of Registry for the entire kingdom, as all wills are to be proved in it, all administrations granted by it. This most important and valuable reform is enhanced by the care with which the inconveniences that might have attached to such a system have been anticipated and prevented. The present registry in every diocese is to be henceforth a branch registry of the Court of Arches, where all wills of persons dying possessed of personal property below 300*l.* may be proved, to save the expense and inconvenience attending journeys to London; and then the whole system is perfected by the cross transmission of all copies of wills proved—on the one hand, from each registry to the Court of Arches; on the other, from the Court of Arches (of wills below 300*l.*) to each registry: so that at the branches there will be a complete registry for small wills, and at the chief Court for wills of every class. The country proctors are probably the only persons injured by the measure, and that injury is lessened by the opening of the new London Court to such of them as may think proper to practise there for the future. In the procedure of this Court great improvements are to be introduced: *vivâ voce* evidence may be received in Court, at the discretion of the Judge; and, in certain cases, there may be a trial by jury. Such is a brief outline of the measure now before Parliament.

There is one other Court of Doctors' Commons yet to be mentioned—the High Court of Admiralty. How this came to be joined to the Ecclesiastical Courts we do not find anywhere stated, but it arose most probably from the circumstances before pointed out—the connection between the civil and canon laws: as the Arches and other Courts have been chiefly governed by the one, so has the Admiralty by the other. Its jurisdiction is divided into two parts—that of the Instance Court, and that of the Prize Court. The Prize Court evidently applies but to a state of war, when all naval captures pass through it. Its "end," says Lord Mansfield, in one of his tersest passages, "is to suspend the property till

condemnation; to punish every sort of misbehaviour in the captors; to restore instantly, if, upon the most summary examination, there does not appear sufficient ground; to condemn finally, if the goods really are prize, against everybody, giving everybody a fair opportunity of being heard."* The Instance Court has a criminal and civil jurisdiction. To the former belong piracy, and other indictable offences committed on the high seas, which are now tried at the Old Bailey; to the latter, all the cases which form the ordinary business of the Court, such as suits arising from ships running foul of each other, disputes about seamen's wages, bottomry, and salvage—that is, the allowance due to those who have saved or recovered ships, or property in ships, from maritime dangers. The position of the Judge of the Admiralty is a peculiar one: in peace having little to do—in war, all but overwhelmed: it is also in the highest degree onerous. Peace or war may continually depend upon his decisions in matters where foreign nations are concerned; for instance, "in cases of embargoes, and the provisional detention of vessels: in such cases an incautious decision might involve the country in war." † Nay, at the present moment that very question is in agitation (and may again come before the Court through some sudden, possibly accidental, circumstance), which formed so important a feature in the last war with America—the right of search; for, unfortunately, Sir John Nicholl's remark, that "the decisions of the great mind (Lord Stowell's) at the head of the Admiralty Court at that time have pretty much settled these questions to the satisfaction of the whole world,"‡ appears just now to be anything but correct. Yet if any one mind in such a position could have settled that or any still weightier question, it would have been the admirable Judge referred to, who sat in this Court through the most eventful period of the last great war, in the course of which he had to deal with almost every question of international law; but to him might be applied Shakspere's well-known passage on Henry V.:—

> "Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter:"

And the proof of it is the statement made by Sir Herbert Jenner, and other distinguished persons, in the highest degree calculated to form a correct opinion, that Lord Stowell's decisions at that period have since formed a code of international law, almost universally recognised. The amount of his labours was no less remarkable than its character. In one year (1806) he pronounced 2206 decrees. It can be hardly expected that to such praise there should be anything remarkable to add, and yet there is. Lord Stowell's style is a study not alone for his legal brethren of all classes, many of whom, it must be acknowledged, sadly need such a proof of the possibility of being at once learned and intelligible, but for all who can enjoy genuine and racy English. Looking over Haggart's reports of his decisions, we were struck by the case he gives of the ship 'Minerva;' and though many might be found better calculated to illustrate the qualities of Lord Stowell's matter and manner, it is not without value in those points, as well as being in itself interesting. Sailors are "the favourites of the law," says Lord

* Douglas's Reports, p. 572.
† Sir Herbert Jenner's Evidence. Report on Admiralty Courts, 1833, p. 36.
‡ Report, 1833, p. 20.

Stowell, in the judgment we are about to quote, " on account of their imbecility, and placed particularly under its protection:" the judgment in the 'Minerva' suit is a practical exemplification of this rule. It appears "the crew of the 'Minerva' had been engaged on a contract to go from London to New South Wales, and India, *or elsewhere,* and to return to a port in Europe." The words marked in Italics were said by the crew to have been subsequently added, who, in consequence, eventually left the vessel, and on their return were refused the wages they conceived themselves entitled to. The rest of their curious history Lord Stowell himself relates:—"Now upon this balance of evidence, as I have intimated, I strongly incline to hold, that these words did not compose any part of the text of the original contract; but if they did, I have no hesitation in asserting, that they are not to be taken in that indefinite latitude in which they are expressed: they are no description of a voyage; they are an unlimited description of the navigable globe; and are not to be admitted as a universal *alibi* for the whole world, including the most remote and even pestilential shores, indefinite otherwise both in space and time: they must receive a reasonable construction—a construction which I readily admit must be, to a certain extent, conformable to the necessities of commerce; for I hope that few men's minds are more remote than mine from a wish to encourage any wayward opposition in seamen to those necessities, or to the fair and indispensable indulgence which such necessities require; for no class of men is more interested in supporting the maritime commerce of the country than these persons themselves: but the entire disadvantage must not be thrown upon them; the owners must make their sacrifices as well as the mariners. . . . . I come now to the evidence of other material facts. On landing the cargo at Port Jackson, the crew, as I have already observed, expressed their extreme disappointment at the change made in their destination [which they had just learned], in breach of the articles which they had subscribed. They are threatened by the Captain, who is certainly a person of lofty prerogative notions, who claims the right to carry them, and says he can and will carry them, wherever he pleases, even to hell itself, a very favourite place of consignment in his judgment. The only choice presented to these men was between a prison and a continuance in the ship; for such is the law and justice of that country, that it seems no other option is allowed to a seaman: whether he quit his ship for a just cause or none at all—that is never subject of inquiry. In the choice of things, they elect the ship, reserving to themselves, as they had an undoubted right to do, their demand for legal redress in the justice of their country, for such it appears was the general theme of conversation amongst them. They remained on board, performing their duty; and even if this had not been a compelled preference, it would not have deprived them of that resort. The articles were violated and remained so, though they elected, under all circumstances, to remain in the ship under the forced deviation. A voyage was commenced upon, a course of experiments to procure a cargo. From Port Jackson they proceeded in search of a cargo to New Zealand, where not a man ventured to land for fear of being made a meal's meat of by the cannibal inhabitants, as they were represented to be. From hence they take an enormous flight to Valparaiso, in the South Seas, where they take on board what the Master will not allow to be a cargo, but only part of a cargo; and the ship then proceeds to Lima, where nothing is done, and thence

a fresh flight to Otaheite, at neither of which places does this voyage of experiment afford any articles of cargo. From this last place the Master bends his course back to Sidney Cove, and after selling the partial cargo taken in at Valparaiso, and receiving payment for the same, they then procured a cargo, which they carried to Calcutta, for which place they ought to have proceeded originally. They landed the cargo, and were occupied in taking on board a cargo for England, the men all this time, with all apparent diligence and alacrity, discharging their duty. On two Sundays, days usually of repose and indulgence, they were employed; yet no necessity is shown for denying the usual remission of labour. It is also stated, that on the third Sunday they had hoped to obtain the usual indulgence. On that morning, however, at a very early hour, a great quantity of hides having been brought to the ship, they set to work at five o'clock in the morning, to obtain the indulgence of going on shore in the afternoon, and finished their stowage of hides by one o'clock, and then sat down to dinner in that warm climate, solacing themselves with the prospect of obtaining the long-expected indulgence of going on shore; but instead, they were informed that they must go to work in the afternoon of the same day wherein they had worked so many hours, to stow the hides more completely, which they had put into the hold with so much labour during six hours of the morning. They requested the indulgence which they had promised themselves, upon the faith of the usual practice and of their meritorious exertions in the morning, and applied to the Captain personally and respectfully for that purpose; but received the usual answer of a refusal, expressed in the usual terms of a reference to the favourite place of consignment to which I have alluded. Upon this refusal of the Captain, who himself immediately afterwards proceeded to the shore, they followed his example. . . . . In the evening they stated their case to the Town Serjeant, including the great original grievance, of an entire defeazance of the ship's articles by the compelled ramble to New Zealand and the distant ports of the South Sea. The Magistrates issue a summons to the Captain to appear and answer to the complaint. After consultations both private and public with the Captain, the Magistrates appear to act upon the same principle of law as that which prevails at Sidney Cove—that when a seaman quits a ship, he is only to make his election between the ship and the House of Correction. The sailors unwillingly repair to their ship, but are absolutely refused admittance by order of the Captain, which amounts nearly to a dismissal, and they return to the shore, where they are committed by the magistrates to the House of Correction for 25 days; at the end of that time they are taken in the police boat and put on board the ship, when they collect their clothes and hammocks, which they carry off with them to the shore. Unfounded and unsupported charges of having stolen the ship's hammocks are dismissed by the magistrates, as is likewise another equally unsupported charge of having neglected to clear the hawser, a duty which had never been imposed upon them. The mariners' case ends with their acceptance, after a month's interval, of stations on board another ship about to proceed for England, at nearly a double rate of wages to that which they would have been entitled to if they had continued on boad the 'Minerva.'" Our space will not allow us to transcribe any of the kindly and philosophical remarks with which the judgment is studded, we can only give the conclusion:—"Upon

the whole, I do with satisfaction of mind pronounce for the wages and the expenses."*

We may observe, in conclusion, that the name of the Court so often referred to, and which after declining for centuries is now in all probability about again to become important, is derived from the *arches* below Bow Church, Cheapside, to which edifice they also give name. These arches and their supporting pillars are very interesting to the antiquary, not only from the facts already stated, but from their great antiquity. They are of Norman origin, and were probably built during the reign of the Conqueror, perhaps by himself, who, as we have already seen, founded the earliest Ecclesiastical Courts in this country, and most likely that of the Arches, as being the Archbishop's, first of all. Stow could find no evidence of the date of its establishment, or when it first sat at Bow Church; but there seems little doubt that it is coeval, or nearly so, with the ancient arches, and has never been removed from their vicinity till our own times. The Court of Arches was occasionally held here even down to the year 1825, if not later, in the part that now forms the vestry, the subject of the following engraving. The original connection between the Church and the Court we presume to be this:—the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow is the chief of the thirteen parishes in the City which are called peculiars, forming a Deanery exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and attached to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hence also the name of the Judge—*Dean* of the Arches.

[Vestry-room, formerly Court of Arches, St. Mary-le-Bow.]

* Haggart's Reports of Cases determined in the High Court of Admiralty, vol. i. p. 247.

[The Temple Church from the South.]

CII.—THE TEMPLE CHURCH. No. II.

ITS RESTORATION.

One of the most curious and interesting facts in the history of the human mind is the peculiar mode of its progression:—its alternating rise and fall—the preliminary retreat before every great advance, as if to derive fresh strength and impetus for the spring. And whatever the path, this characteristic still presents itself. In religion, Pagan Rome did not change to Christian Rome, and the worship of the One God, till the believers in a multitude of deities had passed through the worse state of practical disbelief in any: in philosophy or morality, the Divine voice that taught the essence of both, in the words "Love one another," was first heard, and received into men's hearts, at a time when the Grecian and Roman conquerors, by their vast organized systems of slaughter, devastation, and pillage, had well nigh banished the very ideas of humanity and justice from the world, and made philosophy a by-word of scorn: in science, literature, and art—the great ones of antiquity found fitting successors in such men as (to refer only to our own country) Roger Bacon and Chaucer—the artists of their temples in the artists of our early ecclesiastical churches, but what a

mighty and almost unfathomable gulf divided them—the dark ages, as we call a long period—centuries in which the light was certainly not that of noon-day. Yet, with all this, who doubts that progression is Nature's law—that we have progressed—that we shall continue so to do, however undulating or indirect the road? To apply these remarks to the subject that suggested them:—it may be observed, then, that Gothic architecture has had, for the last three or four centuries, a dark age of its own, from which it is now emerging; and that there needs only some decided impulse to be given to the public taste, in order not simply to restore what has been, but, in accordance with the law we have referred to, probably to enable us to make a still farther advance. Such an impulse, it is not unlikely, will be given by the restoration of the Temple Church.

And why the Temple in particular? it may be asked: the grand combinations of nave and aisles, choir and transepts, chapels and porches, lofty spires and mighty towers, into one magnificent whole, are already familiar to us in connection with our cathedrals: has the Temple Church anything to offer at once superior to these, and new? Certainly not: the answer is, that, for the first time, we see in it what a Gothic building really was—a structure as pre-eminent for its rich harmonies of colour as for its beauty of architectural detail and grandeur of architectural design. Let those who have not seen the Temple think what such decorations must have been in the hands of the authors of our cathedrals to be worthy of both, and they will scarcely overrate the value of what the Benchers of the Temple have just restored to us, with a truly princely liberality.

The view we have given of the exterior renders description unnecessary; we will therefore only remark how strikingly accordant is its character with the character of its founders; who, accustomed to the union of fortress and church in the East, where it was most necessary that they should be at all times prepared to defend themselves from the Saracens, seem to have been unable or unwilling to lose the same associations, even when at home among their own Christian countrymen. Perhaps, too, there may have been a little pride in the matter: they were not disinclined to remind those countrymen of what they had done, and were, at the period of the erection, still doing for the cause of Christ, as they deemed it. To examine the eastern front, the only front the church possesses, the spectator must pass round the pile of buildings that is seen in our engraving thrusting itself upon the oblong portion and obstructing the view. Before we leave the exterior, we must notice the differences of style which prevail in the Rotunda and the Chancel—differences which are connected with a feature of the Temple Church that makes it one of the most interesting and valuable structures we possess, apart from any other attractions. "No building in existence," says Mr. Cottingham, "so completely develops the gradual and delicate advance of the pointed style over the Norman as this church, being commenced in the latter, and finished in the highest perfection of the former:" already, in this exterior, and more particularly in the comparative lightness of those Norman windows, we can trace one of the stages of the advance. We now descend the steps of the porch, that strange, low, shut-in corner which forms the principal entrance—grown, however, larger-looking of late; and the deeply recessed, broad, semicircular Norman doorway is before us, with its foliated

capitals and other carved ornaments, exhibiting another stage in the architectural progress. Most elaborately rich and beautiful it is, too, with its numerous pillars below, and circular wreaths above, its sculptured heads and half figures, where, mingled together, we see kings and queens, and pious monks at prayer. It is often thought, by those best qualified to appreciate the spirit in which our ecclesiastical artists worked, that in all they did there was a higher object than that of merely fulfilling the ordinary requisitions of art, even though that were so admirably accomplished. What, for instance, can be finer than the entrance through this low and comparatively dark porch into the light and airy upward sweep of the Rotunda, with the vista opening beyond through the chancel? How it in every way enhances them, and more particularly in size, the precise feature which it was most desirable to enhance.* But was this all? Had not the architect a still greater design in view when he built this lowly porch? did he not desire to suggest that lowliness of spirit with which man should enter the house of his Maker—was it not an emphatic direction to the haughty and stiff-necked, the ambitious and the powerful, that they were all as nothing here—that they must *stoop in spirit* as they passed through this gateway? Above all, was it not to remind them to whom all the splendour beyond was dedicated—that the lofty arches and fretted roof were His, not theirs—that if their hearts swelled, it should be with penitence, and hope, and reverential love, not with vain self-gratulation?

But it is time we enter; and as we do so, we may notice, in passing, with what admirable judgment the transition from the dull commonplace buildings of the neighbourhood, up to the scene of consummate splendour that surrounds the altar at the distant extremity, and which is already attracting our eyes towards it, has been managed: first, there is the richly-sculptured, but uncoloured and therefore quiet-looking gateway; next comes the Round, with the black marble pillars relieved against the light colour of the surrounding walls, the single painted window facing us as we look upwards, and the various-coloured roof with its light blue cinquefoils spotting the delicate ground all over it, the deep red borders following and marking the airy play of the groinings, and the central ornament with its large blue flowers and gilded boss set in a circular frame-work of decoration; lastly, there is the view onward into the chancel, where the roof, thrown into such fine perspective, draws the eye unresistingly along a maze of the most delicately beautiful but glowing hues, which seem, at every fresh crossing of the arches, to grow more and more intense: it is hard to resist the impulse of at once stepping forward and throwing one's self into it, to luxuriate heart and soul on so novel and captivating a scene; but it is better to proceed regularly: we will first examine what is immediately about us. We are in the far-famed Round, and shall find it no difficult matter to pause awhile.

In our former paper on the Temple Church† we gave an engraving of the valuable and well-known effigies preserved in it. These had become so greatly injured by time, neglect, and by attentions of a kind infinitely worse than neglect,

* Dimensions of the church: Rotunda, 58 feet in diameter; Chancel, 82 feet in length, 58 in width, 37 in height.

† No. LXX., "The Temple Church: its History and Associations.

that all their minute and beautiful details of sculpture and costume were lost; and they were also extensively mutilated and fractured; in consequence, it was difficult to determine what could be done with them in the recent restoration. It was painful to see them in so unworthy a state, and at the same time it was feared they were too far gone for any process of re-edification. Mr. Edward Richardson, however, a sculptor, undertook to experimentalize on the worst—and perhaps originally the most beautiful of the figures: the one here on the right, nearest the central walk, of the second pair. Setting out with the principle of adhering rigidly to the idea of restoration of that which could be proved to have existed—not of making what he might fancy ought to have existed—he determined, as he has kindly explained to us, to remove no portion of the surface, however isolated or small, except in extreme cases of necessity, and that he would supply none of the missing parts except on the most precise authority drawn from the effigies themselves: which he hoped to find. He set to work in the following manner:—First, with a finely-pointed tool he removed the crust of paint, whitewash, and dirt that enveloped the effigy, which in parts was a quarter of an inch thick; the tediousness of this operation may be judged when we state that the surface he was so careful not to injure was more like a honeycomb in many parts than any surface that had been originally smooth. He now found, as he had anticipated, ample evidence of the character of those little but valuable points of costume and expression which had been unintelligible before. The next thing was to secure the original surface from further decay (to which the exposure to air would have made it peculiarly liable), by forcing into the stone some chemical preparation, which hardened in the pores. All the minute holes were now stopped with a cement which perfectly imitated the material of the effigy; the artist, as he well expresses it, working in this manner from "surface to surface" over the whole. There remained but to add the missing portions, which, among others, included the lower part of the legs and feet: this was done in the same material as the effigy, and joined by the cement. The result may be told by the order issued by the Benchers to Mr. Richardson, to restore the whole of the effigies; or, still better, in the words of an eminent architect, who observed, when he beheld it in its present state, "The public will never believe that this has been a mere restoration."* Thus these effigies, which are the best authorities we possess for military costume from the reign of Stephen to that of Henry III.—which are as works of art so surprising, that one of our greatest sculptors said the other day he could not understand how they could have been executed in that period—and which, lastly, are so interesting in their connection with the early history of the building, and with that greater history in which some of them at least figured so conspicuously, are restored to us in their habits as they lived: for there is no doubt whatever that such representations were accurately imitated from the countenance, figure, and garb of the originals. One only exception has to be made—absence of colour. It was discovered in the process of restoration, that the figures had been all more or less painted; some only slightly, so as to relieve the sculpture, but one of them, the effigy of William Pembroke the younger, was richly coloured throughout, having a surcoat of

* Mr. Richardson is preparing for publication elaborate drawings of the effigies in their restored state.

crimson, armour of gold, and a cushion or pillow enamelled with glass. The effigies, when first placed in the church, lay side by side in one broad row across the central avenue, their heads towards the east, as was proved by the interesting discovery of the coffins in the recent excavations. These were eight in number; six of them lead, the others stone of immense size. There was a beautiful carved cross on one of the latter. Other discoveries, not without interest, were made at the same time. In noticing the history of Geoffrey de Magnaville, in our former paper, we stated that, on account of his dying excommunicated, the Templars, who attended him on his death-bed, not daring to bury him in consecrated ground, hung his coffin on a tree in their garden till absolution was obtained, and then buried him in the porch before the western door; and there he was recently found; for there can be no doubt that one of the two broken sarcophagi discovered beneath the pavement of the porch was his. Fragments of a third sarcophagus were also discovered just within the doorway crossing beneath the walk of the aisle. The arrangement of the effigies was a matter of much consideration and experiment before their present position was decided on. They now lie four on each side the central avenue, and parallel with it, in a double line; those on the right being, first, William Marshall, the younger, sheathing his sword, one of the bold barons who made John alternately shiver with fear and burn with rage; then, by his side beyond him, his great father, the Protector Pembroke, his sword piercing the head of the animal at his feet. Passing on to the second pair, foremost is the exceedingly graceful but unknown figure before mentioned, on which the restoring process was first tried; and the second, another son of Pembroke's, Gilbert Marshall, in the act of drawing his sword. The probable feeling of the artist in this gesture is very beautiful. His father and his brother were men who had performed great things, and it is easy to see that their respective gestures are meant to signify as much; but Gilbert, when on the eve of going to the Holy Land, was killed by the accident of his being thrown by a runaway horse at a tournament in 1241, which he himself instituted in defiance of the mandates of Henry III.: the sculptor, therefore, desired to show what he would have done but for his premature decease. Of the four corresponding figures on the left three are unknown, and the fourth is that of De Magnaville, the burly warrior in front of the western pair. The remaining effigy, an exquisitely beautiful work, is that of Lord de Ros, another of the barons to whom we owe Magna Charta: this lies on the extreme right against the wall of the aisle, but in the same central line of the church as the other figures, whilst in a corresponding position on the extreme left is the coped stone shown in the engraving before referred to.

Let us now step from the central to the side walks, or, rather, from the Round into the lower-roofed aisle which surrounds it, and, having marked the stately marble pillars which rise at intervals to support the groined roof with its gilded bosses; the stone seat on which these pillars are based, and which runs along the bottom of the wall throughout the entire church (no doubt the only seat to be found here in olden times); having admired the low but richly-sculptured arcade also rising from the seat, and stamping lightness and beauty on the wall above, where the pointed arches, and pillars with Norman capitals to support them,

show once more the progress of the struggle between the styles, and the approaching victory of the former; then the heads which decorate this arcade:—but here, as the eye runs along the row, it is at once arrested by the startling countenances which meet its glance, and by the endless variety that they exhibit. Again and again do we perambulate the entire circle of the aisle, for they also accompany it the whole distance, to gaze upon those novel, expressive, and powerfully characteristic faces. Setting out from the doorway along the left aisle, we presently come to one (the seventh) that, once beheld, is never to be forgotten: anything so intensely full of agony, so ghastly in its horror, we never beheld. Then, to notice only the more remarkable of those countenances which pass before our eyes, we have those of a pale student; a female of distorted beauty; a cynic full of suffering, but expressing at the same time his marvellous contempt for it; a head on which an animal has fastened and is tearing the ear; a jester; numerous serio-comic indescribables one after another; a fine placid philosopher, with a look, however, of earnest surprise; horned and demoniac grotesques; and against the wall of the archway leading into the left aisle of the chancel, a female with the most touching expression of grief and utter desolation conceivable; you feel the tears are falling, though you do not see them: it is evidently a mother enduring some more than mortal anguish. Such is the left half-circle of this wondrous sculpturesque phantasmagoria. Crossing to the right, and so back again along that half-circle to the door, we find a striking and unsatisfactory change. The heads have in numerous instances little of the peculiar qualities of those we have noticed; a circumstance partly explained by the modern interpolations visible at a glance among them, and still more by the answers given to our inquiries on the subjects of these heads. It appears that at the time of an earlier repair of the Round (1825—1827) many of the heads were greatly decayed, and here and there some entirely missing. It is worthy of notice how the restorers of that day acted in comparison with the restorers of this. First, an able mechanic, but without the slightest pretension to artistical skill and knowledge, was set to work on the heads of the side last mentioned, and they were copied as we now see them. Some little attention had probably been called to the subject in the mean time, and the consequence was, that the restoration of those on the opposite or north side was conducted with greater care, but still it was thought quite unnecessary that a sculptor should touch them. That done, of course the old heads seemed to the parties of no further use, so they went off to the builder's yard, bad, good, and indifferent, and were there used—will it be believed?—as cart-wheel crutches; that is, to put under the wheels occasionally to prevent their slipping backwards. Such was the result of the inquiries made after them during the recent restoration of the Church! And now as to the general idea of the sculptor in these heads. It is impossible to go carefully through those on the north side without perceiving that, with but few exceptions, they all express an idea of pain, varying from the lowest animal manifestations up to the highest and most intellectual. On the south side, on the contrary, the predominant expression is placid or serene; and those of a different character, which are of original design, were probably removed from the opposite side, and the very ones substituted from this side, which there form so marked and corresponding an excep-

tion to their neighbours. But many of these are evidently *not* of original design, but copied, in ignorance not merely of the sculptor's object, which might have been excusable enough, but in opposition to the manifest rule that all the heads should be different. Thus, in the centre of the north side, are three heads—a queen, some merry personage, and then a king. The expression of the king's countenance is very fine, and in harmony with the gloomy character of his numerous companions; whilst his queen's, on the contrary, has almost a simper upon it. Crossing to exactly the opposite spot on the south side, we find a precisely similar group, only that both king and queen are here accordant and serene—evidently showing, apart from the similarity of the queenly faces, that the other queen has been copied from this, to fill up a vacant space, which the *restorer* knew not how else to fill. And what is the idea that we think these heads were intended to convey, and which, if perfect, and arranged as we believe them to have been, they would now convey to every one?—It is that of Purgatory on the one side, and the relief from it, by the prayers and intercessions of the Church, on the other. It may be thought some corroboration of this supposition to point out that the lofty corbel heads, one on each side the wall of the entrances into the aisles of the chancel, which are original, are so decidedly and carefully contrasted as to make it certain the sculptor had some idea of the kind indicated. The peace that passes all understanding is as unmistakably stamped on the head on one side of the arch, as the unendurable agony of eternal torture is on that on the other. In both arches the condemned faces are Saracenic: of course mere Purgatory was not enough for them. A curious, and, to artists at least, an interesting discovery, looked at in connection with the frequent custom of the Greeks even in the purest period of sculpture, was made during the restoration: some of the heads just mentioned had glass beads inserted for eyes. We may observe, in concluding our notice of the heads in the Rotunda, that the best of them are evidently bad copies of masterly originals—giving us the character and expression, which could not be well missed, though they have no doubt been sufficiently adulterated, and giving us no more. We may see how much we have lost in the exchange by a glance at the only other original head, of the beautiful little seraph with flowing hair, on the corner of the wall between the Rotunda and the south aisle. This was discovered but a week before the opening of the church. Traces of colour are still perceptible; and we learn from Mr. Richardson that the cheeks had been delicately tinged with the natural hue, the lips with vermilion, the pupil of the eye with blue, whilst the hair had been gilded. It was, as usual, thickly encrusted with layer upon layer of paint, dirt, and whitewash, so thickly indeed as to have escaped discovery till the period mentioned. But such was the state of the building generally only two short years ago. As we now turn from one beautiful and stately object to another, with a growing sense of delight, to see how the parts and the whole mutually harmonise with and enhance each other, it is difficult to recall the medley scene they have displaced. The painted window above was not then in existence, and that exceedingly elegant sculptured wheel-window over the entrance was closed up; the roof was flat, and the groining of the aisles was concealed in whitewash; every marble pillar (then unknown to be marble) the same; monumental barbarisms of the worst periods of English sculpture (now happily removed to the triforium above) were let

into the very body of the pillars, and also encumbered the arches; the noble threefold entrance, from the Round to the chancel, instead of enhancing—by the momentary interruption of the view, and by the new combinations at the same time formed—the superior architectural beauty we are approaching, as at present, was most carefully hidden by a glass screen extending right across; and above, in the central archway, was the organ revelling in classical decorations; lastly, the very bases of the pillars in the chancel were entirely hidden by the great pews, and the pavement of the church throughout was considerably higher than the original

[The Temple Church from the Entrance.]

level. On examination of the pillars in the Round, when they had been cleaned, it was found that they were so decayed that new ones were indispensable; and great as the expense necessarily was, the Benchers determined to make no unworthy shifts, but to replace them as they ought to be replaced. Accordingly a person was sent to Purbeck to make arrangements for the opening once more of its celebrated quarries. This little circumstance shows the spirit in which the

Benchers undertook and carried on their task. As to the pavement, it was found, on digging down to the original level, that it had been formerly tessellated; and, in consequence, we have got rid of the staple ornament for modern churches, when we wanted to make them very fine, as at St. Paul's—the black and white checquer—and have obtained this warm and beautiful surface instead, formed of encaustic tiles. The ground is a dark-red or chocolate, but so elaborately covered with the amber or yellowish ornaments, as to make the latter the prevailing hue. The patterns form, first, divisions of various breadth (the widest in the centre of the central avenue), extending, side by side, from the entrance-door to the farthest end of the chancel: within each division there is no alteration of pattern, but the divisions themselves, as compared with each other, present considerable differences. The two most striking are those next to the broad central one, where, as we pace along, we have the lamb on one side of us, and the winged horse on the other—the emblems of the two Societies to which the church belongs. The former is founded on the device of St. John; the latter, it is supposed, on the interesting story related in a former paper, of the poverty of the Knight Templars at the outset of their career, when two knights rode one horse. Among the other ornaments of the pavement are a profusion of linked-tailed animals in heraldic postures: lions, cocks, and foxes; tigers, with something very like mail upon their shoulders; basilisks, and other grotesques. There are also copies of designs of Anglo-Saxon origin—as figures playing musical instruments; and one illustrative of the story of Edward the Confessor—the Evangelist John and the ring—a design which at once tells us from whence the materials for the pavement have been borrowed, namely, the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. The pavement formed by the tiles is as strong and imperishable as it is beautiful. The tiles are perforated all over with small holes on the under side, consequently when they are laid on the cement prepared to receive them, and pressed down, the latter rises into these perforations, and, hardening there, binds the whole indissolubly together.

It is a remarkable and somewhat happy coincidence, although one that does not seem to have been yet noticed, that the revival of the art of decorating our public buildings should have been begun in that very church where it is highly probable the art may have been first witnessed in all its splendour in England, but which, at all events, was founded by men who were among the introducers of that art into this country. When the Crusaders returned from the Holy Land, we know that they brought with them a confirmed taste for Eastern magnificence. "Barbaric pearl and gold" had not been showered before their eyes in vain; and among the Crusaders, the Knights Templars, rude as was the simplicity in which they delighted at the outset of their career, great as was their then contempt for luxury and wealth, very much altered their minds, to say the least of it, after a few visits to the Holy Land. To this circumstance doubtless may be attributed the Eastern character of the decorations of the period, as on the dome here above us, for instance.* Our ecclesiastics, being at perfect liberty to hang

* It may be observed here, once for all, that the decorations throughout the church are strictly in accordance with the period of the erection.

up, as in yonder archway, a Saracenic head or two *in terrorem* to all infidels, and as a kind of preliminary counterbalance, would no doubt accept, and turn to their own purposes, and, we must own, we think very sensibly, whatever infidel genius might have sent them across the seas. They who knew so well the effect of appealing to man's entire rather than to his partial nature only were not likely to reject any means that offered. From the moment he entered the sacred building, they took possession at once of his eye, ear, heart, and mind; and no wonder that afterwards they could turn him towards what point they pleased of the theological heaven. Of course this was a glorious field for abuses, and abuses sprung up with a strength and luxuriance that not only overpowered the flowers Art had strewed abroad, but almost concealed the goodly temple of Religion itself. Then it was that the early Church reformers arose in their strength, one by one. The "sour" Puritans, as in our one-sided vision we call them, because, seeing the Herculean task before them, they went to their work with the hands and heart of a Hercules, cutting away, might and main, on all sides; marking every step with their blood, as they waged unequal war with the multitudes ready to defend what they sought to destroy, but still pressing on till the whole—confession and indulgence, bulls, pardons, and relics, or by whatever name the noxious growths were known—were rooted up;—and with them the flowers went too. Well, we have at last a pure soil to raise them upon once more; for the successors of the Puritans (a thousand times worse than them, for they debased art, whilst the others at worst only kept it in abeyance) have gone into the same final receptacle of all error—oblivion. And so, commending the fine passage here following, from the writings of an eminent Protestant divine, to the consideration of those, if there are any such, who still doubt the value, in a spiritual sense, of such exhibitions as the Temple Church now affords, we shall proceed forward into the scene that for the last hour has been drawing our eyes, at intervals, most wistfully towards it. Bishop Horne says, "We cannot by our gifts profit the Almighty, but we may honour him, and profit ourselves; for, while man is man, religion, like man, must have a body and a soul: it must be external as well as internal; and the two parts, in both cases, will ever have a mutual influence upon each other. The senses and the imagination must have a considerable share in public worship; and devotion will accordingly be depressed or heightened by the mean, sordid, and dispiriting, or the fair, splendid, and cheerful appearance of the objects around us."

We could hardly suggest a better way of preventing the imagination of a reader from conceiving the true character and effect of the oblong portion of the Temple Church than by giving a careful and accurate architectural description, the process would be so unlike that which informs the spectator who is on the spot. The view impressed at once upon the eye of the latter is what is desiderated for the former—is what words of the most general, rapid, and suggestive character can very inadequately convey—and is what systematic description cannot give at all. We need hardly, therefore, say we shall not attempt the latter course; and as to the alternative, we cannot but feel how such glowing and various beauty as that before us becomes chilled in the very attempt to resolve it into words. Yet, if the imagination can be stirred

by external influences, it should be, indeed, active here. As we enter, let us step into the corner on the right. The first impression is of a mingled nature: a sense of the stateliest architectural magnificence, supporting and enveloped by the richest and most playful combinations of fairy-like beauty of decoration, each lending to each its own characteristics in the making of so harmonious a whole. Thus, the marble pillars, of a dark rich hue, beautifully veined, seem to flow rather than to tower upwards to meet the gay but delicate arabesqued roof, until, above the capitals, they suddenly expand their groins like so many embracing arms all over it, receiving at the same time from the roof a sprinkling of its own rich store of hues. See, too, how those magnificent arches, spanning so airily the wide space from pillar to pillar, and viewed from hence under so many combinations of near and remote—aisle, centre and aisle—those Atlases of the structure, see how content they are to serve as frameworks for the pictures seen through and above them, and, like all true strength, to look only the more graceful in their strength for the flowery chains which have been twined around them. The entire architecture of the Church, indeed, which is esteemed "decidedly the most exquisite specimen of pointed architecture existing," seems to give one the idea of its having thrown off the air of antiquity which time has not unnaturally imparted to it, and to start into a second youth, lustrous with all those peculiar graces which youth alone possesses. The lancet windows of the opposite side, beautiful alike in themselves and in relation to the architecture around, but undecorated, alone fail to add their tones to the general glow of splendour; though they still look so beautiful that one could fancy they borrowed a reflection from the latter; and, as we turn to the perfect blaze of colours and gilding at the east end of the chancel, it might be supposed that the wealth that would have been reasonably sufficient for the whole of the windows, has been concentrated in those three at the sides of and above the altar. In examining the smaller parts of which this sumptuous whole is composed, the attention again is naturally attracted first to the ceiling, as was no doubt the case originally; for, in taking down the plaster and paint covering, not only were traces of decorative painting found, but also rich ornaments worked in gold and silver. The chief objects which stand out from the elaborate but everywhere light and graceful arabesques are the small circular compartments scattered over the entire roof, one in each of the natural divisions formed by the groins, and containing alternately the lamb on a red ground and the flying horse on a blue. These are varied in the aisle, where we see the banner half black and half white, "because they [the Templars] were and showed themselves wholly white and fair towards the Christians, but black and terrible to them that were miscreants,"* and with the letters BEAVSEAN, for Beauseant, their equally dreaded war-cry. This banner was changed in the reign of Stephen for the red Maltese-like cross on a white ground, which forms another of the devices; and a third is copied from the seal of Milo de Stapleton, a member of the order, which still exists in the British Museum, attached to a charter of the date of 1320: this represents the cross of

* Favyne (Theatre of Honour); referred to in Mr. Willement's account, in 'The Temple Church,' by William Burge, Esq.

Christ raised above the crescent of the Saracen, with a star on each side. As we now move on towards the painted windows of the east end, we perceive, among other interesting minutiæ, the pious inscriptions, in Latin and in antique characters, that every here and there decorate and inform the wall with their stern threatenings to the wicked, their sweet and elevating consolations to the weary and heavily laden, their admonitions to all to remember the uses of the glorious structure—the end of all the solemn pomp around. That long inscription commencing in the north-west corner against the entrance to the aisle, and running all down that side, across the east end, then again along here at our back, till it finishes on the wall of the entrance archway close to the spot from which it started, is the 'Te Deum.' Drawing still nearer to the western extremity, is it fancy only that suggests the sense of growing richness—an effect as though the whole compartment beyond the two last pillars was lit up by some peculiar but unseen radiance? The general character of the decoration evidently has not changed. As we look, however, upon the roof attentively, we perceive that, whilst with the most subtle art the eye has not been warned of any sudden or striking alteration, the whole has been altered, the hues have grown deeper—the arabesques more elaborate—the whole more superb: yet still as remote as ever from garish or unseemly display: as fitting a prelude to the gorgeous eastern windows that illumine the compartment, as they are both suitable accessories of the altar beneath—resplendent in burnished gold—exquisite alike in its architecture and sculpture; whilst all—roof, windows, and altar, form most appropriately in every sense the culminating point of beauty of the Temple Church; the grand close of the beautiful vista through which we have advanced. The central or chief window is most rich in its storied panes, containing, as it does, a numerous series of designs from the life of Christ, conspicuous among which appears the Crucifixion. The variety and sumptuousness of the details are beyond description. Over all the immense space occupied by the window, you can scarcely find one piece of unbroken colour two inches square: how great then the artistical skill that can combine such minute fragments into so splendid a work; and, one would suppose, how tedious the process! Here we must venture to suggest a fault, or what appears to us to be one, and we find that others have also noticed it. The prevailing colours are blue and ruby, with—less prominently—green. It is, we believe, generally admitted that one of the principles of the ancient artists was vivid distinctness of colour: here, on the contrary, the blue and red mingle into something very like purple. This is less perceptible in the two side windows, and not at all in the one in the centre of the church facing the organ-loft. We have heard that this is owing to the use of a particular kind of red in the first, and which was not used in the last. This window is, in consequence, more brilliant-looking and pure in its masses of colour; and though these are confined to the figures of the angels playing antique musical instruments, one in each side-light, and three in the middle one, the remainder of its ornaments consisting chiefly of mere dark pencilled scrolls, covering the entire surface, yet so striking is the contrast, so chaste and beautiful the result, that if we were asked whether it be really true that the Art so long lost is reviving among us, we should desire to give no better answer than a reference to this window. But, hark! there wanted

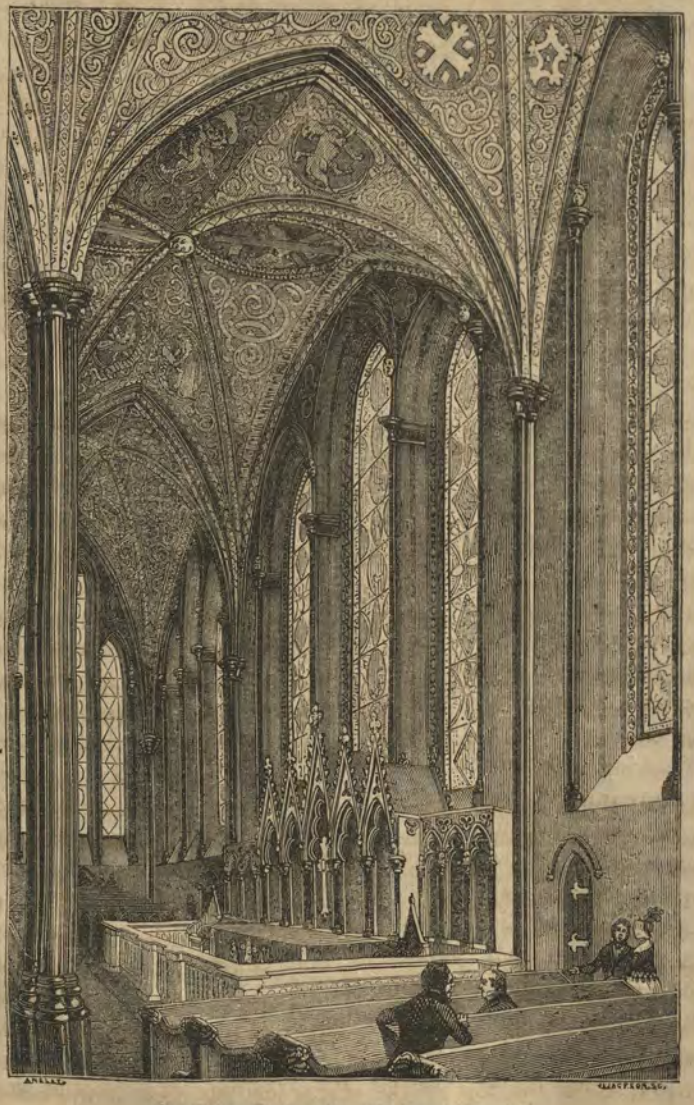
but one influence to complete the spell that seems to possess this place, and all who enter, and it comes. A few preluding notes, the first big drops as it were of rain amid sunshine, and out bursts the divine tempest of harmony from the mighty organ. Roof, walls, windows disappear; the Temple is for the moment nothing—we are borne up by the magnificent volume of sound, the willing sport of the elements, tossed to and fro. But divine is the power that moves—the voice so potent to stir stirs not idly; from the glorious turmoil steals out the lowest and gentlest of tones; you would catch it—you listen, and lo! its whisper is already ascending from your heart. But alas! some visitor, deaf to the "concord of sweet sounds," recalls us to earth, to reflect how near we had been to heaven. "O, the power of church music!" And thankful may we be that in this, as well as in the other arrangements, the Benchers of the Temple are actuated by the right feeling, as they are gratifying that feeling by a judicious liberality. The choir, consisting of fourteen voices (six men and eight boys), is to be permanent, and brought as speedily as possible to a high state of excellence. The organ, it is generally known, is one of the finest in this country, and has an amusing history attached to it. About the end of the reign of Charles II. the Societies determined on the erection of an organ; the two great builders of that time were Schmidt, or Father Smith (for—the correct appellation being too hard, we presume, for English ears—so he was called), and Harris. Of course they were rivals; and as each desired to have confided to him the erection of an organ which was to be supreme in its excellence, and as each was supported by numerous patrons and partisans, the Benchers were somewhat puzzled how to decide. Their solution of the problem was worthy of the acknowledged acumen of the profession. They proposed to the candidates that each should erect an organ in the church, and that they would then keep the best. The proposal was accepted, and in nine months two organs appeared in the Temple. Did any of our readers ever witness the début of two rival prima donnas at an opera—the crowded tiers upon tiers of faces, the eager anticipation, the excitement, the applause replying to applause? Some such scene, modified only by the peculiarity of the place, appears to have attended the début of the two organs. First, Blow and Purcell performed on appointed days on Father Smith's great work. The getting such coadjutors must have rather startled Harris; but there was still Mons. Lully, and he did full justice to his organ. Which was best? The Smithians unanimously agreed Smith's; the opposite party remained in opposition, and equally single-minded. Month after month the competition continued, for the space of a year, when Harris challenged Smith to make certain new reed stops within a fixed period, and then renew the trial. This was done, and to the delight of everybody. But a choice was more difficult than ever. Each was evidently the best organ in the world except the other. The matter began to grow serious. Violence and bad feeling broke out, and the consequences to the candidates became in many ways so injurious, that they are said to have been "just not ruined." Lord Chief-Justice Jefferies was at last empowered to decide, and we have now before us the organ he favoured —Smith's! We have already mentioned the former position of this instrument, its present one was only adopted after a long and anxious deliberation, in which gentlemen of no less importance than Messrs. Etty, Sidney Smirke, Cottingham,

Blore, Willement, and Savage took part; and, certainly, the decision is not unworthy of the collective wisdom. It now stands in a chamber built behind, and rather larger in every way than the central window on the northern side; an arrangement that left the noble view unobstructed which we have shown in a previous page, and which required no other adaptation of the window than the mere removal of the glass, and the walls of division between the lights. The classicalities have been ruthlessly swept away, and you now see its gilded and gaily-decorated pipes rising majestically upwards towards the Gothic pinnacles which crown it, rich in fretwork, and beautifully relieved against the painted roof of the light chamber behind. In a little vestry-room beneath are the bust of Lord Thurlow, who was buried in the Temple vaults, and the tablet of Oliver Goldsmith, who was buried in the churchyard. The last was set up at the expense of the Benchers, a few years ago, as graceful and honourable, as it was, of course, a spontaneous acknowledgment of the poet's burial in their precincts. These, with other memorials, will be shortly removed into the gallery surrounding the upper part of the Round, where Plowden, the eminent lawyer, lies in effigy beneath a semi-circular canopy—one of those heavy masses of stone, paint, and gilding, obelisks, death's heads and flowers, that so delighted our Elizabethan forefathers, accompanied by various others of the same kind. At the back of the seats occupied during service by the Benchers' ladies, on a black stone against the wall, we read the inscription—Joannes Seldenvs—a name that needs little comment. "He was," says Wood ('Athenæ'), "a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and what not!" He died in 1654. Of the remaining details of the church, we can only enumerate the carved benches, with their endless variety of heads, animals, and of flowers and fruit, copies from similar works preserved in our cathedrals; the sumptuous accessories of the altar, as the crimson velvet cloth with its gold embroidery; the ambry and piscina discovered on the removal of the "right wainscot" that formerly covered the lower part of the wall; the arch with the effigy of the bishop beneath it who is mentioned in our former paper, in the south-east corner; the penitential cell, also there referred to, which is on the side of the circular stairs leading up to the Triforium, in the wall of the archways between the Rotunda and chancel; and lastly, the portraits of the kings which decorate the upper part of these arches, namely—Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III., monarchs who were all, more or less, benefactors to the Temple; with the reign of the first of whom the order started into existence, and with the last, virtually terminated. Henry's successor, Edward I., gave unequivocal evidence of his desire to help himself to a little of the Templars' wealth, instead of conferring some of his own on them; and *his* successor suppressed them, A.D. 1308. We must add, that those who would know to whom we are indebted for the painted windows throughout the church, the roof, and, indeed, the decorations generally, will see in the northern window of the three at the east end, if they look carefully, the following words: "*Willement hoc opus fecit.*" The chief architectural works were commenced from the plan and under the superintendence of Mr. Savage, and (through some private differences) completed by Mr. Decimus Burton and Mr. Sidney Smirke. The carvings are by Mr. Nash. Already the public are

admitted freely on the afternoons of Sunday, and it is not improbable that, eventually, daily service will be performed here, which, of course, would be also open to them.

Reverting to the topic of our introductory remarks—progress, and the probable effect of the present restoration—whither may we hope its influence will guide us? The state of our cathedrals will at once occur to every one: what a world of whitewash is there not to be removed, what exquisite chapels and chapter-houses to be restored, even in a mere architectural sense—witness the disgraceful state of the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, for instance; what piles of monuments to be carried up into the Triforiums, before even the peculiar features of the Temple restoration—the decorative—are begun. But, supposing all this accomplished, are we to rest there? Let us answer the question by imagining, for a moment, what might be done within some given period, under favourable circumstances. To begin with the Temple. Whilst we may be certain that we have by no means reached the pinnacle of mere decorative splendour allowed by the severest taste, we have yet to call to our aid in such structures the highest artists—more particularly the sacred painter, with his solemn frescoes from Holy Writ, to which all other decorations should be but the mere adjuncts. The stranger wandering from such a building as this will find it stands not alone; that Art has asserted and established its universality. If he walks into the hall of the neighbouring University (we beg the reader still to accompany us in imagination), he finds a series of grand designs illustrative of the objects of the institution; he sees Theology, Jurisprudence, and Philosophy, each surrounded by her disciples—the messengers unto the world of all that the world has most reason to cherish. From the University to the Gallery of Art; with its long external range of statues of the great masters whose works are within, with its exquisite pediment, showing all the processes of sculpture, from the modelling of the clay and the hewing of the marble, up to the last touching of the finished production. Within he finds the accumulated stores, arranged with the most consummate skill, every work carefully placed, so as to be well lighted, and beautifully relieved against the back or surrounding walls—he finds the whole informed by one harmonious spirit—above all, he finds that each department reveals its own artistical history, from the earliest to the present time, by the quality and sequence of the works. Looking still farther, he perceives that, from the prince to the peasant, there is a comparatively universal sense of enjoyment in and appreciation of these things. Whilst the King, if he has a palace to build, says to the architect, "Build me a palace, in which nothing within or without shall be of transient fashion or interest; a palace for my posterity, and my people, as well as my self," and obtains accordingly such a work as has seldom or never before been seen, the people on their parts are stopping here in crowds, parents with their children, soldiers, mechanics, young and old, to examine the paintings of the public arcade, as they pass through it on their ordinary business; works by the rising painters of the day, the men of young but acknowledged genius, who are preparing themselves for the highest demands that can be made upon them, in this series, illustrating all the great events of the national history. Again——"But," interrupts a reader, "you do not mean seriously to intimate

that all this is practicable, or at least within the next half-dozen centuries?—It is a mere dream." Very possibly. The ideas, so hastily suggested here, may be too gigantic for accomplishment in the great capital of the great British Empire; not the less, however, has all that we have described, and a thousand times more than could be gathered from our remarks, been done in the capital of the little kingdom of Bavaria, and in twenty years! All honour to the poet-king, Ludwig the First, and to the artists with whom he feels honoured in connecting his name.



[The Western Window, Altar, &c., Temple Church.]

[Procession of Placards.]

CIII.—ADVERTISEMENTS.

AMONG what may be called the open-air Exhibitions of London—the collections of works of art gratuitously exposed to public view—there are none more interesting than the "External Paper-hangers' Stations." The windows of the printshops—especially of those in which caricatures are exhibited—have great attractions, doubtless: but there is a grandeur and boldness in the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the stations, which completely eclipses them. The engravings in the printshop windows have contracted a good deal of that mincing elaborateness of finish which characterizes what may be called the Annuals' School of Art; those which we see at the stations, on the contrary, have all the boldness, if not much of the imagination and artistical skill of Salvator Rosa, and may compete the palm in roughness, at least, with the Elgin Marbles in their present weather-worn condition.

The stations of the External Paper-hangers are numerous, but rather ephemeral in their existence, and migratory in their propensities. It requires no great previous preparation, or expenditure of capital to establish one. Any dead wall, or any casing of boards around a public monument or public dwelling in the process of erection, on which the cabalistic words "Bill-Stickers, beware!" or "Stick no Bills!" have not been traced, may be, without more ado converted into a place of exhibition. And the assiduity with which the "Hanging Committee" of the great metropolis adorn the brick or wooden structure with a fresh supply of artistical gems every morning is amazing.

The boarded fence at the top of the stairs leading down to the steam-boat station at the north-end of Waterloo Bridge, the dead wall beside the English Opera House in North Wellington Street, the houses condemned to have the "improvements" driven through where Newport Street abuts upon St. Martin's Lane,

the enclosure round the Nelson's Monument in Trafalgar Square, the enclosure of the space on the west side of St. James's Street, where the Junior United Service Club House is about to be erected, are at present the most fashionable and conspicuous of these exhibitions at the "West End." The purlieus of the new Royal Exchange are most in vogue in the City, but the rapid progress of the buildings threatens ere long to force the exhibiters to seek a new locality.

The attractive character of the objects exhibited at these places sufficiently accounts for the crowds of lounging amateurs which may at almost every hour of the day be found congregated around them. There are colossal specimens of typography, in juxtaposition with which the puny letters of our pages would look like a snug citizen's box placed beside the pyramids of Egypt. There are rainbow-hued placards, vying in gorgeous extravagance of colour with Turner's last new picture. There are tables of contents of all the weekly newspapers, often more piquant and alluring than the actual newspapers themselves, these annunciatory placards not unfrequently bearing the same relation to the journals that the tempting skins of Dead-Sea fruits have been said to bear to their dry, choking substance: or, to adopt a more domestic simile, that the portraits outside of wild-beast caravans do to the beasts within. Then there are pictures of pens, gigantic as the plumes in the casque of the Castle of Otranto, held in hands as huge as that which was seen on the banisters of the said castle; spectacles of enormous size, fit to grace the eyes of an ogre; Irishmen dancing under the influence of Guinness's Dublin Stout or Beamish's Cork Particular; ladies in riding habits and gentlemen in walking dresses of incredible cheapness; prize oxen, whose very appearance is enough to satiate the appetite for ever. Lastly, there are "Bills o' the Play," lettered and hieroglyphical, and it is hard to say which is the most enticing. One of the former tells us that "Love" has just returned from America, and will "perform" alternately at the Strand Theatre and Crosby Hall "during the whole of Lent." This announcement, by the association of ideas, reminds one that St. Valentine's is just past, and Byron's 'Beppo' is still in existence. But the Pictorial Bills o' the Play bring before our startled eyes a "Domestic Tale," in the shape of one man shooting another on the quarter-deck of a vessel in flames, off the coast of Van Diemen's Land, with emigrants and convicts of all shapes and sizes crowded on the shore; or the grand fight between grenadiers and Jacobite conspirators, in the "Miser's Daughter;" or "Jack Ketch," caught on his own scaffold; or a view of the "tremendous Khyber Pass," as it may be seen nightly at the Queen's Theatre, with Lady Sale at the top of it brandishing a pistol in either hand, beneath the cocked and levelled terrors of which a row of turbaned Orientals kneel on either side of the heroine. And here we may pause to remark, how hopeful must be the attempt to extract the true history of ancient Greece out of its epic poets and dramatists, when modern playwrights are seen to take such liberties with the veracious chronicles of contemporary newspapers.

It becomes philosophical historians to penetrate beneath the mere shows and external surfaces of things. The works of Phidias and Michael Angelo were not simply meant to be pleasing to look upon—they were intended to be agents in exciting and keeping up devotional feelings. And in like manner the gaudy ornaments with which our External Paper-hangers adorn their stations have a

utility of their own, and are meant (this is noted for the information of posterity, for the living generation know it well enough) to serve the purposes of advertising for the interests of individuals, as well as of amusing the public at large.

A strange chapter in the history of man might be written on the subject of Advertisements. They became necessary as soon as any tribe became numerous enough for any one member of it to be hid in a crowd. The heralds of whom we read in Homer were the first "advertising mediums," and in remote country towns the class still exists in the shape of town drummers and town bellmen, employed to proclaim orally to the citizens all impending auctions, and many perpetrated larcenies, with losings and findings of every possible category. Manuscript placards seem to have been next in order: some fossilized specimens of them have been preserved on the walls of Pompeii, under the showers of moistened ashes with which that town was potted for the inspection of posterity. Of this system of advertising existing samples may occasionally be seen in rural districts, where manuscript announcements of hay crops for sale and farms to let are from time to time stuck up on the gates of the churchyard; or even in the suburbs of the metropolis, in the guise of exhortations to purchase "Warren's Blacking," or try somebody's "Gout and Rheumatic Oil." The invention of printing naturally caused printed placards and posting bills in a great measure to supersede the written ones; with the increased circulation of newspapers the practice gained ground of making them the vehicle of advertisements; and finally all sorts of periodicals, and even books published once for all, have been made to carry along with them a prefix or an appendix of these useful announcements.

With every increase in the multiplicity of industrial avocations, and in the density of population, increases the necessity of devising new vehicles of advertisements, and alluring forms for them. In order to live, a man must get employment; in order to get employment, his existence and his talents must be known; and, in proportion to the numbers by whom he is surrounded must be his efforts to distinguish himself among the crowd. In a company of half-a-dozen, the man who is an inch taller than his fellows is distinguished by this slight difference; but, in a congregation of ten thousand, it requires the stature of the Irish giant to make a man conspicuous. It might easily be imagined, therefore, even though the proofs were not before our eyes, to what a degree of refined perfection the art of advertising has been carried in our crammed and busy London. There are advertisements direct and indirect, explicit and by innuendo; there is the newspaper advertisement, the placard, and the hand-bill; there is the advertisement literary and the advertisement pictorial; there is the advertisement in the form of a review or of a newspaper paragraph; there is the advertisement (most frequently of some milliner, or tailor, or jeweller, or confectioner) lurking in the pages of a fashionable novel. Some people write books merely to let the world in general, or at least those who have official appointments to bestow, know that they are there, and, in trading phrase, "open to an engagement." Nay, some there are who, by constantly forcing their personal presence on public notice, convert themselves into ambulatory placards, making their lives, not what the sentimentalist calls "one long-drawn sigh," but one incessantly repeated and wearisome advertisement.

It would be equally futile and tedious to attempt to enumerate and classify all the vehicles of advertisements, and all the forms which advertisements assume in London in the present high and palmy state of the art of advertising. It will suffice to run over a few of the most striking and characteristic in a cursory manner. The appearance of the external paper-hangers' stations has already been described. The external paper-hangers themselves are a peculiar race; well known by sight from their fustian jackets with immense pockets, their tin paste-boxes suspended by a strap, their placard-pouches, their thin rods of office, with cross-staff at the extremity, formed to join into each other and extend to a length capable of reaching the loftiest elevations at which their posting-bills are legible. A corporate body they are, with consuetudinary bye-laws of their own, which have given rise to frequent litigations in the police courts. The sage judges of these tribunals have found ere now the title of an external paper-hanger to his station as puzzling as that of a sweeper to his crossing. Then there seems to be a kind of apprenticeship known amongst them, though, from several recent cases at Bow Street, there is room to doubt whether the rights and duties of master and 'prentice have hitherto been defined with sufficient precision. The period for which a placard must be exposed to public view before it is lawful to cover it over with a new one is a nice question, but seems settled with tolerable certainty. And, to the honour of London external paper-hangers be it said, that there is rarely found (even at the exciting period of an election) among them that disregard of professional etiquette, or rather honour, which leads the mere bill-sticker of the provinces to cover over the posting-bills of a rival before the latter have well dried on the wall. Great judgment is required, and its possession probably is the best mark of distinction between the real artist and the mere mechanical external paper-hanger, in selecting the proper exposures (to borrow a phrase from horticulture) for bills. Some there are whose broad and popular character laughs out with most felicitous effect from the most conspicuous points—others, calculated for a sort of private publicity, ought to be affixed in out-of-the-way nooks and corners, retired but not unseen, provoking curiosity the more from the very circumstance of their being only half seen, each a semi-reducta Venus. The profession of an external paper-hanger, it will be seen, requires intellect as well as taste—it is rather superior to that of an upholsterer, and rather inferior to that of an artist: in regard to the degree of tact and talent required to exercise it with effect, the profession is as nearly as possible on a level with the Hanging Committee of the Royal Academy, and the spirit which animates the two bodies seems as similar as their occupations.

Another class of advertising agents is more completely distinct from the external paper-hangers than cursory observers would suppose—the bill-distributers. The point of precedence is not very satisfactorily adjusted between the two sets of functionaries. The bill-sticker (we beg pardon for using the almost obsolete and less euphonious name, but really its new substitute is too lengthy), with his tin paste-box and wallet of placards, has a more bulky presence—occupies a larger space in the world's eye—and the official appearance of his bunch of rods adds to the illusion. He is apt to swagger on the strength of this when he passes the mere bill-distributer. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the bill-distributer regards his calling as more private, less ostentatious—in short,

more gentlemanlike than that of the bill-sticker. "Any man," said an eminent member of the profession, with whom we had once the honour to argue the question, "any man can stick a bill upon a wall, but to insinuate one gracefully and irresistibly into the hands of a lady or gentleman, is only for one who, to natural genius, adds long experience." In short (for his harangue was somewhat of the longest), it was clear our friend conceived his profession to stand in the same relation to that of a bill-sticker that the butler out of livery does to the footman in it. And, in corroboration of his views, it must be admitted that there is an air of faded gentility about many of the bill-distributers of the metropolis. There is one of them in particular, whose most frequent station is in front of Burlington House, whose whole outward man and manner resemble so closely those of a popular member of Parliament—the same flourishing whiskers, the same gracious bend of his slim person—that, in St. Stephen's, one could fancy the bill-distributer had just emerged into better circumstances; or, in Piccadilly, that the bill-framer had met with a reverse of fortune. It may be observed here that bill-distributers may be classified as permanent and occasional. The permanent are those who, like the gentleman last alluded to, have a station to which they repair day after day: the occasional are those who, on the occurrence of a public meeting at Exeter Hall, or on a court-day at the India House, or any similar occasions when men congregate in numbers, are placed at the door with hand-bills—most frequently advertisements of unsaleable periodicals—to stuff them into the hands of all who enter.

Peripatetic placards are comparatively a recent invention. The first form they assumed was that of a standard-bearer, with his placard extended like the Roman vexillum at the top of a long pole. Next came a heraldic anomaly, with placards hanging down before and behind like a herald's tabard: Boz has somewhere likened this phenomenon to a sandwich—a piece of human flesh between two slices of pasteboard. When these innovations had ceased to be novelties, and, consequently, to attract observation, some brilliant genius conceived the idea of reviving their declining powers by the simple process of multiplication. This was no more than applying to the streets a principle which had already succeeded on the stage. An eminent playwright—the story is some hundred years old—finding a widow and orphan had proved highly effective in the tragedy of a rival dramatist, improved upon the hint by introducing a widow with two orphans, but was trumped in turn by a third, who introduced a widower with six small motherless children. The multiplication of pole-bearers answered admirably for a time, but it also has been rather too frequently repeated. Of late the practice has, in a great measure, been restricted to a weekly newspaper of enormous size and enormous circulation, which seems to have discovered that the public could only be made aware of the great number of copies it purchased by this mode of chronicling the intelligence.

To peripatetic placards succeeded the vehicular. The first of these were simple enough—almost as rude as the cart of Thespis could well be supposed to be. A last relic of this simple generation still performs its circuits, warning, in homely and affectionate fashion, "Maids and bachelors"—"when they marry"—to "purchase their bedding" at an establishment where they are sure to get it cheap and good. Alas, in the ancient time, when we were married, there were no

such kind advisers to save young folks from being taken in in this important article of domestic economy! The first attempt at something finer than the lumbering machines alluded to was a colossal hat, mounted upon springs like a gig (that badge of the "respectable"), which may still be remembered—perhaps

still be seen—dashing down Regent Street at the heels of a spirited horse, with the hatmaker's name in large letters on the outside, whereas small human hats have in general only the hat-wearer's name in small letters on the inside. Then came an undescribable column mounted, like the tower of Juggernaut, upon the body of a car—a hybrid between an Egyptian obelisk and the ball-surmounted column of an English country-gentleman's gate. It bore an inscription in honour of "washable wigs" and their cheapness. The rude structure of boards stuck round with placards has of late given way to natty vans, varnished like coaches, and decorated with emblematic paintings. The first of these that met our eye had emblazoned on its stern an orange sky bedropped with Cupids or cherubs, and beneath the roseate festoon of these tiny combinations of human heads and duck-wings an energetic Fame puffing lustily at a trumpet. Below this allegorical device was attached—on the occasion when we had the honour to make the acquaintance of this vehicle—a placard displaying in large letters the name of "the monster murderer, Daniel Good." There was an apotheosis! The luxury of vehicular advertisements continues to increase with a steady rapidity that might appal the soul of an admirer of sumptuary laws. No further gone than last week did we encounter a structure not unlike the iron monument reared in the neighbourhood of Berlin to the memory of the heroes of the war of independence. It was the same complication of arched Gothic niches and pinnacles; but in the niches, instead of the effigies of mailed warriors, stood stuffed-out dresses, such as are worn by the fashionables of the day. The figures were life-like in every respect, except that all of them wanted heads. By some internal clock-work the structure was made to revolve on its axis as the car on which it was erected whirled along. It was a masterpiece of incongruity—blending in its forms Gothic romance with modern tailorism; in its suggestive associations the proud monument reared by a nation to its deliverers from foreign tyranny, with

the processions of victims of the guillotine in the maddest moment of France's blood-drunken revolution. The genius of Absurdity presided over the concoction, and hailed it as worthy to be called her own *chef-d'œuvre*, and as the *ne plus ultra* of the efforts of human insignificance to attract notice in a crowd.

The advertisements to which we have hitherto been referring only encounter the Londoner when he ventures out into the streets. They jostle him in the crowd, as any other casual stranger might do. They are at best mere chance acquaintances: even "the old familiar faces" among them do not intrude upon our domestic privacy. When we shut our street-doors we shut them out. But there is a class of advertisements which follow us to our homes—sit beside us in our easy chairs—whisper to us at the breakfast-table—are regular and cherished visitants—the advertisements which crowd the columns of a newspaper. Newspaper advertisements are to newspaper news what autobiography is to the narrative of a man's life told by another. The paragraphs tell us about men's sayings and doings: the advertisements *are* their sayings and doings. There is a dramatic interest about the advertising columns which belongs to no other department of a newspaper. They tell us what men are busy about, how they feel, what they think, what they want. As we con them over in the pages of the 'Times' or 'Chronicle,' we have the whole busy ant-hill of London life exposed to our view. The journals we have named do more for us, without asking us to leave the fireside, than the Devil on Two Sticks could do for Don Cleofas after he had whisked him up to the steeple, and without the trouble of untiling all the houses "as you would take the crust off a pie."

It is not to matters of business alone, as the amateur in advertisements well knows, that these announcements are confined. Many of them have such a suggestive mystery about them, that they almost deserve a place in the "Romance of Real Life." In corroboration of this we take up a file of the 'Times,' and open at random, turning to the top of the second column of the first page, the locality most affected by this class. There is an imploring pathos about the very first that meets our eyes, that might suggest matter for at least three chapters of a modern novel:—"F. T. W. is *most urgently intreated* to communicate his address to his friend J. C., before *finally determining upon so rash a course of conduct* as that mentioned in his letter of yesterday. *All may and will be arranged.* The address, if communicated, will be considered confidential." Still more heart-rending are the images conjured up by the address upon which we stumble next:—"To A. M. Your brother *implores* that you will immediately return home, and every arrangement will be made for your comfort; or write me, and relieve the dreadful distress in which our parents are at your absence." The next strikes the note of generous enthusiasm:—"Grant. Received 5*l.* 6*s.*, with thanks and admiration for the rare probity exhibited." The superhuman virtue which could resist the temptation to pocket 5*l.* 6*s.* called for no less. What next? A laconic and perfectly intelligible hint:—"P. is informed that E. P. is very short of money. Pray WRITE SOON." Would that all our duns would adopt this delicate method of reminding us of their claims. All the world knows what *a* gentleman means; but perhaps few are aware that *the* gentleman visited London in the year of grace 1841 (for from the records of that year are we now culling):—"If the cab-driver who brought THE GENTLEMAN from Little

Queen Street this morning to —— ——, St. James's, will bring the blue great-coat, he will receive ten shillings reward." The next is of a gayer cast; it may have been an advertisement of Tittlebat Titmouse, Esq., in his jolly days:—"Ten shillings Reward. Lost on Friday night last, A RHINOCEROS WALKING-CANE, gold mounting, with initials T. T., supposed to have been left at the Cider Cellar, Maiden Lane. Apply at the St. Albans Hotel, Charles Street, St. James's." This comes of young gentlemen's larking, and sitting late at the Cider Cellar, which, by the way, is a cellar no longer, having been promoted to the ground floor. *Paulo majora canamus!* here comes emphasis and delicate embarrassment enough for three whole volumes:—"To the philanthropic and affluent. A young and protectionless orphan lady of respectability is in most imminent need of two hundred pounds to preserve her from utter and irretrievable ruin, arising mainly in a well-meant but improvident bill of acceptance, that from miscalculation of means in timeliness she has been unable to meet, and whereby legal process has just issued against her, involving a recherché limning property, of a far greater, and to three hundred pounds insured amount. In the forlorn yet fervid hope of such her twofold critically fearful case attracting the eye of some benevolent personage, forthwith disposed to inquire into it, and, on the proof, humanely to step forward to her rescue, both herein and for affording her a gratuitous asylum till the advanced spring, at least, when such property could be made best convertible, this advertisement, by an incompetent but anxious well-wisher, in appreciation of her great amiability, wonted high principle, domestic, and on every hand exemplary worth, is inserted."

How easily might a practised story-composer manufacture a domestic tale out of these materials, gleaned in a cursory glance of a few minutes! He might paint, with Dutch fidelity, the bitter as causeless squabbles of relatives; might intersperse the graver chapters with pictures of life about town, as witnessed by the hero of the "rhinoceros-cane" in his nocturnal perambulations; and what a splendid heroine, ready-made to his hand, in the fair one who could inspire the prose Pindaric just quoted! It seems to have become a received law that there must be some love in a novel, and even this we may find in the rich mine we are now excavating; for in these days of publicity and gigantic combinations, even 'The Times' has been enlisted under the banners of Cupid, and made occasionally the means "to waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole." We open upon chance; and lo! at the head of the aforesaid second column of the first page—"Why does Frederic come no more to St. John's Wood?" The song says—

"At the Baron of Mowbray's gate was seen
A page with a courser black;
Then out came a Knight of a gallant mien
And he leapt on the courser's back;
His heart was light and his armour bright,
And he sung this merry lay—
'O ladies! beware of a brave young man,
He loves and he rides away.'
A Lady looked over the castle wall
When she heard the Knight thus sing,
And when she heard the words he let fall,
Her hands she began to wring:" &c.

Now this was very natural, for in those days there were no newspapers. But had 'The Times' then existed, the woeful lady of the ballad need not have been reduced to unavailing hand-wringing: she would immediately have inserted, in the advertising columns of his newspaper—"Why does the knight of a gallant mien come no more to the Baron of Mowbray's castle?" Every morning daily, as he took his breakfast, would he be reminded of his offence. Afraid to touch the harassing monitor, his matutinal meal would lose more than half its relish. No place of refuge could he fly to where the wailings of his mistress could not follow him. They would be heard in the coffee-room, they would penetrate even into the asylum of the club. A spell would be upon him, rendering life miserable till he knelt for mercy at the feet of his mistress again. The fair dames of romance could only stab, poison, or betake themselves to sorcery, but our forlorn ones can advertise their lovers as "stolen or strayed."

The following advertisement, which appeared in the 'Chronicle' of the present year, not long after St. Valentine's, may also have reference to the tender passion; the hero of it might serve for the loutish lover so frequently introduced as a foil to the serious and elegant inamorato of a tale: "If the author of the lines, of which the following is a skeleton of the first stanza, will communicate with the person to whom they were recently addressed, which is earnestly desired, the result cannot but be gratifying to both parties:—

"C—l!	*	*	*	*	*	meet
You	*	*	*	*		me
And	*	*	*	*	*	eye
You	*	*	*	*	*	by
As	*	*	*	*	*	Old Woman."

The rhyme is somewhat peculiar. The mystery of this advertisement is easily solved. The Police Reports noticed, a few days before its publication, that a gentleman had appeared at one of the offices in high dudgeon because, on applying at the Post Office to have the postage of a Valentine returned, he was politely informed, "that it was the practice to return the postage of all anonymous letters—except Valentines." Doubtless, the communication which was to be in its result "gratifying to both parties," was a mere bait to catch the offender who had mulcted the angry gentleman in twopence; and if the sweet youth was caught, it needs no spirit of divination to tell that assuredly he tasted of cudgel.

Matrimonial advertisements are at a discount, but a class which still retain a *soupçon* of matrimonial speculation continue to haunt the newspapers. Here is a specimen:—"A Lady *in her thirty-third year* wishes to meet with a situation as Companion to a Lady, *or to superintend the domestic concerns of a Widower.* She has been accustomed to good society, and can give unexceptionable references. *As a comfortable home is the principal object, a moderate salary will suffice.*" For "thirty-third" read "thirty-eighth." It is a buxom widow, who wishes to secure a good house over her head, with a chance of becoming its mistress. If her appearance please the honest man who accepts her services, he had best go to church with her at once, for "to this complexion it must come at last." Perhaps, however, he would prefer to mate himself with the "Respectable Widow" in the next column, who is "fully competent to superintend the household affairs of a Single Gentleman, or a Mercantile Establiishment;" or, better

still, a female "of high respectability and of the Established Church," who "would be found invaluable where children have been recently deprived of maternal care; and, *being clever in millinery and dress-making*, would take them under her entire care." Yet something more than being clever in millinery and dress-making is sometimes thought necessary to qualify for the charge of children; so perhaps the widower might prefer sending his daughters to the innumerable admirable seminaries of education where young ladies are taught—"French, Italian, and German; English Composition; Mathematics, Political Economy, and Chemistry; the use of the Globes; Calisthenics (and single-stick?); Drawing, Entomology and Botany.—N.B. Latin and Greek, if required;" and where, in addition to all this cramming, "the Diet is unlimited!" Our British fair do not lavish all their attentions on the other sex—they have some sympathy left for their own:—"Two Ladies, residing within a few miles of town, wish to receive a Lady suffering under Mental Imbecility. While every attention would be paid to her health, it would be their study to promote the comfort and amusement of the patient, as far as circumstances might allow. *The use of a carriage* is required," whether *the patient* be able to use it or not. The benevolent and disinterested attention to the comfort of utter strangers, implied in the advertisement of the ladies under consideration, is not confined to the breasts of the softer sex. Here is a male philanthropist, who, unable to find occupants enough for his roomy benevolence, steps from the circle of his acquaintance into the regions of the unknown, and volunteers his services to all and any persons:—"Any Gentleman desirous of engaging in *an easy and agreeable profession* will have an opportunity that offers—provided he has 1000*l.* to employ as capital." Indeed, in these days, when, according to some statesmen, the whole country is labouring under a plethora of capital, it is astonishing to see how many humane individuals advertise their services to bleed the patients.

All classes of readers find advertisements suited to their different tastes. To literary men, aldermen, and other sedentary and masticating characters, of a dyspeptical tendency, the medical advertisements are irresistible. One learned practitioner proclaims—"No more gout, no more rheumatism!" Another, borrowing a metaphor from the worshipful fraternity of bum-bailiffs, talks of "Bleeding arrested;" we have "Ringworm cured by a Lady," and "Toothache cured by a Clergyman of the Church of England."* "Parr's Life Pills" may be such in reality as well in name; but "Cockle's Antibilious Pills" are certainly a passport to immortality, for the learned vender of them enumerates among his active and influential patrons several whom the ill-informed public had long numbered with the dead. Young men turn with interest to the advertisements of the theatres and other places of public entertainment: these are generally well classified, but to this praise there is one exception. An ingenious clergyman who takes for his texts—not passages from the Scriptures, but—the most recent topics of the day, and preaches upon the themes of journals in a style quite as entertaining, duly advertizes in the course of each week the topics he is to discuss on the following Sunday. It is rather hard upon this gentleman that

* Speaking of toothache, some may have an interest in knowing that—"*A lady*, having discovered an invaluable article for the toothache, now submits it to the public as unequalled, *it not requiring any application to the teeth*, or producing the slightest inconvenience."

neither the 'Times' nor the 'Chronicle' will place his advertisements among those which immediately precede the "leading article"—that being evidently their proper place, say between the announcement of the "Dissolving Views" of the Polytechnic exhibition, and that of the Zoological collection at the English Opera House. On a theme so copious one might run on for ever: but, before drawing bridle, let us, at least, give immortality to an advertisement which must speak trumpet-tongued to every warlike and patriotic soul:—

"AUX ETATS FOIBLES, voisins, d'aucune puissance dominante aggressive, l'inventeur propose l'emploi de son arme nouvelle, nommée par lui, LE PACIFICATEUR, qui par son pouvoir destrûctif enorme contre les masses, egalisera les forces les plus disparates, et entre les mains d'un peuple rendra nuls les attentats d'un étranger sur leur independance nationale. Les agens pleinments autorisés peuvent s'addresser à Mons. Charles Toplis, Poultry, London."

What a crow from the Poultry! What a huge turkeycock gobble! This is "man-traps and spring-guns" on a magnificent scale, set to guard kingdoms instead of cabbage-gardens. The terrific emanation shakes all our nerves, and forces us to seek refuge from the stormy passions of the present, amid the silence and repose of the dead and buried past.

Not, however, before we have paid a hasty but heart-felt tribute to the greatest master of the advertising art in ancient or modern times—the illustrious George Robins. We are obliged to stick him in here, because, as is generally the case with original genius, he fits into none of our categories. His advertisements are calculated alike for the posting-bill, the distributary bill, and the newspaper, and look equally well in all. Typographical they are, and yet the types assume, in them, a pictorial character. No man ever made his letters speak like George Robins. His style is his own: to speak in the language of the turf, one could imagine he had been "got by Burke out of Malaprop." He has carried the eloquence of advertising far beyond all his predecessors. And, as was the case with his great precursors in eloquence, Demosthenes and Chatham, his "copia fandi" has raised him to great charges—to be Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Drury Lane renters, and founder of a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, the annals of which he is writing in his own advertisements.

The art and science of advertising even in London did not reach the state of perfection in which we find it all at once. Enough has been said to show that even the young among the present generation may have noted a progressive improvement. But our forefathers, though not quite equal to us, were, after all, pretty fellows in their way; they understood something about advertising too, as we shall soon be able to convince our readers. The perishable placards and posting-bills of the ancients are gone—they have perished, like the frescoes of Leonardo da Vinci—but the domesticated advertisements of the newspaper have been stored up in libraries for the inspection of the curious. There are at this moment lying on our table some stray journals and Gazettes of the good days of Queen Anne and the two first Georges, and a complete set of the 'Tatler' in the folio half-sheets in which it first appeared, with all the real advertisements—we do not mean Steele's parodies upon them; and, examining those archives carefully, we are sometimes almost tempted to give the palm to the advertisers of that remote era. The art of advertising is perhaps in our days more uni-

versally known and practised—there are no such crude, unlicked lumps of advertisements as there were in A.D. 1711; but, again, there is scarcely the same racy originality. The advertisers of those days were the Shaksperes of this department of literature: those of the present time can rarely be estimated above the contributors to the annuals.

Place aux dames! There are plenty of wealthy and titled dames in our day who like to see their benevolence blazoned abroad by the advertised lists of subscribers to charities: but, apart from the spice of romance in its story, the following advertisement by the Duchess of Buckingham, in 1734, combining a skilful blazonry of her own humanity with a caution against over-drawing on her bank of benevolence, throws their timid, indirect self-praise at second-hand entirely into the shade:—"Last Tuesday evening, a female child, of about three weeks old, was left in a basket at the door of Buckingham House. The servants would have carried it into the park, but the case being some time after made known to the Duchess, who was told it was too late to send to the overseers of the parish, and that the child must perish with cold without speedy relief, her grace was touched with compassion, and ordered it to be taken care of. The person who left the letter in the basket is desired, by a penny-post letter, to inform whether the child has been baptized; because, if not, her grace will take care to have it done; and likewise to procure a nurse for it. Her grace doth not propose that this instance of her tenderness should encourage any further presents of this nature, because such future attempts will prove fruitless." These were the days in which 'The History of a Foundling' might have been read.

Even the reverend orator who advertises that the newest and most fashionable topics are discussed every Sunday from his pulpit had a prototype in those days, and one of much more daring genius—the Reverend Orator Henley. Here is one of that grave divine's announcements for 1726:—"On Sunday, July 31, the Theological Lectures of the Oratory begin in the French Chapel in Newport Market, on the most curious subjects in divinity. They will be after the manner and of the extent of the Academical Lectures. The first will be on the Liturgy of the Oratory, without derogating from any other, at half an hour after three in the afternoon. Service and sermon in the morning will be at half an hour after ten. The subjects will be always new, and treated in the most natural manner. On Wednesday next, at five in the evening, will be an Academical Lecture on Education, ancient and modern. The chairs that were forced back last Sunday by the crowd, if they would be pleased to come a very little sooner, would find the passage easy. As the town is pleased to approve of this undertaking, and the institutor neither does nor will act nor say anything in it that is contrary to the laws of God and his country, he depends on the protection of both, and despises malice and calumny." The advertisement of November, 1728, is still more daringly eccentric:—"At the Oratory in Newport Market, to-morrow, at half an hour after ten, the sermon will be on the Witch of Endor. At half an hour after five the Theological Lecture will be on the conversion and original of the Scottish nation, and of the Picts and Caledonians; St. Andrew's relicks and panegyrick, and the character and mission of the Apostles. On Wednesday, at six or near the matter, take your chance, will be a medley oration on the history, merits, and praise of Confusion and of Confounders in the road and out of the

way. On Friday, will be that on Dr. Faustus and Fortunatus, and Conjuration; after each the Climax of the Times, Nos. 23 and 24.—N.B. Whenever the prices of the seats are occasionally raised in the week-days notice of it will be given in the prints. An account of the performances of the Oratory from the first, to August last, is published, with the Discourse on Nonsense; and if any bishop, clergyman, or other subject of his Majesty, or any foreign prince or state can, at my years, and in my circumstances and opportunities, without the least assistance or any partner in the world, parallel the study, choice, variety, and discharge of the said performances of the Oratory by his own or any others, I engage forthwith to quit the said Oratory.—J. HENLEY."

Medical quackery was in full blossom at the beginning of last century. In 1700 we are informed:—"At the Angel and Crown, in Basing Lane, lives J. Pechey, a graduate in the University of Oxford, and of many years standing in the College of Physicians, London; where all sick people that come to him may have, *for sixpence,* a faithful account of their diseases, and plain directions for diet and other things they can prepare themselves; and such as have occasion for medicines may have them of him at reasonable rates, without paying anything for advice; and he will visit any sick person in London or the liberties thereof, in the day-time, *for two shillings and sixpence,* and anywhere within the bills of mortality for *five shillings;* and if he be called by any person as he passes by in any of these places, he will require but one shilling for advice." This excellently graduated tariff of charges might be recommended to the consideration of the faculty at large. Dr. Herwig's announcement is more artistically put together than Dr. Pechey's:—"Whereas, it has been industriously reported that Dr. Herwig, *who cures madness and most distempers by sympathy,* has left England and returned to Germany: this is to give notice, that he lives at the same place, viz., at Mr. Gagelman's, in Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, about the middle of the street, over against the green balcony." Lest, however, the superiority of Dr. Herwig in the science of humbug should be attributed to his foreign birth, we quote from the advertisements in the 'Tatler,' August 24 to 26, 1710, the advertisement of an indigenous quack:—"Whereas J. Moore, at the Pestle and Mortar, in Abchurch Lane, London, having had some extraordinary business which called me into the country for these five or six weeks last past, and finding I have been very much wanted in my absence, by the multitude of people which came to inquire for me; these are to inform them that I am returned, and am to be consulted with at my house as formerly." This class of practitioners employed largely the services of the industrious fraternity of bill-distributers—as, indeed, they are still their principal patrons. Malcolm, in 'Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century,' has preserved rather an ingenious bill which men were engaged to thrust into the hands of passengers:—"Your old friend Dr. Case desires you not to forget him, *although he has left the common way of bills.*"

Some of the nostrums of these gentlemen must have been rather agreeable to the taste. The following appears frequently in the 'Tatler:'—"The famous chymical quintessence of Bohea tea and cocoa-nuts together, wherein the volatile salt, oil, and spirit of them both are chymically extracted and united, and in which all the virtues of both tea and nut are essentially inherent, and is really a plea-

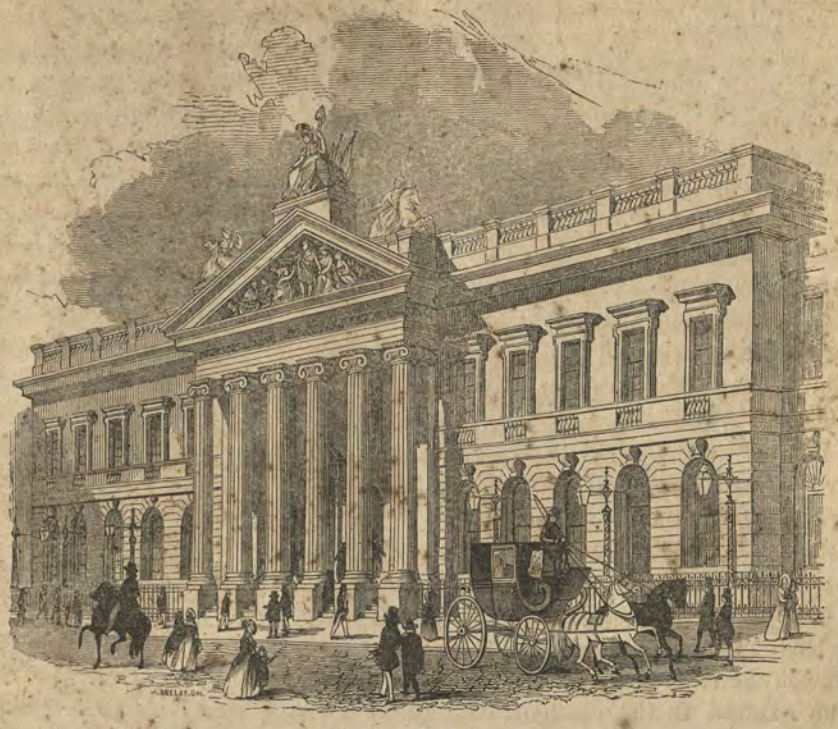
sant refreshing preparation, found, upon experience, to be the highest restorative that either food or physic affords; for, by it, all consumptive habits, decays of nature, inward wastings, thin or emaciated constitutions, coughs, asthmas, phthysics, loss of appetite, &c., are to a miracle retrieved, and the body, blood, and spirits powerfully corroborated and restored. A few drops of it in a dish of Bohea tea or chocolate is the most desirable breakfast or supper, and outvies for virtue or nourishment twenty dishes without it, as those who have taken it will find, and scarce ever live without it." Still more toothsome must have been the "nectar and ambrosia" of Mr. Baker, bookseller, at Mercer's Chapel, "prepared from the richest spices, herbs, and flowers, and done with rich French brandy." This compound, "when originally invented, was designed only for ladies' closets, to entertain visitors with, and for gentlemen's private drinking, *being much used that way*," but, zeal for the public, and the diffusion of useful knowledge, stimulated Mr. Baker, the bookseller, to "offer it with twopenny dram-glasses, which are sold inclosed in gilt frames, by the gallon, quart, or two-shilling bottles." As to cosmetics and perfumes, the advertising columns of the newspapers of Queen Anne's reign bloom with immortal youth, and are redolent of "spicy gales from Araby the blest."

Unchanged, unchangeable is quackery of all sorts. But here is an advertisement from the 'Tatler' (April, 1710), which, like the Duchess of Buckingham's foundling, carries us back into a state of society which has passed away:—"This is to give notice, that Luke Clark, and William Clark, his brother, both middle-sized men, brown complexions and brown wigs, went, as it appears by their pocket-books, on the 18th of March last from London to Kingston; but, upon examination, do not own what business they had there, nor where they were on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of the same month; but say, that on the 22nd they came from London and got to Lincoln on the 23rd, and from thence to Castor, and so to Whitegift Ferry; and on the 24th they came to Northcave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and remaining there two or three days, without any appearance of business, were there seized by the constable; and, for want of sureties for their good behaviour, by a justice of peace were committed to York Castle. There were found upon them four pistols of different sizes, charged, with more bullets and powder ready made up in papers; also two old black velvet masks, and several fir matches dipped in brimstone. Their horses seem to have been bred horses: the one being a large sorrel gelding, blind of the near eye, his near fore-foot and further hind-foot white, which they say they bought at the Greyhound, at Hyde Park Corner, on the 17th of March last; the other, a brown gelding, thought to be dim-sighted in both eyes, a little white on three feet: they say they bought him in Smithfield the same day, and saw him booked in the market-book. One of them had a grey riding-coat and straight-bodied coat, both with black buttons; the other's riding-coat was something lighter. If these men have done any robberies, or done anything contrary to law, it is desired that notice thereof may be given within a reasonable time to Mr. Mace, in York, clerk of the peace for the East Riding of Yorkshire, or else these men will be discharged, being as yet only committed for want of sureties for their good behaviour."

Perhaps the most curious feature of the advertising columns of the 'Tatler' is

the immense number of private lotteries, announced under the convenient name of sales, in the latter part of 1710. Dipping into "the file," upon chance, we find in the number for September 21-23:—"Mr. Stockton's sale of jewels, plate, &c., to be drawn in the great room at the Duke of Marlborough's Head, on Michaelmas-day, by parish boys and out of wheels." "Mrs. Honeyman, milliner, in Hungerford Street; her *twelvepenny* sale of goods is put off till the 29th inst." "Mr. Guthridge's *sixpenny* sale of goods, at the toy-shop over against Norfolk Street in the Strand, continues." "Mrs. Help's sale of goods, consisting of plate of considerable value, being near full, is to be drawn on Tuesday sevennight at the stone-cutter's in Downing Street;" and "Mr. William Morris's proposals for several prizes; 2500 tickets, in which there are 177 prizes, the highest 100*l.*, the lowest 11*s.*, and 13 blanks to a prize; *half-a-crown* the ticket." This is rather below than above the average quantity of such advertisements in a number of the 'Tatler' about that time. The temptations held out to gamblers in this small way were varied in the extreme. One advertisement "gives notice that Mr. Peters' sale of houses in Glouster Street, of 1000*l.*, for half-a-crown, will be drawn within a fortnight at farthest." Another runs thus:—"Tickets for the house on Blackheath, &c., to begin on Thursday the 7th September next, at the Bowling-green House on the said heath, where the sale is to be; at 2*s.* 6*d.* per ticket; the highest prize 220*l.*, the lowest 10*s.* Note, the house is let at 14*l.* 10*s.* per an., and but one guinea per an. ground-rent, the title clear and indisputable." The price of tickets for "Mrs. Symonds' sale of a japanned cabinet and weighty plate, in which there is but 11 blanks to a prize," was 5*s.* each. Mr. William Morris, mentioned above, risked for his 2*s.* 6*d.* tickets "a fine diamond cross, set transparent, with a button all brilliants, plate, atlasses on silk, six silk nightgowns, and several other valuable things." At Mrs. Mortly's India House, at the Two Green Canisters, on the pavement in St. Martin's Lane, were to be had "all sorts of Indian goods, lacquered ware, China fans, screens, pictures, &c., with hollands, muslins, cambrics, fine embroidered and plain short aprons, and divers other things, to be disposed of for blank lottery tickets, at 7*l.* each, and the goods as cheap as for specie. These were the "great goes," but for persons of less ample purses there were "sales" for which the tickets cost 1*s.*, 6*d.*, 3*d.*, and even as low as 2*d.* "Mrs. Painer's threepenny sale of goods is to be drawn on Tuesday next, the 15th inst., at the Queen's Head in Monmouth Street, Soho. There are some tickets yet to be disposed of there, and at her own lodgings, a clockmaker's, over-against Dean's Court in Dean's Street, St. Anne's; at Mrs. Williams', at Charing Cross, chandler; and at the combmaker's in New Street, Covent Garden." These disguised gambling-houses germinated and multiplied in every court and blind alley of London, and the prices of the tickets were adapted to the pockets of all classes, from the duchess to the cinder-wench, as the temptations were also suited to the tastes of each. This was the great school of "mutual instruction," in which the citizens of the metropolis of Great Britain trained themselves to act worthily the parts they performed in the years of the Great South Sea Bubble, that colossal specimen of self-swindling by a nation, compared with which our paltry modern attempts—our Poyais kingdoms, Peruvian mining-companies, joint-stock companies, of all shapes, colours, and sizes, dwarf and dwindle into insignificance.

This plan of getting rid of stale goods with profit is not yet altogether obsolete. The raffles for watches, old teapots, guns, and telescopes, which take place, from time to time, in remote and obscure country-towns, to the inconceivable excitement of their listless inhabitants, are the lingering antiquated fashions which were once supreme mode and bon-ton in the metropolis. Nay, the thing seems to be threatening to raise its head once more in London, and with a delicious hypocrisy, under the pretext of patronising and improving British art. The history of this "revival" is brief. In Scotland—where the genius of economy is rampant, and also the love of patronising, a number of amateurs have for some years been in the habit of clubbing to buy pictures at the Edinburgh exhibitions, and dividing the spoil by lot. An imitative association was set on foot here, either by picture-fanciers who had a mind to get pictures, or by artists who wished to get their unsaleable stock out of their studios—no matter which. So far these associations were what they gave themselves out for. The fashion has become contagious, and now we find, starting up in every street, "little-goes" for the "sale" (to adopt the phraseology of 1710) of printsellers' and picture-dealers' unsaleable stock. The system is an admirable one for accelerating the emptying of lumber rooms with advantage to their owners, and for increasing the already portentous number of walls in respectable houses stuck all over with stiff and glaring daubs. And this device for enabling demure conventional moralists to indulge the taste for gambling inherent in all human beings, with little apparent risk or breach of decorum, is trumpeted with the hundred Stentor-power lungs of the puffing press as the day-dawn of a new and brilliant era in British art! The truth is, that the "teapots," "japanned cabinets," and "buttons of brilliants," which attracted the gulls of Queen Anne's reign, were quite as much entitled to the epithet—"works of art," as the pieces of plastered canvas vended by means of the London little-goes of the present day.



[East India House.]

CIV.—THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

If the East India House only arrests the *eye* of the passenger, there is nothing in the building itself particularly calculated to make him pause in the midst of the busy thoroughfare of Leadenhall Street; but if he be gifted with the divine faculty of accurately delineating and colouring abstractions, then, indeed, it yields to none in the interest of the associations which cluster thick around it. It has been said of Burke, by a very brilliant writer of the present day, that so vivid was his imagination on whatever related to India, especially as to the country and people, that they had become as familiar to him as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's. "All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the hall where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy-camp was pitched—from the bazaars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. The burning sun; the strange vegetation of the palm and cocoa-tree; the rice-field and the tank; the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under

which the village crowds assemble; the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, and the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prayed with his face to Mecca; the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols; the devotee swinging in the air; the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side; the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect; the turbans and the flowing robes; the spears and the silver maces; the elephants with their canopies of state; the gorgeous palankin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed." * If such should be the rich, varied, and animated picture which the imaginative eye suddenly conjures up in the not very spacious or striking part of the great eastern thoroughfare in which the India House comes into view, not less glowing are the historical recollections which attach to the edifice in connexion with Anglo-Indian power. History presents nothing more strongly calculated to impress the imagination than the progress of English dominion in the East under Clive and Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis and Wellesley. Instead of clerks and mercantile agents living within the precincts of a fort or factory only by permission of the native rulers, who regarded them as mere pedlers, Englishmen have become the administrators of the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country,—of provinces comprising above a million square miles and a population exceeding one hundred and twenty millions,—states which yield taxes to the amount of 17,000,000*l.* and maintain an army of four hundred thousand men. All the business of government has passed into English hands. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, but he is a British pensioner on the revenues of the land which his ancestors once ruled. At the capital of the Nizam a British resident, the representative of the East India Company, is the real sovereign. There is still a Mogul who plays the sovereign, but the substance of his power has passed away. Youths from Haileybury College, and from the military school at Addiscombe, rising by regular gradations, have succeeded to the power once wielded by the Mahommedan conquerors of Hindostan, and which they exercise in a manner far more beneficial to the people. They are carefully educated for judicial, financial, diplomatic, and military offices, and are expected to be versed in the language of the people of whose welfare they are to be the guardians. This is a noble field for talent and ambition. When we first attempted to share with the Portuguese and Dutch in the commerce of the East, the qualifications required were but little higher than are now esteemed necessary in a custom-house officer of the lowest class. A turbulent youth was sent out to die of a fever, or to make his fortune. The salaries were so low that it was impossible to live upon them, and all sorts of irregular and unscrupulous practices were connived at, which saved the pockets of the adventurers at home at the expense of the native interests. The writer already quoted shows the present and former state of official servants in India. "At present," he says, "a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is rather fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a-year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 142, Article on Lord Clive.

English functionaries in India; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company; nor can any talents, however splendid, nor any connexions, however powerful, obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago much less money was brought home than in our time, but it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants." A new class of men sprung up at this period, to whom the appellation of 'Nabobs' was given: the ephemeral literature of that day is filled with the popular conceptions of the character, and the nabob is usually represented as "a man with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart." The public mind for thirty years was filled with impressions of their wealth and supposed crimes.

The progress of good government is nowhere more evident at the present time than in the administration of India. Even if the misgovernment now existed by which individuals could amass immense wealth, other circumstances would be entirely wanting to render the retired Indian a veritable Nabob of the old school, as he exists, somewhat caricatured of course, in the play and novel of seventy years ago. At that period the voyage to or from India was seldom accomplished in less than six months, and often occupied a much longer time: a year and a half was calculated as the average period between the dispatch of a report from Calcutta and the receipt of the adjudication thereon by the Directors in Leadenhall Street. Slow, tedious, uncertain, and unfrequent as was the intercourse of the servants of the East India Company with the mind of England in those days, what could be expected but that it should produce strong effects on those who went out in youth and spent thirty years of their life in India, and that at their return they should exhibit some rich peculiarities of character, easily assailable by the light shafts of ridicule, if not open to the violent attacks of those who suspected them of dark crimes committed in their distant pro-consulships while amassing their wealth? Even Warren Hastings, so consummate a politician in India, was at fault when he had to deal with party interests and feelings at home: he had lost that fine and delicate appreciation of things which is gained by observation from day to day. Steam navigation has done and will do much to elevate the character and objects of our Indian policy, and to imbue its functionaries with more enlarged views of their duties; for rapidity and certainty of communication is gradually bringing the eyes of the people upon this distant part of our empire. Steam has placed Bombay within five weeks' distance of London,* and the seat of the supreme government in India has been reached in six weeks from the seat of the imperial government. Private intercourse is rapidly increasing in consequence of these great improvements. Before the

* In August, 1841, the London mail reached Bombay in thirty-one days and five hours.

establishment of lines of steam-communication with India in 1836, the number of letters annually received and dispatched from the several presidencies and from Ceylon was 300,000. In 1840, the number had risen to 616,796, and to 840,070 in 1841. The number of newspapers sent from India to Europe in 1841 was about 80,000; and 250,000 were sent to India; and in 1842 it is believed that 400,000 were sent both ways, each cover being counted as one, though it might contain several newspapers. A man in the jungles may now be as well informed on the leading topics of the day in England, as if he were the daily frequenter of a news-room here. The peculiarities which seemed unavoidable at one period have scarcely ground now on which to take root.

It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the capture of a Portuguese ship laden with gold, pearls, spices, silks, and ivory called forth a body of merchant adventurers, who subscribed a fund amounting to something above 30,000*l.*, and petitioned Her Majesty for a warrant to fit out three ships, the liberty of exporting bullion (then deemed wealth, instead of its representative), and a charter of incorporation excluding from the trade all parties not licensed by themselves. While the discussions were pending the petitioners stated, in reply to an application from the government, who wished to employ Sir Edward Michelbourne on the expedition, that they were resolved "not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge," and requested "that they may be allowed to sort theire business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold uppon by the generalitie do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions." A Charter was granted on the last day of the sixteenth century to George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, under the title of the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," with exclusive liberty of trading for fifteen years, and a promise of renewal at the end of that term, if the plan should be found "not prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A century later the English had made such little progress in India, in comparison with the Portuguese, that, in 1698, it was compulsory on the ministers and schoolmasters sent to the English establishments in India to learn the Portuguese language.

The exclusive Charter of Queen Elizabeth was not at first respected by her successor, who, in 1604, issued a licence to Sir Edward Michelbourne and other persons to trade to the East, but he was subsequently persuaded to adopt a different policy; and on the 31st of May, 1609, he renewed the Company's Charter "for ever," but providing that it might be recalled on three years' notice being given, with some additional privileges, which encouraged the Company to build the largest merchant-ship that England had hitherto possessed: she was named the 'Trades Encrease,' and measured eleven hundred tons: at her launch the King and several of the nobility dined on board, and were served entirely upon china-ware, which was then a very costly rarity, and appropriate to the destination of the vessel. The direction of the Company was put under twenty-four committees; the word committee signifying then, as we believe it does still in Scotland, a person to whom any matter is intrusted. It was at first hardly a Company: each adventure was managed by associations of individual members

on their own account, acting generally according to their own pleasure, but conforming to certain established regulations made for the benefit of the whole body. But in 1612, after twelve voyages had been made to the East Indies, the whole capital subscribed, amounting to 429,000*l.*, was united, the management of the business was committed to a few principal parties, and the great body maintained such a general control as in recent times has been exercised by the Court of Proprietors. During the whole of the century the history of the Company is chiefly a narrative of mercantile transactions, but somewhat more interesting than those of our days from their adventurous character, and diversified by the accounts of quarrels, battles, and occasional treaties with the Portuguese and Dutch, who were very unwilling to admit a commercial rival.

Turning to the London history of the Company, we find the seventeenth century marked by several events which deserve to be briefly noticed as illustrative of the times. In 1623, just before the departure of a fleet for India, the Duke of Buckingham, then Lord High-Admiral, extorted the sum of 10,000*l.* before he would allow it to sail: the bribe was given to avoid a claim for droits of Admiralty on prize-money alleged to have been obtained at Ormuz and other places. A like sum was demanded for the King, but it does not appear to have been paid. In 1635 Charles I. granted to Captain John Weddell and others a licence to trade for five years: the inducement to this violation of the Charter was probably the share which the King was to receive of the profits. In 1640 Charles I. being in want of money, bought upon credit the whole stock of pepper in the Company's warehouses, amounting to 607,522 lbs., and sold it again for ready money at a lower price. Four bonds were given to the Company for the amount, payable at intervals of six months, but none of them were paid. In 1642 13,000*l.* was remitted of the duties owing by the Company, but the remaining sum of about 50,000*l.* was never received. In 1655 the Republican Government threw the trade to India entirely open. The experiment of a free trade was not fairly tried, as the Company was reinstated in its monopoly only two years afterwards. In 1661 Charles II. granted the Company a new Charter, conferring larger privileges—the power of making peace and war. The year 1667-8 is the first in which tea became an article of the Company's trade. The agents were desired to send home "100 lb. weight of the best tey that you can gett." In 1836 the quantity of tea consumed in the United Kingdom amounted to fifty million pounds within a fraction—the duty on which was 4,674,535*l.*, or more than one-twelfth of the whole revenue. In this same year 1667-8 the Company dispatched sixteen ships to India with the largest investment which had yet been sent out, the value of bullion and stock being 245,000*l.* In 1681 the Spitalfields weavers, thinking themselves injured by the importation of wrought silks, chintzes, and calicoes from India, riotously assembled about the India House, using violent threats against the directors.

From 1690 to 1693 a dispute existed as to whether the right of conferring a Charter for exclusive privileges of trade devolved upon the Sovereign or the Parliament. In the former year the House of Commons decided the question in their own favour, and addressed the King upon the subject, but in 1693 the King granted a new Charter for twenty-one years, upon which the House again

affirmed its right, and not only passed a resolution to that effect, but directed an inquiry into the circumstances attending the renewal, when it was ascertained that it had been procured by a distribution of 90,000*l.* to some of the highest officers in the State. Sir Thomas Cooke, a member, and governor of the Company, was committed to the Tower for refusing to answer the questions put to him; and the Duke of Leeds, who filled the office of President of the Council, was impeached on a charge of having received a bribe of 5000*l.* Further exposures were put a stop to by the prorogation of Parliament. Five years afterwards, in 1698, without much show of reason or justice, the Old Company, which had now been in existence nearly a century, was dissolved, three years being allowed for winding up its business. A New Company, incorporated by the name of the "English Company," was invested with the privileges of exclusive trade. The members composing the new body had outbid the older one by offering to lend the Government a larger sum of money. In 1700 the Old Company obtained an act authorising them to trade under the Charter of the New Company. The existence of two trading bodies led to disputes and rivalry, which benefited neither, and exposed them both to the tyranny of the native princes. The capital of the English Company was absorbed by the loan which it had made to Government as a bonus for its privileges, but the older body naturally profited from the greater experience of its members. In 1702 an act was passed for uniting the two Companies, which was completely effected in 1708, seven years having been allowed to make the preparatory arrangements. The united bodies were entitled "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," a title which was borne until the abolition of its trading privileges in 1834. The exclusive privileges of the Company were successively renewed in 1712, 1730, 1744, 1781, 1793, and 1813. Very important changes were made on the renewal of the Charter in 1781. The Government stipulated that all dispatches for India should be communicated to the Cabinet before being sent off; and they obtained a decisive voice in questions of peace and war. This was a prelude to the establishment of the Board of Control in 1784, by which, in everything but patronage and trade, the Court of Directors were rendered subordinate to the Government. In 1794 a slight infringement was made on the Company's Charter by a clause enabling private merchants to export goods to or from India in the Company's ships, according to a rate of freight fixed by act of Parliament, the Company being required to furnish shipping to the amount of three thousand tons annually to the private traders. In 1813 the rights of the private traders were still further extended. In the twenty years from 1813 to 1833, the value of goods exported by the private trade increased from about one million sterling per annum to three and a-half millions, a much larger amount than had ever been exported by the Company.

In 1833 the act was passed by which the Company is now governed. This act has made greater changes in the state of affairs than all the former ones. It continues the government of India in the hands of the Company until 1854, but takes away the China monopoly and all trading whatever. As the proprietors were no longer a body of merchants, their name was necessarily changed, and it was enacted that "The East India Company" should be their future appella-

tion. Their warehouses, and the greatest part of their property, were directed to be sold: the dividend was to be 10½ per cent., chargeable on the revenues of India, and redeemable by Parliament after the year 1874. The amount of dividends guaranteed by the act is 630,000*l.*, being 10½ per cent. on a nominal capital of 6,000,000*l.* The real capital of the Company in 1832 was estimated at upwards of 21,000,000*l.*, including cash, goods, buildings, and 1,294,768*l.* as the estimated value of the East India House and the Company's warehouses, the prime cost of the latter having been 1,100,000*l.* The act directs that accounts of the Company's revenues, expenditure, and debts are to be laid before Parliament every year in May; also lists of their establishments, with salaries and allowances paid on all accounts. Englishmen were allowed to purchase lands and to reside in all parts of India, with some exceptions, which were removed in 1837. These, and several other enactments relating to India only, have altered in a great measure the character of the Company.

For some time after the English began to trade to the East, no footing was obtained on the Continent of India. The first factory was at Bantam, in Java, which was established in 1602; a few years afterwards there were factories in Siam; and in 1612, after many attempts, a firman was obtained from the Great Mogul allowing certain privileges at Surat, which was a long time the head of all our trade in India. This firman was granted, or at least accelerated, by the success of the English in four naval fights with the Portuguese, whom the natives had believed to be invincible. In the same year the English received several commercial privileges from the Sultan of Achin, in Sumatra, who requested in return that two English ladies might be sent to him, to add to the number of his wives! In the following year they established a factory at Firando, in Japan; and by 1615 the number of factories in the East amounted to nineteen. In 1618 the Company placed agents at Gombroon in Persia, and Mocha in Arabia. In 1639 they received from the native chief of the territory around Madras power to exercise judicial authority over the inhabitants of that place, and to erect a fort there. This was Fort St. George; it was the first establishment possessed in India that was destined to become a place of importance: it was raised to the rank of a Presidency in 1653. The first footing in Bengal, the source of all the subsequent power of England in India, was obtained in 1652. The immediate means of this privilege are curious. In the year 1645 a daughter of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, had been severely burnt, and an express was sent to Surat to procure an English surgeon. A Mr. Broughton was sent, who cured the princess and attained to great favour at court: from Delhi he passed into the service of Prince Shujah, with whom he resided when the prince entered upon the Governorship of Bengal, and Mr. Broughton's influence there obtained for his countrymen the privilege of trading custom-free, which was confirmed by a firman of Aurungzebe in 1680. Bombay, which had been ceded by Portugal to Charles II. as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, was made over by him to the Company in 1668. Calcutta was founded in 1692 on the site of a village named Govindpore, and the possession received an important increase in 1717, when the Mogul granted a patent enabling the English to purchase thirty-seven towns in the vicinity. This accession was obtained by the

influence of another surgeon, a Mr. Hamilton, who had cured the Mogul of a dangerous disease. The system of uniting the separate factories under larger jurisdictions, named presidencies, was now fully established: Madras had been the eastern presidency from the middle of the century to 1682, when Bengal was separated; and Surat had held supremacy over the western coast from 1660 until 1687, when Bombay was made the head of all the establishments in India. By the end of the century the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were distinguished as they still are, with the exception that Bengal was not then the seat of the Supreme Government, a distinction which was given to it by an Act passed in 1773, when Warren Hastings was made Governor-General.

The Home Government of the Company consists of, 1st. The Court of Proprietors, or General Court; 2nd. The Court of Directors, selected from the proprietors; and 3rd. The Board of Commissioners, usually called the Board of Control, nominated by the Sovereign.

The Court of Proprietors, or General Court, as its name imports, is composed of the owners of India Stock. It appears that, in the seventeenth century, every stockholder had a voice in the distribution of the funds of the Company: the act of 1693 provided that no person should vote in the General Courts who had less than 1000*l.* of stock, and that larger owners should have as many votes as they held thousands; but that no person should have more than ten votes. The qualification for one vote was, by the act of 13th April, 1689, lowered to 500*l.*, and the number of votes limited to five, which was the number allowed to a holder of 4000*l.* stock. By the act of 5th September, 1698, every owner of 500*l.* stock was allowed one vote, and the greatest owners had no more. By the law now in force, which was made in 1773, the possession of 1000*l.* gives one vote, although persons having only 500*l.* may be present at the Court: 3000*l.* entitles the owner to two votes, 6000*l.* to three, and 10,000*l.* to four votes. All persons whatever may be members of this Court, male or female, Englishman or foreigner, Christian or unbeliever. The Court of Proprietors elects the Court of Directors, frames bye-laws, declares the dividend, controls grants of money exceeding 600*l.*, and additions to salaries above 200*l.* It would appear that the executive power of this Court, having been delegated to the Court of Directors, may be considered as extinct; at all events it never now interferes with acts of government, although instances have formerly occurred where acts of the Court of Directors have been revised by it. Its functions in fact are deliberative: they are like those of influential public meetings in the English constitution, and its resolutions are supposed to be respectfully attended to by the Directors, and even by the Legislature. It is always called together to discuss any proceedings in Parliament likely to affect the interests of the Company. It may, at any time, call for copies of public documents to be placed before the body for deliberation and discussion; and is empowered to confer a public mark of approbation, pecuniary or otherwise, on any individual whose services may appear to merit the distinction, subject however to the approbation of the Board of Control, in cases where the sum shall exceed 600*l.*

The meetings of this Court have much the appearance of those of the House of Commons, and its discussions are conducted by nearly the same rules.

The Chairman of the Court of Directors presides ex-officio, and questions are put through him as through the Speaker. There is occasionally a display of eloquence which would not disgrace the Senate, though more frequently perhaps the matters debated are hardly of sufficient general interest to produce so much excitement. Amendments are proposed, adjournments are moved, the previous question is put, the Court rings with cries of "Hear, hear," "Oh, oh!" &c &c., and a tedious speaker is coughed down as effectually as he would be on the floor of the House of Commons. At the conclusion of a debate the question is often decided by a show of hands; but if any Proprietor doubts the result, he may call for a division, when tellers are appointed, and the Court divides accordingly. In especial cases any nine members may call for an appeal to the general body of Proprietors, to whom timely notice is sent, and the vote is by ballot. The meetings always take place at twelve o'clock, and generally close at dusk: in cases of great interest they are much later, and in a recent instance the debate continued until two o'clock in the following morning. The number of members of the Court of Proprietors, in 1843, is 1880, of whom 333 have two votes, 64 three, and 44 four votes. In 1825 there were 2003 proprietors. In 1773, when all owners of stock amounting to 500*l.* had each one vote, and none had a plurality, the number of proprietors was 2153, of whom 812 held stock to the amount of more than 1000*l.* each. The interest taken by the public in Indian affairs was much greater then than is the case at present, and the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, as described by one who has made the affairs of India his study, were "stormy and even riotous—the debates indecently virulent." He adds:—"All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale."* It is said that during Clive's visit to his native country, in 1763, he laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of India stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors whom he brought down at every discussion; and other wealthy persons did the same, though not to an equal extent. The whole of the Directors were at this period appointed annually. At present each Director is elected for four years, and six retire yearly, and are not re-eligible until they have been a year out of office. The chairman and deputy-chairman are elected annually, and generally the deputy becomes chairman after being a year in the deputy-chair. They are the organs of the Court, and conduct all communication requiring a personal intercourse with the Ministry and Board of Commissioners. It is believed that by far the greater share of the labour of the Court falls on the chairs; and that, great as is the patronage connected with the offices, they are by no means objects of ambition to the majority of the members.

The functions of the Court of Directors pertain to all matters relating to India, both at home and abroad; subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners, and, in some cases, to the concurrence of the Court of Proprietors, with the exception always of such high political matters as require secrecy, which

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 142.

are referred to a select committee of their body. This Court has the power to nominate the Governors of all the Presidencies, subject to the approval of the Crown. They have also the patronage of all other appointments, without control from the Board. The Committee of Secrecy, first appointed in 1784, consists of three members of the Court, who receive the directions of the Board on subjects connected with peace, war, or negotiations with other powers, and send dispatches to India under their directions, without communication with the rest of the Court. This Committee also receive dispatches from India sent in the Secret department, and communicate them immediately to the Board. The duties of the Court of Directors are extensive, and for their ready dispatch it is divided into three Committees, whose departments are indicated by their appellations:—the Finance and Home Committee; the Political and Military Committee; and the Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee.

The Board of Control, whose proper designation is "the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," was established by the Act of 1784. The Board is nominated by the sovereign: it consists of an unlimited * number of members, all of whom, except two, must be of the Privy Council, and must include the two principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Practically, all the Commissioners are honorary, except three, who alone are paid. All the members of the Board vacate office upon changes of ministry, but the unpaid ones are often re-appointed. The Board receive from the Court, and may confirm, alter, or disallow all minutes, orders, and dispatches; they may not only keep back dispatches prepared by the Court, but may compel the Court to send others prepared without the Court's concurrence. They have access to all books, papers, and documents in the East India House, and may call for accounts on any subject. They communicate with the Secret Committee, and direct it to send secret dispatches to India, the responsibility resting with the Board. In fact, since the abolition of the trade, with which the Board had nothing to do, the Court of Directors must be considered simply as the instrument of the Board.

The routine of business as transacted between the Court and Board is simple. On the receipt of a dispatch from India, it is referred to the Committee in whose province it lies, and from it to the proper department; the chief of which causes a draught of a reply to be made under his superintendence, which he first submits to the Chairs; the Chairman brings the draught before the Committee, by whom it is considered and approved, or revised, and then laid before the Court. The draught is there discussed, and, when approved, sent to the Board. If the Board approve the draught, it is returned, and dispatched forthwith by the Court: if altered, the alterations may become a subject of correspondence and remonstrance with the Board, with whom, however, the final decision lies. If the Chairs judge that any serious discussion is likely to arise upon any dispatch, they make, unofficially, a previous communication to the Board, and the matter is discussed before it is laid before the Court.

Since the functions of the Company have become wholly political, the esta-

* They were limited to six by the Act of 1784, but this clause was repealed in 1793.

blishment at the East India House is necessarily much reduced from what it was when, in addition to other duties, it had the direction and control of commercial concerns which required the constant employment of nearly four thousand men in its warehouses. Before the closing of its trade the number of clerks of all grades was above four hundred.* This number was not more than was really necessary. The duties of no public office in England can give a fair notion of what was required at the East India House, from the circumstance that the latter was a compendium of all the offices of government, including a department for the transfer of stock; and was in addition a great mercantile establishment. The departments were necessarily numerous. The military department superintended the recruiting for the Indian army, the embarkation of troops for India, the management of military stores, &c. There was a shipping department and master-attendant's office, whose functions are obvious from their appellations: an auditor's office to conduct all financial matters relative to India—a sort of Indian exchequer. The examiner's office managed the great political concerns of the Company. There were an accountant's office, a transfer office, a treasury, to investigate all matters relating to bills and certificates granted in India, China, or elsewhere on the Company, and to compare advices with bills when presented; to prepare estimates and statements of stock, &c. for the Lords of the Treasury, the Parliament, and the Courts; to conduct all business relating to the sale and transfer of stock; to provide for the payment of dividends and of interest on bonds, to negotiate loans, to purchase bullion, and to manage sales of specie from India or China. The office of buying and warehouses managed the whole of the trade, both export and import: its functions were to prepare orders for India and China produce so as to suit the home markets, and to provide goods here for sale in India and China; to superintend the purchase and export of military stores, and to manage the business of fifteen warehouses, employing nearly four thousand men, and in the article tea alone containing often fifty millions pounds weight (above 22,000 tons!) The Committee, of which this was the chief office, had also the superintendence of the sales. The value of goods sold in the year 1834-5 amounted to 5,089,77*l.* Those of tea were the most extensive, and they are yet remembered with a sort of dread by all who had anything to do with them. They were held only four times a-year—in March, June, September, and December; and the quantity disposed of at each sale was in consequence very large, amounting on many recent occasions to 8½ millions of pounds, and sometimes much higher: they lasted several days, and it is within our recollection that 1,200,000 lbs. have been sold in one day. The only buyers were the tea-brokers, composed of about thirty firms: each broker was attended by the tea-dealers who engaged his services, and who communicated their wishes by nods and winks. In order to facilitate the sale of such large quantities, it was the practice to put up all the teas of one quality before proceeding to those of another; and to permit each bidder to proceed without much interruption so long as he confined his biddings to the variation of a farthing for what was technically

* A parliamentary document of 1835 gives the number of persons in the home establishment at 494, at salaries amounting to 134,454*l.* This includes door-porters, fire-lighters, watchmen, messengers, &c. The number of clerks now in the House is about 150.

called the upper and under lot; but as soon as he began to waver, or that it appeared safe to advance another farthing, the uproar became quite frightful to one unaccustomed to it. It often amounted to a howling and yelling which might have put to shame an O. P. row, and, although thick walls intervened, it frequently was heard by the frequenters of Leadenhall Market. All this uproar, which would induce a stranger to anticipate a dreadful onslaught, was usually quelled by the finger of the chairman pointing to the next buyer, whose biddings would be allowed to go on with comparative quietness, but was sure to be succeeded by a repetition of the same noise as at first. At the indigo sales much the same sort of scene took place.

The above and several minor departments usually kept the establishment fully engaged; and, though there were days in which a smaller body might have done the current work of the House, there were many in which the whole force of the establishment was absolutely necessary. The mere reading through, and commenting on, the voluminous explanatory matter received from the Indian Governments, in addition to the dispatches, was no small labour. Of such matter there were received, from 1793 to 1813, 9094 large folio volumes, or 433 per annum; and from that year to 1829 the number was 14,414, or 776 a-year. Facility in composition is as necessary a qualification in public men in India, as speaking to a politician at home; and it has been observed that, while the latter is often too much of a talker, in India he is rather too much of an essayist. Testimony to the industry and ability of the East India clerks was borne by Mr. Canning, in a debate on the 14th March, 1822. This statesman, who had been several years President of the Board of Commissioners, said, "He had seen a military dispatch accompanied with 199 papers, containing altogether 13,511 pages; another, a judicial dispatch, with an appendage of 1937 pages; and a dispatch on the revenue, with no fewer than 2588 pages by its side. Much credit was due to the servants of the East India Company. The papers received from them were drawn up with a degree of accuracy and talent that would do credit to any office in the State. The Board could not, with all the talents and industry of the President, the Commissioners, or their tried Secretary, have transacted the business devolved upon it, without the talents and industry with which that business was prepared for them at the India House."

We shall conclude with a description of the East India House. It does not appear to be ascertained where the Company first transacted their business, but the tradition of the House is, that it was in the great room of 'The Nag's Head Inn,' opposite Bishopsgate Church, where there is now a Quakers' Meeting House. The maps of London, constructed soon after the great fire, place the India House in Leadenhall Street, on a part of its present site. It is probably the house, of which an unique plate is preserved in the British Museum, surmounted by a huge, square-built mariner, and two thick dolphins. In the Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the Companies, dated 22nd July, 1702, we find that Sir William Craven, of Kensington, in the year 1701, leased to the Company his large house in Leadenhall Street, and a tenement in Lime Street, for twenty-one years, at 100*l.* a-year. Upon the site of this house what is called the old East India House was built in 1726; and several portions of this old

House yet remain, although the present front, and great part of the house, were added, in 1799, by Mr. Jupp.

[Old East India House, 1726.]

The façade of the existing building is 200 feet in length, and is of stone. The portico is composed of six large Ionic fluted columns on a raised basement, and it gives an air of much magnificence to the whole, although the closeness of the street makes it somewhat gloomy. The pediment is an emblematic sculpture by Bacon, representing the Commerce of the East protected by the King of Great Britain, who stands in the centre of a number of figures, holding a shield stretched over them. On the apex of the pediment stands a statue of Britannia: Asia, seated upon a dromedary, is at the left corner; and Europe, on horseback, at the right.

The ground-floor is chiefly occupied by court and committee rooms, and by the Directors' private rooms. The Court of Directors occupy what is usually termed the 'Court Room,' while that in which the Court of Proprietors assemble is called the 'General Court Room.' The Court Room is said to be an exact cube of 30 feet: it is splendidly ornamented by gilding and by large looking-glasses; and the effect of its too great height is much diminished by the position of the windows near the ceiling. Six pictures hang from the cornice, representing the three Presidencies, the Cape, St. Helena, and Tellichery. A fine piece of sculpture, in white marble, is fixed over the chimney: Britannia is seated on a globe by the seashore, receiving homage from three female figures, intended for Asia, Africa, and India. Asia offers spices with her right hand, and with her left leads a camel; India presents a large box of jewels, which she holds half open; and Africa rests her hand upon the head of a lion. The Thames, as a river-god,

stands upon the shore; a labourer appears cording a large bale of merchandise, and ships are sailing in the distance. The whole is supported by two caryatid figures, intended for brahmins, but really fine old European-looking philosophers.

The General Court Room, which until the abolition of the trade was the Old Sale Room, is close to the Court Room. Its east side is occupied by rows of seats which rise from the floor near the middle of the room towards the ceiling, backed by a gallery where the public are admitted: on the floor are the seats for the chairman, secretary, and clerks. Against the west wall, in niches, are six statues of persons who have distinguished themselves in the Company's service: Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquis Cornwallis occupy those on the left, and Sir Eyre Coote, General Lawrance, and Sir George Pococke those on the right. It is understood that the statue of the Marquis Wellesley will be placed in the vacant space in the middle. The Finance and Home Committee Room is the best room in the house, with the exception of the Court Rooms, and is decorated with some good pictures. One wall is entirely occupied by a representation of the grant of the Dewannee to the Company in 1765, the foundation of all the British power in India; portraits of Warren Hastings and of the Marquis Cornwallis stand beside the fireplace; and the remaining walls are occupied by other pictures, among which may be noticed the portrait of Mirza Abul Hassan, the Persian Envoy, who excited a good deal of attention in London in the year 1809.

The upper part of the house contains the principal offices and the Library and Museum. In the former is perhaps the most splendid collection of Oriental MSS. in Europe, and, in addition, a copy of almost every printed work relating to Asia: to this, of course, the public is not admitted; but any student, properly recommended, is allowed the most liberal access to all parts of it. We may instance, as worthy of all imitation, where buildings contain articles of value, that large tanks, always full of water, stand upon the roof of the building, and that pipes, with stop-cocks, extend from them to all parts of the house, so arranged that, in case of fire, any of the watchmen connected with the establishment can at once deluge that part with water enough to repel any apprehension of its spreading beyond the spot.

The opening of the Museum at the India House to the public once a-week, on Saturdays, from eleven to three, is a creditable act of liberality on the part of the Directors. The rooms appropriated to this purpose are not a continuous suite, but a passage leading from one suite to another contains paintings, prints, and drawings, illustrative of Indian scenery and buildings; also models of a Chinese war-junk, a Sumatran proa, together with a few objects of natural history, as remarkable specimens of bamboo, &c. This passage leads to three small side-rooms, the first of which contains a Burmese musical instrument, shaped somewhat like a boat, and having a vertical range of nearly horizontal strings, which were probably played by means of a plectrum, or wooden peg. Opposite is a case illustrative of the state of the useful arts in India, containing models of looms, ploughs, mills, smiths' bellows, coaches and other vehicles, windlass, pestle and mortar, &c. This room also contains specimens illustrating

[The Museum.]

the manufacturing processes of Oriental nations, with some objects of natural history. The next room is wholly devoted to natural history. In the third room there is another curious Burmese musical instrument, consisting of twenty-three flattish pieces of wood, from ten to fifteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half in width: these bars are strung together so as to yield dull and subdued musical notes when struck with a cork hammer; and their sizes are so adjusted as to furnish tones forming about three octaves in the diatonic scale. At the end of the corridor is a tolerably large room, containing a number of glass cases filled with specimens of Asiatic natural history. There are Indian, Siamese, and Javanese birds, Sumatran and Indian mammalia, besides butterflies, moths, beetles, and shells. In another room are sabres, daggers, hunting-knives, pipes, bowls, models of musical instruments, serving to illustrate some of the usages of the inhabitants of Java and Sumatra. The Library, in another part of the building, is also partly appropriated as a Museum. The Oriental curiosities in this department comprise, among other things, specimens of painted tiles, such as are used in the East for walls, floors, ceilings, &c., Bhuddist idols, some of white marble, others of dark stones, and some of wood. There are many other objects connected with the religion of Bhudda, as parts of shrines and thrones, on which processions and inscriptions are sculptured, and a large dark-coloured idol represents one of the Bhuddic divinities. In the centre of this room are three cases containing very elaborate models of Chinese villas, made of ivory, mother-of-pearl, and other costly materials; and from the ceiling is suspended a large and highly-decorated Chinese lantern, made of thin sheets of horn.

There are a few glass cases, which contain various objects worthy of notice. There is an abacus, or Chinese counting-machine, Chinese implements and ma-

terials for writing, for drawing, for engraving on wood, and for printing; also Chinese weighing and measuring machines, a Chinese mariner's compass, Sycee silver, the shoe of a Chinese lady, and various Chinese trinkets. There are specimens of tea, in the form in which it is used in various parts of the East—that is, in compressed cakes. On a stand, on the floor, is placed a childish piece of musical mechanism, which once belonged to Tippoo Sultan: it consists of a tiger trampling on a prostrate man, and about to seize him with his teeth. The interior contains pipes and other mechanism, which, when wound up by a key, cause the figure of the man to utter sounds of distress, and the tiger to imitate the roar of the living beast.* In passing to another apartment, which forms also a part of the Library, we enter a small ante-room, which is occupied by a splendid howdah, or throne, part of it of solid silver, adapted for the back of an elephant, in which Oriental princes travel: it was taken by Lord Combermere at Bhurtpore. The walls of this room are covered with weapons and arms used by different Oriental nations. The next room, filled chiefly with books, contains, however, several curious objects: here are Tippoo Sultan's 'Register of Dreams,' with the interpretation of them in his own hand; and the Korán which he was in the habit of using. A visit to this Museum is certainly calculated to render impressions concerning the East more vivid and striking.

* See the cut in preceding page.—The construction of the whole machine is very rude, and it is probably much older than the age of Tippoo. The machinery, though not of neat workmanship, is simple and ingenious in contrivance. There is a handle on the animal's shoulder which turns a spindle and crank within the body, and is made to appear as one of the black stripes of the skin. To this crank is fastened a wire, which rises and falls by turning the crank: the wire passes down from the tiger between his fore-paws into the man's chest, where it works a pair of bellows, which forces the air through a pipe with a sort of whistle, terminating in the man's mouth. The pipe is covered by the man's hand; but at the moment when, by the action of the crank, the air is forced through the pipe, a string leading from the bellows pulls a small lever connected with the arm, which works on a hinge at the elbow; the arm rises in a manner which the artist intended to show supplication; the hand is lifted from the mouth, and a cry is heard: the cry is repeated as often as the handle is turned; and while this process is going on, an endless screw on the shaft turns a worm-wheel slowly round, which is furnished with four levers or wipers; each of these levers alternately lifts up another and larger pair of bellows in the head of the tiger. When by the action of one of these four levers the bellows are lifted up to their full height, the lever, in continuing to turn, passes by the bellows, and the upper board being loaded with a large piece of lead, falls down on a sudden and forces the air violently through two loud-toned pipes terminating in the animal's mouth, and differing by the interval of a fifth. This produces a harsh growl. The man in the meantime continues his screaming or whistling; and, after a dozen cries, the growl is repeated.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOC

[Guildhall, about 1750.]

CV.—HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GUILDHALL.

It may appear at first glance a curious circumstance that the greatest events of which the edifice above-named has been the scene should be those which have had the least direct connection with its general objects or character. Instead of the election and banqueting of a Mayor, the repression of some new system of swindling; or—what to some would seem to be almost synonymous—of some new proposition of municipal reform, each alike, figuratively speaking, stirring the very hair of civic heads with horror; or, lastly, instead of an inquiry into some delectable police case, the principal matters that now agitate Guildhall, or draw public attention towards it,—we find here, in former times, sceptres changing hands, new religions proscribed, and their disciples sent to martyrdom, trials of men who would have revolutionised the state, and who might, by the least turn of Fortune's wheel in a different direction, have changed places in the court with those who sat there to decide upon their lives, or rather to destroy them in accordance with a previous decision—the more common state of things in our old crown prosecutions. But the connection of such events with Guildhall was not so remote, still less so accidental, as it seems. Without trenching upon the proper history of the latter, which belongs to another paper, we may here observe that when Guildhall was the concentrating point towards which, in all matters affecting the independence, prosperity, and government of London, the intellect, wealth,

and numerical strength of London generally systematically tended, it is evident that no place throughout England was so favourable for those royal and political manœuvres of which the historical recollections of Guildhall furnish such memorable examples. If Gloster wishes to be king, it is to Guildhall that he first sends the wily Buckingham to expressly ask the suffrages of the people: if the bigoted council of the savage Henry determine to express in some exceedingly decisive manner their abhorrence of the spreading doctrines of the Reformation, and of the error of supposing that because Henry favoured them when he wanted a new wife, that he still did so when unable to think of anything but his own painful and disgusting sores, it is at Guildhall that the chosen victim—a lady, young, beautiful, and learned—receives her doom: if Mary would damage the Protestant cause whilst trying Protestant traitors, or James, the Catholic, at a similar opportunity, Guildhall is still the favourite spot. Whatever the effect sought to be produced, it was well known that success in London was the grand preliminary to success elsewhere.

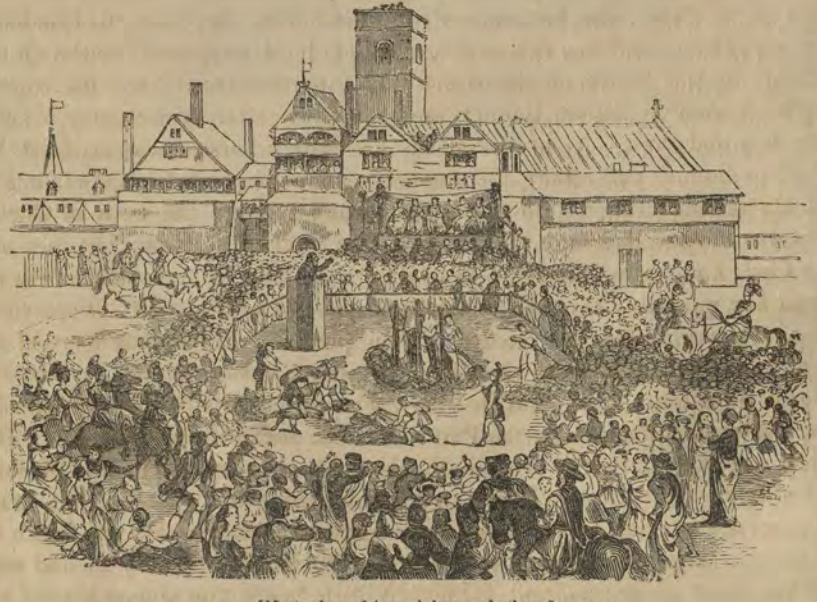
It was on Tuesday, the 24th of June, 1483, that the citizens were seen flocking from all parts towards the Guildhall, on some business of more than ordinary import. Edward IV. had died a few weeks before, and his son and successor was in the Tower, under the care of his uncle, the Protector, waiting the period of his coronation. Doubt and anxiety were in every face. The suspicious eagerness shown to get the youthful Duke of York from the hands of his mother in the Sanctuary at Westminster, the almost inexplicable death of Hastings in the Tower, the severe penance inflicted on Jane Shore, the late King's favourite mistress, and the sermon which followed that exhibition on the same day, the preceding Sunday, at Paul's Cross, where the popular preacher, Dr. Shaw, spoke in direct terms of the illegitimacy of the young Princes, and of the right nobleness of their uncle, all produced a growing sense of alarm as to the future intentions of the principal actor, Gloster. As they now entered the hall, and pressed closer and closer to the hustings, to hear the Duke of Buckingham, who stepped forth to address them, surrounded by many lords, knights, and citizens, it was not long before those intentions, startling as they were, became sufficiently manifest. "The deep revolving, witty Buckingham" seems to have surpassed himself that day, in the exhibition of his characteristic subtlety and address. Commencing with a theme which found a deep response in the indignant bosoms of his listeners, the tyrannies and extortions of the late King (which the Londoners had especial reason to remember), he gradually led them to the consideration of another feature of Edward's character, his amours, which had, no doubt, caused many a heart-burning in the City domestic circles, and thence by an easy transition to his illegitimacy; Buckingham alleging that the late King was not the son of the Duke of York, and that Richard was. To give confidence to the citizens, he added that the Lords and Commons had sworn never to submit to a bastard, and called upon them accordingly to acknowledge the Protector as King. The answer was—dead silence. The confident orator and bold politician was for a moment "marvellously abashed," and calling the Mayor aside, with others who were aware of his objects, and had endeavoured to prepare the way for them, inquired "What meaneth this that the people be so still?" "Sir," replied the Mayor, "perchance they perceive [understand] you not well." "That we shall

amend," said Buckingham; and "therewith, somewhat louder, rehearsed the same matter again, in other order and other words, so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that heard him; and thought that they never heard in their lives so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before; but all were as still as the midnight, not so much rouning [speaking privately] among them, by which they might seem once to commune what was best to do. When the Mayor saw this, he, with other partners of the council, drew about the Duke, and said that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the City, and haply to him they will answer. With that the Recorder, called Thomas Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding thereunto commanded by the Mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that which the Duke had twice purposed himself; but the Recorder so tempered his tale that he showed everything as the Duke's words were, and no part of his own; but all this no change made in the people, which alway after one stood as they had been amazed." Such a reception at the outset might have turned some men from their purpose altogether—not so Buckingham, who now, after another brief converse with the Mayor, assumed a different tone and bearing. "Dear friends," said he to the citizens, "we come to move you to that thing which, peradventure, we so greatly needed not, but that the lords of this realm and commons of other parts might have sufficed, saying, such love we bear you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you that thing in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which, as to us seemeth, you see not or weigh not; wherefore we require you to give us an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble Prince, now Protector, to be your King?" It was scarcely possible to resist this appeal by absolute silence. So, "at these words, the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor base, but like a swarm of bees, till at the last, at the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the Duke's servants, and one Nashfield, and others belonging to the Protector, with some prentices and lads that thrusted into the hall amongst the press, began suddenly, at men's backs, to cry out as loud as they could, 'King Richard! King Richard!' and then threw up their caps in token of joy, and they that stood before cast back their heads *marvelling thereat, but nothing they said.* And when the Duke and the Mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear *every man with one voice,* and no man saying nay." This scene, so graphically described by Hall (from Sir T. More), would form one of the richest bits of comedy, were it not for the tragic associations which surround the whole. As it is, one can scarcely avoid enjoying the perplexity of Buckingham and the Mayor at the unaccountable and most vexatious silence, or the backward look of the people at the lads and others, who at last did shout, or without admiring the tact and impudence of Buckingham in acknowledging with a grave face, and in grateful words the cry that was at once so goodly, joyful, and so very unani-

mous. It will be perceived how closely Shakspere has followed the account here transcribed, in the third act of his Richard III.; and as is usual with him, by so doing, made the passage scarcely less interesting, as illustrating him, than for its own historical value.

Passing from the craft and violence which formed the two steps to power during so many ages, and of which the incident narrated, with its well-known concomitants, furnishes a striking example, we find, but little more than half a century later, new trains of thought and action at work among men, high passions developed, struggles taking place for objects which by comparison make all the intrigues and feuds of rival and aspiring nobles appear contemptible, and maintained with a courage unknown to the days of chivalry. The Reformation came; and sufficiently terrible were its first effects. Division and strife extended throughout the land. By a kind of poetical justice, Henry himself, who drew the gospel light from Bullen's eyes, was fated in later years to see an emanation from that light come in a much less pleasing shape, namely, in the disputatious glances of his wife Catherine Parr, who, as he grew more helpless and impatient, ventured to engage in controversy with him, and had well nigh gone to the scaffold for so doing. And though she escaped, a victim was found sufficiently distinguished to gratify the inhuman and self-willed tyrant, who burned people not so much on account of their having any particular religion, as the daring to reject the one he proposed, or to keep it when accepted, if he altered his mind. This was Anne Askew, a young lady who had been seen very busy about court distributing tracts among the attendants of the Queen, and heard to speak vehemently against the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation. She was the daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire, and the wife of a neighbouring gentleman named Kyme, a violent Papist, who turned her out of doors when, after long study of the Bible, she became a Protestant. She then came to London to sue for a separation, and was favourably noticed, it is supposed, by the Queen, and certainly by the ladies of the court. But neither Henry nor his council, including such men as Bishop Bonner and the Chancellor Wriothesley, were to be quietly bearded thus. Anne Askew, as she called herself, was arrested, and carried before Bonner and others. Among the questions put to her was one by the Lord Mayor, inquiring whether the priest cannot make the body of Christ? Her reply was very striking: "I have read that God made man; but that man can make God I never yet read." However, some sort of recantation was obtained from her, probably through the natural and graceful timidity of her youth and sex overpowering for the moment, in the presence of so many learned and eminent men, the inherent strength of her convictions. Such triumphs, however, are of brief duration. Anne Askew was discharged, but quickly apprehended again, and, after examination by the Privy Council, committed to Newgate. Her next public appearance was at Guildhall, where she was condemned, with some more unfortunates, to death for heresy. And now this poor, solitary, but brave and self-possessed woman was subjected to treatment that makes one blush for human nature. The grand object of the Council was, it appears, to find what ladies of the court they could get into their toils, since the Queen herself had escaped them. So after a vain attempt made by Nicholas Shaxton, the former Bishop of Salisbury, to induce her to imitate his example, and save her life, by

apostacy, for which attempt he got in answer the solemn assurance that it had been better for him if he had never been born, she was carried to the Tower, and examined as to her connexions at court. She denied that she had had any, but was told the King knew better; and then followed a question that shows the privations she had already been intentionally exposed to: How had she contrived to get food and comfort in prison if she had no powerful friends? "My maid," said Anne, "bemoaned my wretched condition to the apprentices in the street, and some of them sent me money, but I never knew their names." It was probably at this period of the examination that she was laid on the rack, and that Wriothesley and Rich, having both applied their own hands to the instrument, obtained an admission from her that a man in a blue coat had given her maid ten shillings, saying they came from Lady Hertford, and another time a man in a violet coat eight shillings from Lady Denny; but as to the truth of the statements she could say nothing, and constantly persevered in her assertion that she had not been supported by these or any of the Council. To the eternal honour of her sex, it is understood that no amount of anguish could wring anything more from her, and in consequence Henry and the Council were compelled to be content with the victim they had. So, whilst still unrecovered from the effects of the rack, she was hurried off to Smithfield on the 16th of July, 1546, and chained with three others to stakes. Near them was a pulpit, from which poor Shaxton, as if not already sufficiently humiliated, was chosen to preach. At the conclusion of his discourse, a pardon was exhibited for the whole if they would recant; but there was no such stuff in their thoughts: Anne Askew and her companions died as heroically as their own hearts could have ever desired they should die.



[Martyrdom of Anne Askew and others.]

After all, martyrdom, it must be acknowledged, is not a pleasant thing; and we need not wonder that, through the period extending from the reign of

Henry VIII. to that of James I., so many indications present themselves of Protestants and Catholics alike changing passive endurance for active warfare, and determining that it was as easy to run the risk of conviction for treason as for heresy, with a much greater probability of improving their position by success. As to each party, whether in power or not, applying its own dislike of the flames, its own sense of the monstrous injustice of such influences, its own knowledge of their inefficacy, to the case of the other, no such supposition seems to have been conceivable in the philosophy of the sixteenth century. So, burnings, plots, and insurrections follow each other in rapid succession through this terrible period, disturbing even the comparative repose of Elizabeth's brilliant reign. Two of the most striking of these events belong to the history of Guildhall—the one arising out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's attempt against the Catholic Mary, and the other from the Gunpowder Plot, destined to overthrow the Protestant James: each, we may add, forming one of the most interesting features of the altogether interesting history to which it belongs. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, himself a Protestant, was the son of a zealous Papist, Sir George Throckmorton, who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and been imprisoned in the Tower many years by Henry. On his release in 1543, Nicholas, his son, received the appointment of Sewer to the King, and, having accompanied the latter in the French expedition, was rewarded by a pension for his services. During the reign of Edward VI. he still further distinguished himself by his conduct at the battle of Pinkie (or Musselburgh), and rose still higher in kingly favour. Edward knighted him, received him into close personal intimacy, and, besides making him under-treasurer of the Mint, gave him some valuable manors. Everything, therefore, concurred to deepen the impression in favour of Protestantism made first on his mind, no doubt, by study and conviction. How little inclined Throckmorton was to interfere with the ordinary laws of legitimacy and succession to the crown under ordinary circumstances, may be inferred from his conduct at the commencement of Mary's reign. He was present at Greenwich when Edward died; and, although aware of the designs of the friends of Lady Jane Grey, towards whom, as a Protestant, his sympathies must have tended, yet he did not hesitate to depart immediately for London, and dispatch Mary's goldsmith to her with the intelligence of her accession. It is evident, therefore, that when, only a few months later, we find him on his trial for treason, he must, supposing the charge to have any truth in it, have experienced some great disappointment as to the policy he had hoped to have seen pursued, or some new event must have occurred utterly unlooked for, and most threatening to the Protestant interests. Such, no doubt, seemed, to a large portion of the nation, the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, one of the most inexorable bigots in religious matters that ever existed, and whose power seemed to be almost as ample to accomplish as his temper and fanaticism were prompt to instigate the destruction of the new faith wherever his influence might extend, and who did destroy it in the Spanish peninsula, however signal his failures elsewhere. One little incident tells volumes as to Philip's character. Whilst present at an *auto-da-fé*, when forty persons were marching in the horrible procession towards the stake, to which they had been sentenced by the Inquisition, one of the poor creatures called out as he passed the King for Mercy! mercy! "Perish thou, and all like

thee," was the reply: "if my own son were a heretic, I would deliver him to the flames." Such was the man whom the Protestants of England heard, with natural terror, was about to be connected by the closest ties to the country, and enabled to exercise the most direct influence on its government: for no man in his senses could place any reliance upon the promises of non-interference, non-innovation, &c., which were to be exacted as guarantees for the national freedom. If we add that the Catholics themselves, rising above the narrow views so common at the period, and looking at the alliance as Englishmen rather than as Catholics, disliked it, what must have been the feelings of their religious opponents? The answer is to be found in the insurrection which broke out within a few days after the intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty of marriage became generally known. Sir Thomas Carew took arms in Devonshire, and obtained possession of the castle and city of Exeter, whilst Sir Thomas Wyatt threatened from a still nearer locality, Kent. Their objects appear to have been very uncertain, even among themselves. There can be little doubt, however, that if they had succeeded, Mary would have been dethroned; for how else could they be sure they would not lose all they had gained, and probably their lives into the bargain? Equally doubtful does it seem as to the party who would have taken the vacant seat. If Elizabeth was concerned in the scheme, as it still seems very probable she was, there can be no doubt as to her views on the question: but, on the other hand, the movement seems rather to have inclined in favour of Lady Jane Grey; for, not only does the early attack on the Tower, where she had been confined from the time of her relatives' attempt to make her queen on the death of Edward, seem to intimate as much, but it is hardly to be conceived that, for any less personal advantage, the selfish and unprincipled Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, just released from an apparently inevitable death on account of the said attempt, would have joined in a new one. Modern political tactics no doubt explain the whole. The parties acted together to meet the one evil which threatened all, leaving the after measures to be determined by chance, or by the intrigues, skill, and power of the individuals who might rise most prominently out of the combination, and turn the whole to their or their party's benefit. And if the most consummate tact and unfailing courage, joined to entire devotedness, could at such a crisis have secured the crown to Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton would have been the man to have accomplished that task. Attachment to her was, indeed, most probably the cause of the great prominence given to the trial of a man who had taken no public part whatever in the insurrection, and of the exceeding bitterness and zeal with which such charges as could be brought together against him were pressed. In the whole range of criminal proceedings, it would be difficult to find a more exciting trial than the one we are now about to describe, which commenced on the 17th of April, 1554, only six days after his friend Wyatt's execution. Our readers, in order to do justice to Throckmorton's wonderful eloquence, adroitness, and self-possession, must remember that a state trial had long been little else than a legal stepping-stone to the scaffold, and that now the appetite for blood was unusually sharpened by the imminent danger from which Mary had escaped. We must premise that it is to the dramatic character of the proceedings, as reported by Holinshed at great length, that the trial owes its chief attractions

for a reader, and therefore to abridge the more important passages would be to destroy their vital spirit. We must, then, transcribe such of these as our space will admit in their integrity, with the addition merely of a few brief connecting remarks. The roll of the judges on the bench shows the importance attached to the trial by the government, and, for any man but Throckmorton, the overwhelming amount of learning and intellect coming ready prepared to convict, not to try him. It comprised, besides Sir Thomas White (the lord mayor), the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, the Recorder and others,—the Lord Chief Justice Bromley; the Master of the Rolls, Sir N. Hare; a Judge of the Queen's Bench, Sir W. Portman; and a Judge of the Common Pleas, Sir E. Saunders; together with the two Serjeants, Stamford and Dyer; and the Attorney-General Griffin. At the very commencement of the trial, before pleading, Sir Nicholas endeavoured to make some observations, which were stopped as informal, but which led to a spirited discussion, that thus early showed the spirit of the prisoner, and gave promise of the unprecedented struggle that was about to take place. This stopped, a weightier matter was handled. After some little private whisperings between the Attorney-General and the Recorder as to the jurymen, who, it was feared, apparently, might not be packed with an eye to entire harmony of views, and a further whispering between the Attorney-General and Serjeant Dyer, the latter challenged two of their number, and when the prisoner asked the reason of the challenge, replied he did not need to show cause. "I trust," was the impetuous outburst of Sir Nicholas, "ye have not provided for me this day as formerly I knew a gentleman used, who stood in the same place and circumstances as I do. It chanced that one of the Judges being suspicious that the prisoner, by reason of the justice of his cause, was like to be acquitted, said to one of his brethren, when the jury appeared, 'I do not like this jury—they are not fit for our purpose—they seem to have too much compassion and charity to condemn the prisoner.' 'No, no,' said the other Judge, Gholmley by name [*the Recorder, then sitting on the bench*], 'I' ll warrant you they are fellows picked on purpose, and he shall drink of the same cup his fellows have done.' I was then a spectator of the pageant, as others are now of me; but now, woe is me! I am an actor in that woeful tragedy. Well, as for those and such others like them, the black ox hath lately trodden on some of their feet:* but my trust is, I shall not be so used." The very man, however, so appositely referred to—Cholmley—continuing to confer with the Attorney-General as to the jury, Sir Nicholas called out, "Ah, ah! Master Cholmley, will this foul packing never be left?"

"Why, what do I, I pray you, Master Throckmorton? I did nothing, I am sure. You do pick quarrels with me."

"Well, Master Cholmley, if you do well, it is better for you, God help you."

The jury were now sworn, and Sergeant Stamford stepped forward to state the case for the prosecution, when Sir Nicholas again interposed with a most impressive adjuration to the Sergeant not to exceed his office, and then the trial commenced. The charges in effect were that Throckmorton was a principal deviser, procurer, and contriver of the late rebellion, which was sought to be proved

* "In this expression Throckmorton probably refers to Cholmley, who had been imprisoned for some time on suspicion of favouring the Lady Jane Grey."—Note by the Editor of the 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. p. 69.

by the written depositions and examinations of parties, mostly lying at the time under a danger similar to that of the prisoner, and some of whom, as Wyatt, had been executed; for such was the wretched state of the criminal law at the time. The chief allegations brought before the court in this way were, that Throckmorton had corresponded with Wyatt just before the insurrection; that he had engaged to accompany Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, into the west of England; that he had invited Carew and Wyatt to advance when they were in arms; and, above all, that he had conspired to kill the Queen with William Thomas, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and others. Passing over the long but every where interesting portion of the trial in which the first three points formed the subject of inquiry, and through which Sir Nicholas fought his way step by step, allowing no fact to be taken for more than its worth (we might almost say lessening its actual value), exposing every attempt to twist the law unduly against him, showing the valueless character of the evidence obtained from men who might think their own lives depended upon the success of their evidence against his; we pause awhile at the fourth, as the part best calculated to display the spirit of the two parties, and the general conduct of the trial. The examination of Sir Nicholas Arnold being read, which stated that Throckmorton told him that John Fitzwilliams was very much displeased with William Thomas, the Attorney-General remarked, alluding, we presume, to the general facts detailed in the examination, which Holinshed does not give, "Thus it appears that William Thomas devised that John Fitzwilliams should kill the Queen, and Throckmorton knew of it."

"I deny that I said any such thing to Sir Nicholas Arnold," replied the prisoner; "and though he is an honest man, he may either forget himself, or devise means how to rid himself of so weighty a burden as this is, for he is charged as principal: this I perceived when he charged me with his tale; and therefore I blame him the less for it, that he endeavours to clear himself, using me as witness, to lay the contrivance at the door of William Thomas. But truly I never said any such words to him; and the more fully to clear the matter, I saw John Fitzwilliams here just now, who can bear witness he never told me of any misunderstanding between them; and as I knew nothing at all of any misunderstanding, so I knew nothing of the cause. I desire, my lords, he may be called to swear what he can as to this affair." Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the bar, and offered to depose his knowledge of the matter in open court.

Attorney-General. "I pray you, my lords, suffer him not to be sworn, nor to speak; we have nothing to do with him."

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. "Why should not he be suffered to tell the truth? and why are you not so willing to hear truth for me, as falsehood against me?"

Sir N. Hare. "Who called you hither, Fitzwilliams, or bid you speak? You are a very busy fellow."

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. "I called him, and humbly desire he may speak and be heard as well as Vaughan [a witness, and the only one, who had been called personally against him], or else I am not indifferently used, especially as Mr. Attorney doth so press this matter against me."

Sir R. Southwell. "Go your way, Fitzwilliams, the court has nothing to do with you; peradventure you would not be so ready in a good cause."

And so John Fitzwilliams went out of the court, and was not suffered to speak.

It is probable, however, that this rejection of evidence affected the prisoner's interests with the jury at least as favourably as the evidence itself could have done if heard. And Throckmorton took care to press the consideration directly home to them. "Since," said he, "this gentleman's declaration may not be admitted, I hope you of the jury will take notice, that this was not for any thing he had to say against me, but, on the contrary, for fear he should speak for me. Now as to Master Arnold's deposition against me, I say, I did not tell him any such words; so that, if they were material, there is but his Yea and my Nay for them. But that the words may not be so much strained against me, I pray you, Mr. Attorney, why might I not have told Arnold that John Fitzwilliams was angry with William Thomas, and yet not know the cause of the anger? Who proves that I knew any thing of the design of William Thomas to kill the Queen? No man; for Arnold says not one word of it, but only that there was a difference between them; and to say that implies neither treason, nor any knowledge of treason. Is this all the evidence you have against me, in order to bring me within the compass of the indictment?"

Serg. Stamford. "Methinks those things which others have confessed, together with your own confession, will weigh shrewdly. But what have you to say as to the rising in Kent, and Wyatt's attempt against the Queen's royal person in her palace?"

Chief Justice Bromley. "Why do you not read to him Wyatt's accusation, which makes him a sharer in his treasons?"

Sir R. Southwell. "Wyatt has grievously accused you, and in many things which have been confirmed by others."

Sir N. Throckmorton. "Whatever Wyatt said of me in hopes to save his life, he unsaid it at his death; for, since I came into the hall, I heard one say, whom I do not know, that Wyatt on the scaffold cleared not only the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the Tower, saying none of them knew any thing of his commotion; of which number I take myself to be one."

Sir N. Hare. "Nevertheless, he said that all he had written and confessed before the Council was true."

Sir N. Throckmorton. "Nay, sir, by your patience, Wyatt did not say so: that was Master Doctor's addition."

Sir R. Southwell. "It seems you have good intelligence."

Sir N. Throckmorton. "Almighty God provided this revelation for me this very day, since I came hither; for I have been in close prison for eight-and-fifty days, where I could hear nothing but what the birds told me, who flew over my head."

The law of the lawyers fared no better in Throckmorton's grasp than their facts. After a rapid and masterly review of, and answer to, all that had been alleged against him, he took up new ground, namely, that according to the only two statutes in force against treasons, he could not, even if guilty, be attainted within the indictment. These statutes he now desired to be read.

Chief Justice Bromley. "No, there shall be no books brought at your desire: we know the law sufficiently without book."

Sir N. Throckmorton. "Do you bring me hither to try me by the law, and will not show me the law? What is your knowledge of the law to the satisfaction of

these men, who have my trial in hand. Pray, my lord, and my lords all, let the statutes be read, as well for the Queen as for me."

Serg. Stamford. "My Lord Chief Justice can tell what the law is, and will do it, if the jury are doubtful in any particular."

Sir N. Throckmorton. "You know it is but reasonable that I should know and hear the law by which I am to be judged; and forasmuch as the statute is in English, people of less learning than the judges can understand it, or how else should we know when we offend?"

Sir N. Hare. "You know not what is proper for your case, and therefore we must inform you. It is not our business to provide books for you; neither do we sit here to be taught by you: you should have been better informed of the law before you came hither." [Our readers will do well to keep this remark in view, in order properly to enjoy what follows.]

Sir N. Throckmorton. "Because I am ignorant I would learn, and therefore I have the more occasion to see the law, partly for the instruction of the jury, and partly for my own satisfaction; which methinks would be for the honour of the court. And now, if it please you, my Lord Chief Justice, I do principally direct my words to you. When the Queen was pleased to call you to that honourable office, I did learn of a great man, and one of her Majesty's Privy Council, that her Majesty, among other good instructions, charged and enjoined you to 'administer the law and justice impartially, and without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error among you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any thing else to be heard, in favour of the adversary, where her Majesty was a party, it was her Highness's pleasure that whatever could be produced in favour of the subject should be admitted to be heard; and further, that you in a particular manner, and likewise all other judges, were not to consider that you sat in judgment otherwise for her Majesty than for her subjects.' Therefore this method of impartiality in your proceedings being principally enjoined by God's command, as I designed to have reminded you at first, if I could have had leave to do it, and the same being also given in command to you from the Queen's own mouth, I think you ought in justice to allow me to have the statutes openly read, and to reject nothing that could be spoken in my defence: in so doing, you shall approve yourselves worthy ministers of justice, and fit for so worthy a mistress."

Chief Justice Bromley. "You mistake the thing; the Queen said those words to Morgan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: but you have no reason to complain, for you have been suffered to speak as much as you pleased."

Sir N. Hare. "What would you do with the statute-book? The jury do not require it; they have heard the evidence, and they must upon their consciences try whether you are guilty or not; so that there is no need of the book; if they will not believe such clear evidence, then they know what they have to do."

Sir R. Cholmley. "You ought not to have any books read here at your appointment; for if any question arises in point of law, the judges are here to inform the court; and now you do but spend time."

Attorney-General. "My Lord Chief Justice, I pray you to sum up the evidence for the Queen; and give the charge to the jury; for the prisoner will keep you here all day."

Chief Justice Bromley. "How say you, have you any more to say for yourself?"

Sir N. Throckmorton. "You seem to give and offer me the law, but in very deed I have only the form and image of the law: nevertheless, since I cannot have the statutes read openly in the book, *I will, with your leave, guess at them* as well as I can; and I pray you to help me if I mistake, for it is long since I have seen them." He then went on to point out, reciting the passage in question *verbatim* that the Statute of Repeal, made in the last Parliament, had referred all treasonable offences to the statute 25th Edw. III., the essential part of which he also correctly repeated, and that that required a man to be "attainted by open deed, by people of his condition;" he then, turning to the jury, continued: "Now, I pray you of the jury, who have my life in trial, mark well what things at this day are treasons; and how these treasons must be tried and detected; that is, by 'open deed,' which the law doth sometime call an *overt act.* And now I ask, beside my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where does the 'open deed' of my compassing and imagining the Queen's death appear? or where does any 'open deed' appear of my adhering to the Queen's enemies, giving them aid and comfort? or where does any 'open deed' appear of taking the Tower of London?"

Chief Justice Bromley. "Why do not you, who are the Queen's learned counsel, answer him? I think, Throckmorton, you need not to see the statutes, for you have them pretty perfectly." After this appeal, which one could almost fancy exhibited a latent sense of enjoyment on the part of the Chief Justice of the dilemma which seemed opening upon the lawyers, there ensued a long and spirited discussion on the meaning of the words of the statute, in which, to the evident mortification of the lawyers, the man who should have been "better informed" before he came there, disputed every point of law with such depth of legal learning as well as intellectual subtlety, that they were fain to bring the whole strength of the bench against him, with what success we must give one further illustration. As a closing proof that the law admitted of the conviction of traitors apart from the statute of Edward, and in answer to some case brought forward by the prisoner, which very strongly demanded an answer, the Lord Chief Justice stated that a man, in the time of Henry IV., was adjudged a traitor, and yet the fact did not come within the express words of the said statute. "I pray you, my Lord Chief Justice," was the instantaneous and crushing answer, "call to your good remembrance, that in the selfsame case of the Seal, Judge Spelman, a grave and well-learned man, since that time, would not condemn the offender, but censured the former judgment by your Lordship last cited, as *erroneous.*" The Chief Justice was silenced, whilst Sergeant Stamford could not help remarking, in the bitterness of his spirit, "If I had thought you were so well furnished with book cases, I would have come better prepared for you." One other extract, a passage of the truest and perfectly unstudied eloquence, and we have done. Being about to offer another argument to answer the assumption, which the lawyers now returned to, as safer ground, that Wyatt's actions, taken in connexion with Throckmorton's presumed cognizance, proved the latter to be an adviser and procurer, Sergeant Stamford told him the Judges did not sit there to make disputations, but to declare the law; and one of those Judges (Hare) having confirmed the observation, by telling Throckmorton he had heard both the law and the reason, if he could but understand it, he cried out passionately, "Oh, merciful God! Oh, eternal Father! who seest all

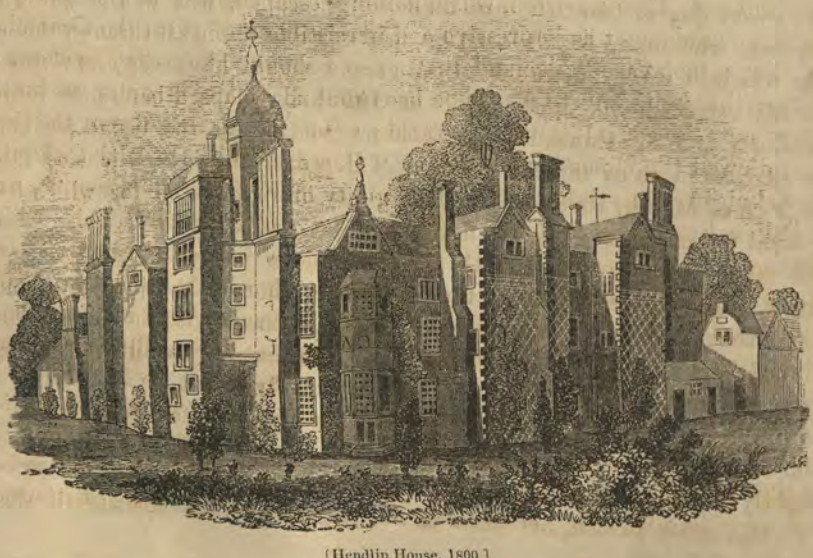
things, what manner of proceedings are these? To what purpose was the statute of repeal made in the last Parliament, where I heard some of you here present, and several others of the Queen's learned counsel, grievously inveigh against the cruel and bloody laws of Henry VIII., and some laws made in the late King's time? Some termed them Draco's laws, which were written in blood; others said they were more intolerable than any laws made by Dionysius or any other tyrant. In a word, as many men, so many bitter names and terms those laws. . . . . Let us now but look with impartial eyes, and consider thoroughly with ourselves, whether, as you, the Judges, handle the statute of Edward III., with your equity and constructions, we are not now in a much worse condition than when we were yoked with those cruel laws. Those laws, grievous and captious as they were, yet had the very property of laws, according to St. Paul's description, for they admonished us, and discovered our sins plainly to us, and when a man is warned he is half armed; but these laws, as they are handled, are very baits to catch us, and only prepared for that purpose; they are no laws at all: for at first sight they assure us that we are delivered from our old bondage, and live in more security; but when it pleases the higher powers to call any man's life and sayings in question, then there are such constructions, interpretations, and extensions reserved to the Judges and their equity, that the party tried, as I now am, will find himself in a much worse case than when those cruel laws were in force. But I require you, honest men, who are to try my life, to consider these things: it is clear these Judges are inclined rather to the times than to the truth; for their judgments are repugnant to the law, repugnant to their own principles, and repugnant to the opinions of their godly and learned predecessors."

After a summing up by the Judge, in which Sir Nicholas had to help his "bad memory" as to the answers given to the charges, and after a most solemn address to the jury by the latter, the case was left to them—the final judges, fortunately, of the matter, as they were the only ones in whom the prisoner could have had any hope from the commencement of the trial. As they were dismissed, Throckmorton, whom nothing escaped, who was as shrewd and sagacious one moment as impressive and irresistible the next, through the whole proceedings, took care to demand that no one should have access to the jury. What terrible hours must those have been that now elapsed before the return of the jury into the court!—but at last they came. After the usual preliminary form, followed the momentous question, "How say you? is Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, knight, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of the treason for which he has been indicted and arraigned? Yea or no?"

Foreman. "No."

The Lord Chief Justice would fain have frightened the jury into another verdict; and when that did not succeed, began to consult with the Commissioners, but Sir Nicholas gave them not a moment, steadily but respectfully reiterating his demand for his discharge; and at last it was given. Thus ended the most interesting trial perhaps on record, for the exhibition of intellectual power. The jury were not allowed to escape unpunished; imprisonment and fines fell heavily upon them, for daring to do what they had the absurdity to believe they were placed there to do—decide according to their conscience, even though it were in a State prosecution.

The trial of Garnet, before alluded to, though deeply interesting in itself, and still more important in a political sense than Throckmorton's, would read but flatly after the latter; the Jesuit, with all his double-dealing and wily caution, fell into a trap at which Throckmorton would have laughed. A brief record of the case, therefore, as a whole, will be at once more attractive and suitable to our remaining space. When the Gunpowder Plot first frightened the isle from its propriety, and alarmed James to that degree that the veritable explosion, had he escaped, could hardly have increased the consciousness of the wrongs he had done to the Catholics, and which they sought to avenge by so monstrous and wholesale an act of slaughter, coupled with the instincts of cruelty and destruction, which the weak so often exhibit after danger, seem to have wrought greatly upon his mind, and to have induced him not to remain content with the lives of the conspirators, and their aiders and abettors, taken though they were in a mode, and to an extent, that reduces the Government of the day to a level with the men it punished for barbarous inhumanity, but to strive also to fix upon the entire Catholic people the guilt of sharing in the conspiracy. Again and again, therefore, did the Commission examine Fawkes and his companions, with the usual accompaniment of examinations in those days—torture, aided by the searching minds of Popham, Coke, and Bacon; and at last sufficient matter was extorted, chiefly from Bates, Catesby's servant, to warrant the issue of a proclamation for the apprehension of three priests—Gerard, Greenway, and the Superior of the Jesuits in England, Garnet. The two former escaped to the Continent, whilst the latter, having sent a letter to the Lords of the Council, strongly asserting his innocence, disappeared, and for a long time baffled all attempts at discovery. At last, Humphrey Littleton, condemned to death at Worcester for harbouring two of the conspirators, in order to save his own life, told the sheriff that some Jesuits named in the proclamation were at Hendlip, a spacious mansion, about four miles from Worcester, which was only pulled down in the present century. It is to be regretted it is lost, not on



[Hendlip House, 1800.]

account of the interest attached to it by the romantic adventure we are about to mention, but as a specimen of the buildings of the age when concealment was too frequently necessary in order to escape from religious and political persecutions. "There is scarcely an apartment," says the author of the account of Worcestershire ('Beauties of England and Wales'), who describes it as he himself saw it, "that has not secret ways of going in or going out; some have back staircases concealed in the walls; others have places of retreat in their chimneys; some have trap-doors; and all present a picture of gloom, insecurity, and suspicion." Thither, on receiving Littleton's information, went Sir Henry Bromley of Holt Castle, with elaborate instructions from Lord Salisbury as to the modes of search he was to adopt. For some time Sir Henry was perfectly unsuccessful, and, as he says, "out of all hope of finding any man or any thing," until he discovered "a number of Popish trash" hid under boards in three or four several places, which stimulated him to continue a watch, and, at last, two unhappy men came forth "from hunger and cold," one of whom it was thought was Greenway. With fresh vigour was the search now prosecuted, and one of the men, on the eighth day, discovering an opening into a cell not previously known, there came forth two more persons, both Jesuits, and one of them the anxiously sought-for Garnet. He was immediately conveyed to the Tower, where he was examined almost daily for ten days, but without any conclusive proof being furnished of his own guilt, or the guilt of the others named in the proclamation. Especial reasons of state seem to have saved Garnet from the torture, but his servant Owen and the other two Jesuits, Oldcorne and Chambers (who with Garnet made the four found at Hendlip), were not only tortured, but one of them (Owen) with such infamous severity, that the unhappy man ripped up his own body with a table-knife to escape any further infliction. A new scheme was now tried, worthy of the institution from which it had probably been derived—the Spanish Inquisition—and Garnet was at once caught. He and Oldcorne were placed in adjoining cells, and informed by the keeper, under strong injunctions of secrecy, that, by opening a concealed door, they might confer together. And here every day or two they met, their whole conversation at the mercy of two listeners, who made regular written memorandums of it for the Council. And thus was laid the groundwork of the great body of criminatory evidence subsequently established against Garnet at Guildhall, where, in order, as both Lord Salisbury and Sir Edward Coke stated on the trial, to compliment the loyalty of the citizens by so exemplary a display of Popish treason, the trial took place, on the 28th of March, 1606; and ended in his conviction and execution, amidst a general feeling among the Catholics that he was a martyr. This feeling was still more strongly called forth by the strange imposture known as Garnet's Straw. The history given by the presumed author of the imposture, Wilkinson, states that a considerable quantity of dry straw having been cast into the basket with Garnet's head and quarters, at the execution, he standing near, found the straw in question thrown towards him—how, he knew not. "The straw," he continues, "I afterwards delivered to Mrs. N., a matron of singular Catholic piety, who enclosed it in a bottle, which being rather shorter than the straw, it became slightly bent. A few days afterwards, Mrs. N. showed the straw in the bottle to a certain noble person, her intimate acquaintance, who, looking at it attentively,

at length said, 'I can see nothing in it but a man's face.' Mrs. N. and myself being astonished at this unexpected declaration, again and again examined the car of the straw, and distinctly perceived in it a human countenance," &c. The prodigy excited universal attention, and led at last to a very prevalent belief among the Catholics at home and abroad that a miracle had been vouchsafed to prove the Jesuit's innocence. At first the appearance of the face was very simple, but, gradually, to accommodate the increasing demands of wonder and superstitious belief, the whole expanded into an imposing-looking head, crowned and encircled by rays, with a cross on the forehead, and an anchor coming out of the ear at the sides. At last it engaged the attention of the Privy Council, who exposed the fraud, and then very wisely left the matter to drop gradually into oblivion. Of the other events in what we may call this episodical history of Guildhall, there are but two possessing any high claims to recollection—the trial of the poet Waller, in the period of the Commonwealth, which we can only thus briefly refer to, and that of the poet Surrey, in the reign of Henry VIII., which will be noticed elsewhere. The building itself belongs to the municipal government of London, which will form the subject of our next paper.

[Council Chamber, Guildhall.]

CVI.—CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

ANTIQUARIES tell us that there was an ancient Saxon law—imposed probably by the rulers of that people after the conquest of this country, the better to keep its wild and conflicting elements in order—which ordained that every freeman of fourteen years old should find sureties to keep the peace; and that, in consequence, "certain neighbours, consisting of ten families, entered into an association, and became bound to each other to produce him who committed an offence, or to make satisfaction to the injured party. That they might the better do this, they raised a sum of money amongst themselves, which they put into a common stock, and when one of the pledges had committed an offence, and was fled, then the other nine made satisfaction out of this stock, by payment of money according to the offence. In the mean time, that they might the better identify each other, as well as ascertain whether any man was absent on unlawful business, they assembled at stated periods at a common table, where they ate and drank together."* This primitive custom, so simple and confined in its operations, was to beget mighty consequences in the hands of the amalgamated Anglo-Saxon people. We find its associating principle following them into the fortified places or burghs where they first assembled for the purposes of trade

* Johnson's Canons, Laws of Ina, transcribed from Herbert's 'Livery Companies,' vol. i. p. 3.

and commerce (the nuclei of our towns), and affording to them an infinitely safer defence against aggression than any fortifications could give, in the *Trade Guilds*. If, therefore, there be one of the great and still existing institutions of antiquity, possessing in its history matters of deeper interest and instruction than any other, it is that of our municipal government, whose very meeting-places constantly remind us by their designation what they were—the guild-halls, and what we owe to the system, which has, unfortunately, through causes into which it is not our province to enter, enjoyed of late years more of the popular contempt than of popular gratitude: a feeling which, if it promised to be permanent, might well excite the apprehension of the political philosopher as to the ultimate well-being of the country. All considerations, then, tend to invest the very word guildhall with a more than ordinary sense of the value of the associations that may belong to a name, and which is of course enhanced when it refers, not merely to a hall of a guild, but to the hall of the guilds generally of the metropolis, as in that we are about to notice in connection with Civic Government.

The building itself, as we now approach it from Cheapside, through King Street, appears no unapt type of the discordant associations that have grown up around the institution: the old hall, in the main, is there still, but with a new face, which shows how ludicrously inadequate were its builders to accomplish their apparent desire of restoring it in harmony with, but improving upon, the general structure; and they seem to have had some misgivings of the kind themselves; for they have so stopped short in the elevation, as to leave the dingy and supremely ugly brick walls, with their round-headed windows, added by their predecessors to the upper portion of the hall after the fire of London, obtrusively visible. It is possible that the "little college" which stood here prior to the year 1411, had been either in itself or in its predecessors founded by the Confessor, whose arms are yet visible in the porch; at the time mentioned, the present hall was begun by the corporation, Thomas Knowles being then Mayor. Among the modes adopted of obtaining the requisite monies, are some which, though common enough in connection with ecclesiastical structures, are remarkable as applied to a guildhall: Stow, whose authority is Fabyan, having remarked that the companies gave large benevolences towards the charges thereof, adds, "Also offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this work, extraordinary fees were raised, fines, amercements, and other things employed during seven years, with a [partial, probably is meant] continuation thereof three years more."* Even then the whole was not completed; a variety of miscellaneous items of a later date occur in connection with the edifice, such as that in 1422-3 the executors of Whittington gave 35*l.* towards the paving of the hall with Purbeck marble; about the same time was also erected the Mayor's Court, the Council Chamber, and the porch; in 1481, Sir William Harryot, Mayor, defrayed the expense of making and glazing two louvres in the roof of the hall; the kitchen was built by the "procurement" of Sir John Shaw, goldsmith and Mayor, about 1501; finally, tapestry, to hang in the Hall on principal days, was provided about the same time by Sir Nicholas Aldwyn, another Mayor. If we add to this, that a new council chamber was erected in 1614, that after the Great Fire the walls remained so comparatively uninjured, that only roofs and out-offices had to be rebuilt, and that it was towards the close of the last century

* 'Survey,' ed. 1633, p. 282.

that the "truly *Gothic* façade," as Brayley satirically calls it, using the word in its less usual but sufficiently evident acceptation, was built, we shall not need to dwell any longer on the general history of the erection. Before we enter the porch, we may cast a brief glance at the surrounding buildings. The one on the left is the Justice Room of Guildhall, where the ordinary magisterial business of that part of the City which lies west of King Street is conducted, under the superintendence of an Alderman; the other, or eastern portion, forming the business of the Justice Room at the Mansion House, where the Mayor presides. The building opposite, on the right, contains the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, held, with the Court of Exchequer, at Guildhall three several days during each term, and on the next day but one after each term, from time immemorial. The City receives 3*s.* 6*d.* for each verdict given in these Courts, in payment for the use of the buildings provided; and there the connection ends at present, whatever may have been the case in former times, when the custom originated. In both courts the excessively naked and chilly aspect of the walls is somewhat relieved by the portraits of the judges, who, after the fire of London, sat at Clifford's Inn, to arrange all differences between landlord and tenant during the great business of rebuilding; and who thus, as Pennant observes, prevented the endless train of vexatious lawsuits which might have ensued, and been little less chargeable than the fire itself. We wonder whether the judges or the legislature will ever take it into their heads to give us the blessing of such courts of reconciliation and summary determination of differences without a preliminary fire! Sir Matthew Hale was the chief manager of the good work in question, which so won upon the City, that, after the affair was concluded, they determined to have the portraits of the whole of the judges painted and hung in their hall, as a permanent memorial of their gratitude. Lely was to have been the artist, but, being too great a man to wait upon the judges at their respective chambers, Michael Wright, a Scotchman, obtained the commission. He is the painter of a highly-esteemed portrait of Lacy, the actor, in three characters, preserved in the collection at Windsor. Sixty pounds each was his remuneration for the portraits at Guildhall, and it certainly seems as much as they were worth. On the site of these Law Courts, there was standing, till the year 1822, the chapel or college, shown in our engraving of the exterior of Guildhall, in the preceding number, which was built so early as 1299, and had, in its palmiest days, an establishment of a custos or warden, seven priests, three clerks, and four choristers. "Here used to be service once a week, and also at the election of the Mayor, and before the Mayor's feast, to deprecate indigestion and all plethoric evils"*—the chapel having been given by Edward VI. to the City at the dissolution of the college. Adjoining the chapel there had been, before Stow's time, "a fair and large library," belonging to the Guildhall and College, which that wholesale pillager, the Protector Somerset, laid his hands upon during the reign of the young Edward, on the plea of merely borrowing the books for a time. In consequence, till the present century, the citizens of London, in their corporate capacity, had scarcely a book in their possession; but in 1824, an annual grant of 200*l.*, and a preliminary one of 500*l.*, for the formation of a new library, was made; and

* Pennant, 'London,' ed. 1791, p. 415.

the collection, already rich in publications in civic topography and history, promises to become, in course of time, not unworthy of the body to which it belongs.

As we enter the porch the genuine architecture of the original structure strikes upon the eye with a sense of pleasurable surprise. Its arch within arch, its beautifully panelled walls, looking not unlike a range of closed-up Gothic windows, the pillars on the stone seat, and the numerous groins that spring from them intersecting the vaulted ceiling; and, lastly, the gilt bosses, so profusely scattered about, all seem to have remained untouched—certainly uninjured—from the days of their erection, during the reign of Bolingbroke. They are, however, the only things here unchanged. A citizen of that period would be a little puzzled, we suspect, to understand, for instance, the long bills which hang on each side of the doors leading from the porch into the hall, containing a list of the brokers authorised by the Mayor and Aldermen to exercise their vocation in the City: the funded system would certainly be too much for him. We enter the hall, and it does not need many glances to tell us that it has been a truly magnificent place, worthy of the extraordinary exertions made for its erection, and of the City—we might almost say, considering its national importance, of the empire, to which it belonged. Nay, it is magnificent still, in spite of the liberties that have been taken with it, such as closing up some of its windows with enormous piles of sculpture; and above all, in spite of the miserable modern upper story, with its vile windows, and of the flat roof, which has taken the place of the oaken and arched one, with its carved pendants, its picturesque combinations, and its rich masses of shade, such as we may be certain once rose from the tops of those clustered columns. But the vast dimensions (152 feet in length, 50 in breadth, and about 55 in height), the noble proportions, and the exquisite architecture are still there, and may possibly at no distant period lead to the restoration of the whole in a different spirit from that which at once mangled and burlesqued it, under the pretence of admiration, in the last century: already the restoring of the roof is talked of. The crypt below the Hall has been but little interfered with, and still shows the original design of the architect.

[The Crypt.]

The contents of the Hall are too well known to render any lengthened description necessary; we may therefore briefly observe, that they comprise in one department of art the monuments of the great men whom the City has delighted to honour, and in another the renowned giants Gog and Magog. Among the former is that of William Beckford, Esq., who so astonished George III. by addressing him against all courtly precedent, on receiving the unfavourable answer vouchsafed by the monarch to the Remonstrance of the City on the subject of Wilkes's election; and so delighted the citizens, that they caused this memorial to be erected after his death, which is said to have been accelerated by the excitement of the times acting upon ill health. The others are Lord Nelson's, the Right Hon. William Pitt's, and his father's, the Earl of Chatham; the last by Bacon, the only one that seems to us deserving even of criticism. Allan Cunningham says, an eminent artist remarked to him one day, "See, all is reeling—Chatham, the two ladies [Commerce and Manufacture], the lion, the boys, the cornucopia, and all the rest, have been tumbled out of a waggon from the top of the pyramid." There certainly never was, in the history of art, men capable of such great things making such melancholy mistakes as our modern sculptors in a large proportion of their more ambitious productions. The author of the strange jumble here so justly satirized is also the same man of whom Cowper no less justly says—

> "Bacon there
> Gives more than female beauty to a stone,
> And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips:"

referring, in the last line, either to the chief figure on this very monument, or to that on Bacon's other Pitt memorial in Westminster Abbey. The inscriptions on the monuments of Nelson and the two Pitts seem to have called forth the literary powers of our statesmen in a kind of rivalry: Burke wrote the Earl of Chatham's, Canning William Pitt's, and Sheridan Nelson's. The fine old crypt beneath the Hall, extending through its entire length, is in such excellent preservation that we cannot but regret some endeavour is not made to restore it to the light of day. As it is, what with the rise of the soil on the exterior, and the blocking up of windows, we can only dimly perceive through the gloaming the pillars and arches which divide it lengthwise into three aisles. Some of the uses of the great civic hall are well known. On the dais at the east end are erected the hustings for the parliamentary elections of the City of London. The Corporation banquets are also given here; and their history from the time Sir John Shaw—excellent man!—built the kitchen, in 1501, down to the visit of her present Majesty, would furnish rich materials for an essay on the art *and* science of good living, for that the latter is both, cooks and aldermen unanimously agree. The most magnificent of these feasts seems to have been that of 1814, after the overthrow of Napoleon, when the chief guests were the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, when the dinner was served entirely on plate, valued at above 200,000*l.*, when all the other arrangements were conducted on a correspondingly sumptuous scale, and when, in a word, the expenditure was estimated at 25,000*l.* On some occasions the Guildhall banquets have had an historical interest attached to them. A good dinner, it is well known, is often the readiest and most effectual way of opening an Englishman's heart. Charles I.,

[The Hall]

acting upon this maxim, dined with the citizens just at that critical period of his history when a recourse to arms must have appeared to all thoughtful minds the only ultimate solution of the contest between him and the people. The long Parliament had met; Strafford had been arrested, tried, and executed: the city exhibiting its sentiments with regard to that nobleman, while his fate was yet undecided, by presenting a petition for justice against him, signed by 20,000 citizens. To arrest these and other similarly dangerous symptoms was, therefore, an object of the highest importance. The banquet took place on the very day of the king's return from Scotland, the 25th of November, 1641, the corporation having come out to meet him on the road. Its conduct was, of course, marked by every possible indication of external respect, and Charles took care to return their compliments in a truly royal manner. When the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and others met him, in the Kingsland road, with an address, he made a very gracious reply, in which he told them, that he had thought of one thing as a particular affection to them, which was the giving back unto the city that part of Londonderry (Ireland), which had been formerly evicted from them; and, in conclusion, he knighted both the Lord Mayor—Acton, and the Recorder. Then they all went on together in stately procession to Guildhall, where the dinner gave such high satisfaction to their Majesties (the Queen being also present) that, after it was over, Charles sent for Mr. John Pettus, a gentleman, says Maitland, of an ancient family in the

county of Suffolk, who had married the Lord Mayor's daughter, and knighted him too. The royal visitors were then conducted to Whitehall, where his Majesty could not part with the Lord Mayor till he had most graciously embraced and thanked him, and charged him to thank the whole city in his name. Whether enough had not been done yet to soften the harshness of the city politics, and in despair further efforts were made, or whether the first move was so successful that everything might be hoped for from a second of a like kind, we know not; but whatever the cause, not many days elapsed before the Mayor received a patent of baronetcy instead of the knighthood so recently conferred (he was a *new* Mayor, be it remembered, the 9th of November having only just passed); and when a deputation of the citizens, consisting of the Mayor and certain Aldermen, with the Sheriffs and the Recorder, went to Hampton Court to thank their Majesties for all favours, and to ask them to winter at Whitehall, &c., Charles agreed to their request, and "after his Majesty had ended his answer, and that Mr. Recorder and Sir George Whitmore had kissed his royal hand, the next alderman in seniority kneeled down to receive the like princely favour, when suddenly and unexpectedly his Majesty drew a sword, and instead of giving him his hand to kiss he laid his sword upon his shoulder and knighted him; the like he did to all the other aldermen and the two sheriffs, being in number seven;" whilst as an appropriate conclusion, we presume, to so much princely favour, "his Majesty commanded that they should dine before they left the court.*"

The annual feast in Guildhall, on Lord Mayor's Day, is but the suitable close to the general business of the installation of the new chief magistrate, which takes place the day before, and to the somewhat tedious honours involved in the pageantry of the procession. The twenty-six Aldermen, and two hundred and forty common-councilmen of the City, have seen with their own eyes that the existence of the Corporation has not been endangered by the bare presumption of any momentary lapse as to its possession of a head; in other words, they have seen the Lord Mayor elect and the Lord Mayor in possession sitting side by side, and then changing chairs; and the public have had their share of the enjoyment attached to the event, namely, the gilded coach and the men in armour; and now all parties, except the public, sit down comfortably to enjoy themselves after their toils, still further solaced by the fair faces and radiant eyes which glow and sparkle in every direction: the concentrated loveliness of the civic domestic world, which these occasions, with a few others of a more accidental character, as a fancy ball for the benefit of the Poles, alone adequately reveal to us. The election of the Mayor takes place on the preceding 29th of September, and the electors are the liverymen of the several companies met in Common Hall, as it is called. To these the crier reads a list of Aldermen, in the order of seniority, who have served as sheriff (who alone are eligible), and who have not already passed the chair of mayoralty. In ordinary cases the first two persons named are accepted, but the Livery, if it pleases, may depart from that order, or even select those in preference who have already been elected and served. If the decision of a show of hands be not accepted, a poll is taken, which lasts seven days. The two names finally determined upon are announced to the Mayor and Aldermen by the Common Sergeant; these also generally select the senior Alderman, but may

* Maitland, vol. i. p. 343-346.

reject him, as in a recent instance, for the other. The person elected then declares his acceptance of the office (rejection subjects him to a fine of 1000*l.*), and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Common Sergeant, returning to the Hall, declare the result, and proclamation accordingly is made. There remains but to present him to the Lord Chancellor, in order to receive his assent on the part of the Crown to the election; to administer the usual oaths before the Mayor and Aldermen on the morning of the 8th, after which the proceedings before alluded to take place; and lastly, the presentation to the Barons of the Exchequer, when he is again sworn, a custom that is an interesting memento of the state of things after the Conquest, when the chief municipal officers were the parties appointed by the king as the instruments of his pecuniary exactions, and who, when, in lapse of time, again elected by their respective municipalities, were sworn to pay duly into the Exchequer the crown rent then accepted in lieu of the former uncertain and arbitrary imposts: London had two of these officers, called bailiffs, and paid 300*l.* yearly.

The mummeries and sensual enjoyments which seem to round in and to form so large a portion of London municipal life has had one bad effect, which is as much to be regretted for the sake of its chief officers themselves, as for the institution: they have turned aside the public attention, not merely from the capacities of the one, but have made it estimate very inaccurately the real nature and amount of the services performed by the other. Looking at it as a whole, it would be difficult to find a more arduous and responsible position than that of the mayoralty of London. Consider for a moment the Mayor's duties. He presides at the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, both in their own and in what is called the Lord Mayor's Court, at the Court of Common Council, and at the Common Hall. He is Judge of the Court of Hustings, which, however, does not make any extensive demands upon his time; a Judge of the Central Criminal Court, and the same of the London Sessions held at Guildhall. He is a justice of the peace for Southwark, where he usually opens the Sessions, and continues subsequently to preside. He is escheator in London and Southwark, when there is anything escheatable, not a matter now of very frequent occurrence. He is conservator of the Thames, an office that involves, among other duties, the holding eight courts within the year, and occasionally a ninth. He has to sign affidavits to notarial documents required for transmission to the colonies, to attend, when necessary, committees of the municipal body, and the meetings of the Sewage Commissioners, of which he is a member. Then, in matters of a more general nature, in which the City is concerned, or in which it feels interested, he is expected to take the lead, and in consequence is in continual communication with the Government; he presides at public meetings; distinguished foreigners have a kind of prescriptive claim on his attention and hospitality. He attends the Privy Council on the accession of a new sovereign; at coronations he is chief butler, and receives a golden cup as his fee. And as if his time were still insufficiently occupied with his own corporate business, and the things naturally growing out of it, other institutions look to him for assistance: he is a governor of Greenwich Hospital, governor of King's College, a trustee of St. Paul's, and connected with we know not how many other schools, hospitals, and public foundations. Lastly, not that the list is exhausted, but that our

space is, he sits *daily* in his own justice-room at the Mansion House, for scarcely less than four hours a day on the average. We are not aware how the mere enumeration of such an overwhelming amount of business as this may affect the fancy of the sportive wits who amuse themselves at the expense of the office and the officer, but we do know that the latter need desire no better revenge than to be allowed to catch one of these said gentlemen, and place him in the civic chair for a single week.

Yet it must be owned that some of the interest formerly attached to the Mayoralty, and most of the romance, have been lost. There are no opportunities now for the incipient Walworths to show their prowess; no government, be it Whig or Tory, thinks now of making the Lord Mayor an occasional inmate of the Tower, as a mode of drawing his attention, as a wealthy and benevolent citizen, to its financial necessities. The history of the Lord Mayors of London in the nineteenth century certainly looks rather insignificant beside the history of their predecessors some four or five centuries back. Take up any tolerably full index to a history of the metropolis, and mark the expressive items enumerated under the word Mayor. Here is Maitland's, which, beginning with the first chief magistrate (after the bailiffs), Henry Fitz-Alwin, 1189, and proceeding chronologically downwards, tells us that at one time the Mayor—submits to the king's mercy, at another—is arrested, and purchases his liberty at a dear rate—is committed to prison—is, with four of the aldermen, delivered up to the prince to be fleeced—is degraded—presented to the Constable of the Tower—again committed to prison—reprimanded by the privy council—flies with the other citizens—assaulted—fined; "warm work, my masters!" and this all in the first century and a half. The cause was, no doubt, to be found very much in the feelings and conduct of the Mayor and his brethren in those days; they were neither content, on the one hand, to help the monarch to *fleece* their fellow-citizens, nor would be fleeced themselves, without being *delivered up*, on the other. And, after all, one wonders why the monarch took so much trouble with men who were indignant at what he did rather than grateful for what he did not, but might have done; and seeing how much more easy it was to seize and take care of a charter than a mayor, how much more profitable its gracious restoration. Possibly the fact that the citizens of London could, if need were, use the arms with which they were then generally provided, may have had something to do with the matter, and rendered subtlety as necessary as force in dealing with them. Hence the interference of royalty in the earlier elections, and the variety of interesting events that sprang from this interference, among which is one that it is strange has not been more dwelt upon, from the high interest attached to an actor therein. It may surprise many to hear that one of the greatest of English poets, Chaucer, ought also to be looked upon as one of the most eminent on the roll of the civic illustrious: no portrait, no memorial of any kind, reminds you in Guildhall of his name, yet was he an exile in the cause of corporate freedom. Born in London, as he himself tells us, and feeling more kindly love "to that place than to any other in earth," he was not one to remain in inaction when its liberties were threatened with utter destruction by Richard II. Fortunately, we possess his own statement of what his views on this subject had been from an early period of his life. "In my youth," says the poet, "I was drawn to be assentant—and in my might

helping—to certain conjuracions [confederacies], and other great matters of ruling of citizens; and thylke things being my drawers-in and exciters to these matters, were so painted and coloured, which at the prime face meseemed them noble and glorious to all the people. I then weening mickle merit [to] have deserved in furthering and maintenance of those things, busied and laboured with all my diligence, in working of thilke matters to the end. And truly to tell you the sooth, merought little of any hate of the mighty Senators* in thilke city, nor of commons' malice, for two skilles [reasons]: one was, I had comfort to be in such plight, that both profit were to me and to my friends; another was, for common profit in communalty is not, but [unless] peace and tranquillity with just governance proceedeth from thilke profit:" observations worthy of the author of the 'Canterbury Tales;' and presenting an interesting glimpse of the principles that guided the poet in action. Prior to the event we are about to notice, Richard had shown an almost open hostility towards the citizens, partly, it is said, on account of their manly remonstrances against the proceedings of his ministers, and partly from envy of their wealth. Accordingly, it appears, "he was accustomed," says Godwin, "when they had fallen under his displeasure, to oblige them to purchase his forgiveness with large contributions in money;" and he had also repeatedly imposed his own creature, Sir Nicholas Brember, as Mayor, upon them, in defiance of their wishes and rights. It may be here noticed that the City records show that, in former times, the election of the Mayor was claimed by some popular and large constituency, which, no doubt, was the entire body of citizens; we shall perceive, in Chaucer's own account of the matter, that this was an element of the struggle between Richard and the Londoners. Describing (in his appeal to the government from the Tower, from which the foregoing passage is taken) the arguments used by his associates to induce him to adopt the line of conduct which had brought him into so much misery, he says, "The things which, quod they, be for common advantage, may not stand, but [unless] we be executors of these matters, and authority of execution by *common election*, to us be delivered; and that must enter by strength of your maintenance." Again, "The government," quod they, "of your city, left in the hands of tornencious [usurious or extortionate] citizens shall bring in pestilence and destruction to you, good men; and therefore let us have the *common administration* to abate such evils." We have here still more clearly pointed out the motives that actuated Chaucer in engaging in the struggle between the King and the popular party in the City, and which rose to its climax in 1392; when the latter selected John of Northampton to be the candidate for the Mayoralty in opposition to Brember, and a most exciting contest ensued. Chaucer is supposed by Godwin to have had another motive besides his regard for the liberties of the City, namely, zeal for his patron, John of Gaunt, towards whose ruin, it seems, the proceedings of the Court were looked upon as the first step. Of the details of the struggle we know very little. Chaucer says of it, "And so, when it fell that *free election by great clamour of much people* [who], for great disease of government, so fervently stooden in their election [of their own candidate] that

* The Aldermen probably of that day; a body that we find continually leaning towards royalty through the early struggles of the citizens against it.

they themselves submitted to every manner face [or, in other words, every imaginable disadvantage] rather than have suffered the manner and the rule of the hated governors, (notwithstanding that [they], in the contrary, held much common meiny [followers] that have no consideration but only to voluntary lusts without reason), then thilke governor [Brember] so forsaken," and fearing "his undoing for misrule in his time," endeavoured to hinder the election, and procure a new one in favour of himself; and then burst out the insurrection, or in the poet's words, "mokyl roar areared." The result shows how deeply he was himself concerned. After the "roar" had been quelled by a large armed body, under Sir Robert Knolles, on the part of the king, and Sir Nicholas Brember once more unduly installed in the chair, proceedings commenced against the principal leaders of the defeated party. Of these we find only two names mentioned—John of Northampton's, who was committed to confinement in Corfe Castle, and thence removed to Carisbrook Castle whilst preparations for his trial were made, and Chaucer's, against whom similar process was commenced, but who, knowing the men with whom he had to deal, fled to Zealand. There he seems to have suffered much distress, and chiefly through the conduct of some of those with whom he had been connected in the business of the election. In 1386 he ventured to return to London, where he received a mark of the public approbation of his conduct by his being elected a member of parliament for Kent. It may have been this very election which determined the government not to overlook his former conduct, and so to get rid of a man whose abilities they must have dreaded; for it appears that he was arrested in the latter part of the same year, sent to the Tower, and deprived of the offices he held, namely, the Comptrollership of the Customs in the Port of London and the comptrollership of the small customs. Touchingly beautiful are his laments over his sad estate at this time. Having alluded to the delicious hours he was wont to spend enjoying the blissful seasons, and contrasted them with his penance in the dark prison, cut off from friendship and acquaintances, "forsaken of all that any word dare speak" for him, he continues: "Although I had little, in respect [comparison] among others great and worthy, yet had I a fair parcel, as methought for the time, in furthering of my sustenance; and had riches sufficient to waive need; and had dignity to be reverenced in worship; power methought that I had to keep from mine enemies; and meseemed to shine in glory of renown. Every one of those joys is turned into his contrary: for riches, now have I poverty; for dignity, now am I imprisoned: instead of power, wretchedness I suffer; and for glory of renown, I am now despised and fully hated." He was set at liberty in 1389, though not, it is said, until he had purchased freedom by dishonourable disclosures as to his former associates: the whole subject, however, is too much enveloped in mystery for us to venture on any unfavourable decision; we can only be sure of the important fact, that no one suffered in consequence of Chaucer's liberation.

Ascending the steps opposite the entrance into the Hall, which lead to the other parts of the building, we find the room known as the court of aldermen, having a rich and elaborate ceiling in stucco, divided into compartments, the principal of them containing paintings by Sir James Thornhill. The cornice of the room consists of a series of carved and painted arms of all the Mayors since

1780. The apartment, as its name tells us, is used for the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, who in judicial matters form the bench of magistrates for the metropolis, and in their more directly corporate capacity try the validity of ward elections and of claims to freedom, who admit and swear brokers, superintend prisons, order prosecutions, and perform a variety of other analogous duties: a descent, certainly, from the high position of the ancient eorculdmen, or superior Saxon nobility, from whom they derive their name and partly their functions. They were called "barons" down to the time of Henry I., if, as is probable, the latter term in the charter of that king refers to the Aldermen. A striking proof of the high rank and importance of the individuals so designated is to be found in the circumstance that the wards of London of which they were aldermen were, in some cases, at least, their own heritable property, and as such bought and sold, or transferred under particular circumstances. Thus the aldermanry of a ward was purchased, in 1279, by William Faryngdon, who gave it his own name, and in whose family it remained upwards of 80 years; and, in another case, the Knighten Guild having given the lands and soke of what is now called Portsoken ward to Trinity Priory, the Prior became, in consequence, Alderman, and so the matter remained in Stow's time, who beheld the Prior of his day riding in procession with the Mayor and Aldermen, only distinguished from them by wearing a purple instead of a scarlet gown. As to the present constitution of the body, it may be briefly described as follows: each of the twenty-six wards into which the city is divided elects one alderman, with the exception of Cripplegate-Within and Cripplegate-Without, which together send but one; add to these an alderman for Southwark, or, as it is sometimes called, Bridge Ward-Without, and we have the entire number of 26, including the Mayor. They are elected for life at ward-motes, by such householders as are at the same time freemen, and paying not less than 30*s.* per annum to the local taxes. The fine for the rejection of the office is 500*l.* Generally speaking, the aldermen consist of those persons who, as common-councilmen, have won the good opinions of their fellows, and who are presumed to be fitted for the higher offices to which they as aldermen are liable, the Shrievalty and the Mayoralty. Leaving the Court of Aldermen for the Council Chamber, towards which we now advance through an elegant corridor, we find ourselves surrounded by the chief artistical treasures of the Corporation. Before we notice these we may conclude our sketch of the component parts of the latter, with a few words on the Common Council and the general body from which they are chosen. The members of the Council are elected by the same class as the aldermen, but in very varying—and in comparison with the size and importance of the wards—inconsequential numbers. Bassishaw and Lime Street wards have the smallest representation,—4 members, and those of Farringdon-Within and Without the largest, namely 16 and 17. The entire number of the Council is 240. Their meetings are held under the presidency of the Lord Mayor; and the Aldermen have also the right of being present. The other chief officers of the municipality, as the Recorder, Chamberlain, Judges of the Sheriffs Courts, Common Sergeant, the four City Pleaders, Town Clerk, &c., &c., also attend. Of the functions of the Council it will be only necessary to observe, that it is the legislative body of the Corporation, and in that capacity enjoys an unusual degree of power, such as that of making important alterations in the constitution of the

latter, that it dispenses the funds, manages the landed property, has the care of the bridges and of the Thames Navigation, with many other powers and trusts. "In the earliest times," say the Corporation commissioners, the words *Commune Concilium* appear to have been applied sometimes to the whole body of citizens, sometimes to the Magistracy (that is, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen), or the Magistracy and Sheriffs. In the reign of Henry III. a Folkmote seems to have been summoned to meet the Magistracy three or four times in the year, and on special occasions."* We have already seen that the election of the Mayor was claimed by the citizens generally; and altogether it seems evident, that in the Saxon time the *folkmote*, as the meeting of the entire body of people in the open air was called, or the husting or common hall, when within-doors, exercised the most important functions of local government. And although these rights were placed in abeyance during the first shock of the Conquest, they were again claimed and made the subject of frequent struggles, similar to that in which Chaucer was engaged, as reviving peace and prosperity afforded opportunities.

From the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, we descend to the Livery and the freemen, from which, step by step, the former have risen. Until of late years, the only path to freedom was through the halls of the companies (the ancient guilds), and they, in effect, still form the true base of the civic structure. As we shall devote an early number to them, we need only here observe that the Livery, of whom we hear so much, are favoured portions of the general body of freemen in each company, who possess the right of electing the Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, and other municipal officers, who form, in a word, the Common Hall of the present day. Glancing back over the general features of the entire corporate body, the analogy frequently pointed out between the national and the civic parliament appears no idle dream, such as we may fancy to have visited the slumbers of some ambitious aldermanic brain, but strikingly true, clear, and interesting. We perceive an elective head, as the sovereign once was elective, a comparatively irresponsible, and at a certain period—when, indeed, the very same parties probably sat as barons in both parliaments—hereditary second estate, and a Commons representing, or professing to represent, the citizens or the people. To carry it still farther, as Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council sit in one chamber, so sat the component parts of the national parliament when it first began to assume its present form; as the parliamentary constituencies really form but a fraction of the people, so do the Livery stand towards the general body of the citizens. But the most interesting result of the comparison is one that, we suspect, does not altogether agree with the popular view of the subject—that the lesser apes the greater: when municipal government in England was in its freest, most energetic, and most flourishing condition, parliaments, in any just sense of the term as applicable to their existing constitutions and powers, were unknown. In short, of our original local government, "enough is discoverable to show most clearly that it had never been moulded by a central authority, but that, on the contrary, the central authority had been, as it were, built upon the broad basis of a free municipal organization."†

* Report, p. 35.

† Article, Boroughs of England and Wales, 'Penny Cyclopædia.

The scene of these united assemblages owes little of its interest to its beauty or splendour. One would think, from the dingy appearance of the crimson lining of the walls, and the paltry matting of the floor, that the place belonged to the poorest rather than to the richest of municipalities, did not the numerous, and in some instances well-known, works of art around the walls, chiefly the productions of corporate patronage, show that it possessed no stinted exchequer. The sculpture consists of a full-length white marble statue of George III., by Chantrey, placed in a niche of a bluish-grey colour at the back of the seat of mayoralty, and of some busts, one of them Granville Sharpe's, also by Chantrey, and one of Nelson, by the lady sculptor, the Hon. Mrs. Damer, who so worshipped its subject, that after the hero of the Nile had sat to her, she not only "loved to relate the conversations which she had with her 'Napoleon of the waves,'" but "it was one of her favourite ideas to form a little book of his sayings and remarks, for the use of her young relative, the son of Sir Alexander Johnston." * Among the pictures are Northcote's 'Death of Wat Tyler,' Copley's 'Siege of Gibraltar,' Opie's 'Murder of David Rizzio,' with some interesting portraits by Sir W. Beechey, Sir T. Lawrence, Copley, and Opie; of which Alderman Boydell's, by Beechey, may be particularised for the sake of the public-spirited man to whose generous and enlightened zeal art owes so much. One feature of the collection is curious—the number of representations connected with Gibraltar: there are no less than three 'Defences,' and all by "R. Paton, Esq."

The other noticeable portions of Guildhall are the Old Court of King's Bench, the Chamberlain's Office, and the Waiting or Reading Room. In the first (where, among other pictures, is a pair of classical subjects—Minerva, by Westall, and Apollo washing his locks in the Castalian fountains, by Gavin Hamilton), the greater portion of the judicial business of the Corporation is carried on: that business, as a whole, comprising in its civil jurisdiction, first, the Court of Hustings, the supreme court of record in London, and which is frequently resorted to in outlawry and other cases where an expeditious judgment is desired; secondly, the Lord Mayor's Court, which has cognizance of all personal and mixed actions at common law, which is a court of equity, and also a criminal court in matters pertaining to the Customs of London; and thirdly, the Sheriff's Court, which has a common-law jurisdiction only: we may add that the jurisdiction of both courts is confined to the City and Liberties, or, in other words, to those portions of incorporated London, known respectively in corporate language as Within the walls, and Without. The criminal jurisdiction includes the London Sessions, held generally eight times a-year, with the Recorder as the acting Judge, for the trial of felonies, &c.; the Southwark Sessions, held in Southwark four times a-year; and the eight Courts of Conservancy of the River. Passing into the Chamberlain's Office, we find a portrait of Mr. Thomas Tomkins, by Reynolds; and if it be asked, who is Mr. Thomas Tomkins, we have only to say, in the words of the inscription on another great man—Look around! All these beautifully written and emblazoned duplicates of the honorary Freedoms and Thanks voted by the City, some sixty or more, we believe, in number, are the sole production of him, who, we regret to say, is the *late* Mr. Thomas Tomkins. The duties of the Chamberlain are numerous: among them, the

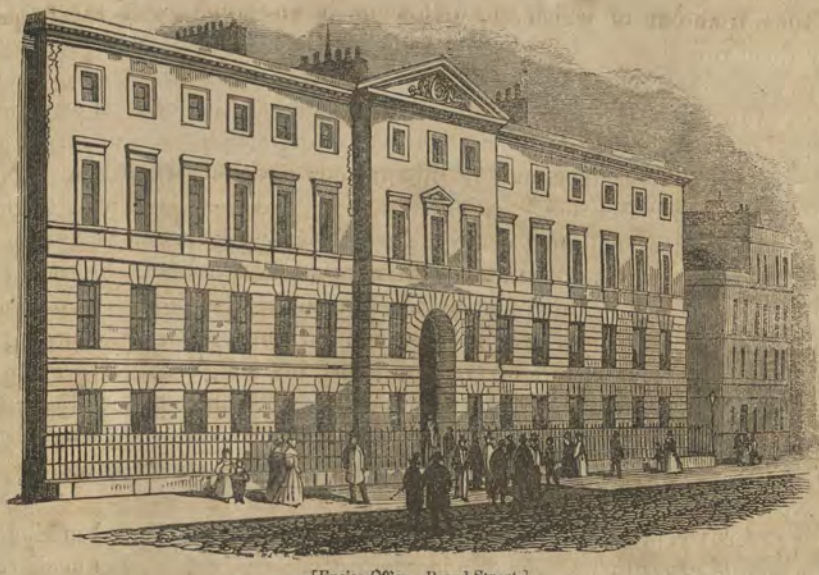
* Cunningham's 'British Sculptors,' p. 263.

most worthy of mention, perhaps, are the admission, on oath, of freemen (till of late years averaging in number one thousand a-year); the determining quarrels between masters and apprentices (Hogarth's prints of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices are the first things you see within the door); and lastly, the Treasurership, in which department enormous sums of money pass through his hands. In 1832, the latest year for which we have any authenticated statement, the corporate receipts, derived chiefly from rents, dues, and market tolls, amounted to 160,193*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*; and the expenditure to somewhat more. The Waiting Room is a small but comfortable apartment, with the table covered with newspapers, and the walls with pictures; among which, Opie's Murder of James I. of Scotland is most conspicuous. There are here also two Studies of a Tiger and a Lioness and her Young, by Northcote. Near the door, numerous written papers attract the eye—the useful daily memoranda of the multifarious business eternally going on, and which, in addition to the matters already incidentally referred to, point out one of the modes in which that business is accomplished —the Committees. We read of appointments for the Committee of the Royal Exchange—of Sewers—of Corn, Coal, and Finance—of Navigation—of Police, and so on.

The personal state of the head of so important an institution has always been an object of solicitude with the citizens. In his dignity they beheld the reflection of theirs. Hence the almost princely list of officers forming his household: his sword-bearer, his sergeant-at-arms, his sergeant-carver, sergeants of the chamber, his esquires, his bailiffs, and his young men: hence his heavy annual expenditure, which is expected to exceed the ordinary sum appropriated for that purpose, amounting to nearly 8000*l.*, by 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* more. Yet, strange enough, with such a household and such a sum to be expended, they never thought of giving him a house till the last century; and the Mayors, therefore, had to content themselves with their own, or to borrow the halls of their companies. The present pile, finished in 1753, was erected by Dance. It is of course handsomely fitted up, and the plate, used on all important occasions, is valued at above 20,000*l.* The Justice Room is immediately on the left of the chief entrance. A very interesting part of the business here is a remnant of a valuable old custom, which seems to show that the idea of a court of reconciliation is by no means a novelty in this country, though never fully developed. In this court private applications are continually made to the Mayor, for his advice and arbitration, and, we understand, with very beneficial results. The banquets which are here from time to time given, of a public character, as those to the chief members of the Government, or of a more private kind, as to the corporation, take place in the Egyptian Hall, an apartment of great size, with a detached range of large pillars, with gilded capitals, on each side, an ornamented roof in panels, and a throne for his lordship—the whole brilliantly illuminated by chandeliers. A long and very handsome corridor leads to the Hall, from which, near the centre, branch off the passages to the private apartments. As to the pictures, busts, and statues, which should give to all such mansions their principal charm, there is here a melancholy blank. What an opportunity for some new Boydell; what a rich gallery of civic historical portraiture might not be summoned at the call of the enchanter to people these now desolate walls. The

Mansion House itself, as a building only a century old, can hardly be expected to have much historical interest attached to it. The most important event its annals can yet boast is, perhaps, the Wilkes riots, of which, during the mayoralty of Wilkes's friend, Brass Crosby, the neighbourhood—as shown in the prints of the time, from one of which the following is engraved—was the frequent scene.

[The Mansion House, 1771.]



[Excise Office, Broad Street.]

CVII.—THE EXCISE OFFICE.

If a stranger from any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland, however remote, were to pause in the midst of Broad Street, and inquire to what purpose that large pile of building opposite to him were appropriated, he would, ten to one, on learning that it was the Excise Office, have a livelier idea of the operations of the Board of Revenue, which has its seat there, than the inhabitant of London, provided that neither had been brought into direct contact with its officers by the nature of his business. In the country the officer of Excise, or the exciseman, as we may more familiarly call him, is often seen hurrying through the same hamlets and pleasant lanes, often at untimely hours, on errands which seem half mysterious. In London nobody ever sees an exciseman, except those who are in the habit of receiving him as an official visitor, and to many the only representative of the existence of such a tax as the Excise is the great building in Broad Street. The forces by which it levies some millions a-year for the Exchequer are as invisible to them as the officers of another department—the Stamps. The Post Office sends forth its emissaries, every hour, through the streets of the metropolis, and there is now scarcely any person who has not the satisfaction of contributing at least a few pence annually to this department of the revenue; but it is only a limited number who personally have dealings with the Board of Stamps and Taxes, or with the Customs and Excise. The latter is by far the most pervading part of the taxing system, except the Post Office. One-half of the Customs'

duty of the United Kingdom is collected in the port of London, and two-thirds of it are obtained in the two ports of London and Liverpool. The great mass of inland dealers in articles of foreign produce, although they well know that by means of duties the price is enhanced to them by the wholesale merchant, and again by them raised to their customers, yet they see nothing of the agency by which this process is rendered necessary. In the case of the Excise, however, every part of the country is parcelled out with as much distinctness as its legal and ecclesiastical divisions. There is first the "Collection," which corresponds in importance with the county, and is the primary division; then the "Collection" is divided into "Districts," which may be regarded equivalent to the hundreds and wapentakes; and next come the "Rides" and "Divisions," which are the parishes and townships of the Excise territory. Nearly 5000 officers of various grades are stationed in these districts, and are busily employed in going over every part of the one which is assigned to them, for the purpose of charging the Excise duties on various classes of traders. But before going further into the nature and operations of the Excise, it may be as well briefly to notice the history of the system, more especially as this is not easily to be found in any single book; and where it is given, the facts are stated with a brevity which is not very instructive.

In this present year, 1843, duties of Excise have been established in England exactly a couple of centuries. Clarendon states that an attempt was made to introduce these duties in 1626; and Prynne gives the following account of the matter in a small tract published in 1654, entitled, "A Declaration and Protestation against the illegal and detestable, and oft-contemned new Tax and Extortion of Excise in general, and for Hops, a Native and uncertain commodity in particular." He states that, "Our late beheaded King Charles," by the advice of the Duke of Buckingham and other evil counsellors, granted a Commission under the Great Seal to thirty-three Lords and others of the Privy Council, to set on foot an Excise in England. The production of the Commission was moved for in Parliament, and on its being brought before the House, a debate took place, which ended in an unanimous vote as to the scheme being contrary to the Constitution. A conference with the Lords subsequently took place on the subject, in which Sir Edward Coke, on the part of the Commons, took a principal part. He described it as "Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens," descanting upon each of these strong terms; "Yet, blessed be God," he added, 'cui lumen ademptum,'—"whose eyes were pulled out by the Commons," which he hoped their Lordships would second before the monster was fully brought forth to consume and devour the nation. Eventually the King cancelled the Commission, and for a time the matter was dropped.

In 1641, when the struggle between the Parliament and the King was becoming one of life and death, and each party required all the means it could command to carry on the contest, the Parliament still set their faces against raising a revenue from Excise duties; and, in October, 1641, published a contradiction to the rumour that they intended to levy such duties. The entry on the Journals of the House, under this date, is as follows:—"The Commons House of Parliament, receiving information that divers public rumours and aspersions are by malignant persons cast upon this House, that they intend to assess every man's

pewter, and lay Excises upon that and other commodities, the said House, for their vindication, do declare that these rumours are false and scandalous; and forasmuch as those false rumours and scandals are raised by ill-affected persons, and tend much to the disservice of the Parliament, it is therefore ordered that the authors of these false, scandalous rumours shall be searched and enquired after, and apprehended and brought to this House to receive condign punishment." As their necessities became greater, however, they were obliged to resort to the much-condemned impost. On July 22, 1643, an ordinance of the Lords and Commons was issued for the speedy raising and levying of monies "by way of Excise, or new impost," for the maintenance of the forces raised by Parliament, "until it shall please Almighty God, in his mercy, to move the King's Majesty's heart to confide and concur with both his Houses of Parliament for the establishing of a blessed and lasting peace." It was further ordained, "for the better levying of the monies hereby to be raised, that an office from henceforth be erected and appointed in the City of London, to be called or known by the name of the Office of Excise, or new impost, whereof there shall be eight Commissioners to govern the same, and one of them to be treasurer, with several registrars, collectors, clerks, and other subordinate officers," as the Commissioners may determine. Of the eight Commissioners appointed, three were Aldermen of the City, and another was one of the Sheriffs of London. The office which they established was open from eight in the morning to eleven, and from two till five in the afternoon; and it was placed under the cognizance of a Committee of the Lords and Commons, appointed for advance of money, which sat at Haberdashers' Hall. The Commissioners of Excise were empowered to call in the aid of the trained bands, volunteers, or other forces, if necessary. The first articles in the list of duties were ale, beer, cider, and perry. The brewers were required to enter weekly, in the new office, the quantity of beer sold, the names of the buyers, and were not to deliver any beer without first obtaining a ticket from the new Excise Office. The duty on strong ale or beer, of the value of 8*s*. the barrel, was 2*s*. if sold to the retailers, and 1*s*. if for private use. Private families, who brewed, paid a duty also. An Excise duty was also imposed, at the same time, on wine and certain groceries, on wrought silks, furs, hats, lace, and one or two other articles. The Royalists at Oxford soon followed the example of the Parliament, and adopted the new system of taxation, but they also declared that it should only be continued during the war. Although the people of London were so favourable to the Parliament, the new Excise Duty created riots in London, and the populace burnt down the Excise House in Smithfield; and Pymm, who is called by Blackstone the father of the Excise, in a letter to Sir John Hotham, remarks, that it would "be necessary to use the people to it by little and little." The Parliament, however, went the length of subjecting meat and salt to the new tax, but they, some time afterwards, abolished it on these articles. A Declaration of Parliament was made in 1646, "upon occasion of tumults and great riots, which then, lately before, had happened, and were privily fomented in several parts of the kingdom against the receipts of the Excise;" and it was upon this occasion that they observed that as "this duty is by experience found to be the most easy and equal way, both in relation to the people and the public, so the Lords and Commons are resolved, through all opposition whatsoever, to insist upon the due collection thereof;" but they pro-

mise, when the peace of the kingdom is settled, to show "how much more ready they are to ease the people of this charge than they ever could be willing to impose the same." For the present the people were enjoined to pay the duties to officers appointed to receive the same in each hundred or wapentake; the civil force was called upon to assist them; and "Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the whole forces of the kingdom, is hereby desired to order and enjoin all colonels, captains, officers, and soldiers, under his command, upon application made to them, speedily to suppress all such tumults, riots, and unlawful assemblies" as those which had called forth the Declaration. The opposition to the Excise does not appear to have diminished much by the repeal of the duty on salt and meat. There were still frequent riots, the people being very averse to await with patience the time for taking off the others, although the Parliament stated in their Declaration that they could not at present take off further duties, and that, "in consequence of the Excise being pledged for debts, they must require its payment." Allusion is then made to "malcontents," who gave out that the charge of collection was so great that "half the receipt and income were consumed upon officers." This the Lords and Commons deny, and "assure the kingdom that until the late obstructions and oppositions, the charge in collecting the Excise hath never amounted, upon the whole receipt, to full two shillings upon every twenty shillings received." They then point out the various important public objects to which the Excise revenue (1,334,532*l.*) had been applied, and "to no private use whatever;" while on the credit of this revenue various debts, they said, were pledged, "which must be discharged before this receipt can in justice or honour be laid down." In the party pamphlets of this period neither of the two great parties could fairly attempt to raise a popular clamour against its opponents on account of the Excise. It is true that, in the early part of his reign, Charles I. was compelled to abandon his Excise scheme, and in one of his declarations he charged Parliament with imposing odious excises upon their fellow-subjects; yet stern necessity obliged him to resort to them as well as the Parliament. Nevertheless the Royalist pamphlets endeavoured to show that the Excise was a scheme of the Republicans, and, like all other obnoxious taxes, it brought upon the Government for the time being, for whose use it was paid, a full share of odium. In 1649 a scurrilous pamphlet appeared, purporting to be written by 'Mary Stiff, charwoman,' entitled 'The Good Women's Cryes against the Excise on all their Commodities.' It is printed as prose, but written in doggrel rhyme, and in not very decent language, and sufficiently shows the nature of the popular outcry against the tax.

One of the earliest financial measures of the Government, after the Restoration, was the abolition of the Excise on all articles of consumption, except ale, beer, cyder, and perry, which produced a clear annual revenue of 666,383*l.* These duties were divided into two equal portions, called the Hereditary and the Temporary Excise. The first was granted to the Crown for ever, as a compensation for the abolition by act of Parliament of various feudal tenures,—as the court of wards, and purveyance, and other oppressive parts of the royal hereditary revenue. The other half was only granted for the life of the king. On the accession of James II., Parliament granted him for life the Temporary Excise, and increased it by additional duties on wines, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, which,

however, were only retained for a short period. The Government of the Revolution would gladly have made itself popular by abolishing the more obnoxious of the Excise duties, but its necessities would not allow of such a course. The duty on glass and on malt was first imposed in William's reign, and the distilleries were subjected to Excise duties as well as the brewers. The salt duty was reimposed, and the duty on ale and beer increased, the latter producing an addition of 450,000*l.* a-year to the revenue. During the thirteen years of the reign of William III. the Excise duties averaged nearly a million a-year. The expensive wars of Anne's reign rendered it necessary still further to increase the number of articles subject to Excise, and duties were imposed on paper, stained-paper, and soap. This branch of revenue produced an average of 1,738,000*l.* during the twelve years of her reign. The produce of the Excise, during the peaceable reign of George I., averaged 2,340,000*l.* per annum, with no addition to the number of excisable articles, except a small duty on wrought plate.

The Excise still remained the most obnoxious branch of the public revenue. The laws for its protection were very severe, and no other tax so constantly and inconveniently interfered with the trading classes, or excited so wide-spread a prejudice; for the unpopularity of the duties on importation was chiefly confined to the towns on the coast, but the Excise laws were felt by persons in every corner of the country. It was a current opinion of the political writers of the day, in which Locke and Davenant had been deceived, that taxes of every description fell ultimately upon the land; and this is a point of importance in the consideration of Sir Robert Walpole's attempts to introduce his great scheme for extending the Excise. He had Land and Trade against him, and was baffled by the most violent and ignorant burst of popular clamour which it was ever the fate of a minister to encounter. A short notice of Walpole's scheme will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to those who take an interest in the history of finance; and the reception it met with is also exceedingly characteristic of the times. At that period the fiscal laws of the country were daily outraged in the most open and daring manner. The highwaymen, who pursued their occupation with impunity on all the roads leading to London, had their counterpart in the desperate class of men who carried on the trade of smugglers along the coast, murdering the officers of the revenue, setting fire to custom-houses, and riding in armed gangs of twenty or more, within half a dozen miles of London, on the banks of the Thames. A committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1732 to inquire into the frauds and abuses committed in the Customs, and which did not complete its task, reported that since Christmas, 1723, a period of nine years, the smuggling of tea and brandy had been conducted openly and audaciously, that the number of custom-house officers beaten and abused amounted to 250, and six had been murdered. In the same period 251,320 lbs. of tea and 652,924 gallons of brandy had been seized and condemned, and upwards of 2000 persons prosecuted; and 229 boats and other vessels had been condemned. Owing either to the adroitness of the smugglers or the corruption of the revenue officers, only 2808 hogsheads of wine had been condemned in these nine years; but the number "run" in Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire was 4738; and informations had been entered against 400 persons. The sense of honour amongst the mercantile classes of that day was at a low point. It was proved before the

84372

committee in question that by perjury, forgery, and the grossest collusion, the revenue was frequently defrauded to the amount of a third of the duty on tobacco; and that in the port of London a loss of 100,000*l.* per annum was sustained by the dishonest manner in which the drawback on re-exportation was obtained, which in some cases exceeded the sum originally received by government. When Walpole introduced his plan, on the 15th of March, 1733, for the correction of these abuses, he held in his hand a book which had belonged to a tobacco-merchant in the City, shewing one of the modes of defrauding the government by collusion with officers of the revenue. False quantities were entered at the times of importation, and this column was covered by a slip of paper artfully pasted down, on which were written the real quantities. The import duties were paid on the first or false quantity, and the drawback obtained on the real quantity; and, of course, the one amount was larger than the other, and the government was defrauded to the extent of the difference. In the case which the minister quoted, the merchant obtained in each case a drawback to nearly twice the amount of what he had actually paid duty for upon importation. Another variety of fraud in the tobacco trade was that of receiving the drawback for exportation and then re-landing it. A great trade was carried on in this way with Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Man, and the ports of Dunkirk, Ostend, &c. Besides persons apparently respectable, and custom-house officers, who were engaged in plundering the revenue, watermen, lightermen, and City-porters called gangsmen, were equally active in "socking,"—a cant term then in use for stealing tobacco from ships in the river. This practice was discovered in 1728; and it appeared that fifty tons of tobacco had been "socked" on board ships and on the quays, and deposited in houses from London Bridge to Woolwich, in the course of one year. One hundred and fifty custom-house officers were dismissed for participating in these frauds, and several of them were prosecuted at the expense of government. In mentioning this circumstance, Walpole observed, "And it is not a little remarkable, when we recollect the professions of patriotism, virtue, and disinterestedness which are now so copiously poured forth, that not a single merchant, though the facts were so notorious and shameful, assisted the state, either by information or pecuniary exertion, to suppress the fraud or bring the delinquents to punishment."

The plan of the minister for the correction of these abuses was, to benefit the fair trader by putting down his unprincipled competitors, and to improve the revenue without the addition of new duties. Conceiving that the laws of the Customs were insufficient to prevent fraud, there being only one check—that at the time of importation—he proposed that tobacco should be subject to the laws of the Excise as well as those of the Customs. While the total duty would not be increased, the Customs duty was to be only three-farthings the pound, and he added:—"I propose for the future that all tobacco, after being weighed at the Custom-house, and charged with the said three-farthings per pound, shall be lodged in a warehouse or warehouses, to be appointed by the Commissioners of Excise, of which warehouse the merchant-importer shall have one lock and key, and the warehouse-keeper to be appointed by the said commissioners shall have another, that the tobacco may lie safe in that warehouse till the merchant finds a market for it, either for exportation or home consumption." If he sold for

exportation, the quantity, after being re-weighed, was discharged of the Customs duty of three-farthings; and if for home consumption, he paid also the same duty, and on delivering it to the buyer, an inland duty of fourpence to the proper officer appointed to receive the same. This is precisely, in in its main features, the admirable principle of the present warehousing system; but in vain did Sir Robert Walpole urge the merits of his plan, and plead for it "as a most innocent scheme, hurtful to none but smugglers and unfair traders." In vain did he assert and demonstrate, with great clearness, that his measure would increase the revenue, and "tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world." The alarm had been thoroughly sounded from one end of the country to the other, even before the minister brought forth his project; and when his intentions were only surmised the country was lashed into such a state of blind fury that it seemed to have lost its common sense on this occasion. Ballads were printed and sung about the streets, with a wood-cut of a dragon with several heads at the top. This monster drew a chariot, in which sat a portly person (Walpole), receiving large sums of gold which issued from one of the mouths of the beast. A tobacconist set up a new device on his paper, of three wooden shoes on a shield, with an exciseman and a grenadier, as supporters. According to the *Craftsman*,* the terms used in the game of Quadrille were changed, and to be "beested' was to be excised, while one sort of card was called the Projector (Walpole), and others, Commissioners; and so, it states, the humour ran through the town. The same violent partizan manufactured a story of a lady having been robbed of two guineas only out of ten, by a highwayman, whose politeness rather astonishing her, she had courage enough to express her surprise; on which he said, "Madam, I rob like a gentleman! I assure you I do not belong to the 'Projector;' I am none of his gang." On the 15th of March, when Walpole introduced his new measure, "not only the members solicited the attendance of their friends, but letters were delivered by the beadles and other officers in the parishes and wards of the city, to induce a numerous party to assemble at the doors and in the avenues to the House, in order to overawe the proceedings of the legislature."† Deputies from the provincial towns had been sent to London to oppose the measure, and the corporations throughout the country were very generally active for the same object. The newspapers of the day state, that on the 15th "a vast number of eminent merchants and traders appeared in the Court of Requests' lobby, and places contiguous to the House of Commons, to solicit against the excise." The debate was maintained with great spirit until two o'clock in the morning—an hour then very unusual, and on a division, there voted with the minister 266, against 205. As Sir Robert left the house some of the exasperated people outside attempted to do him some personal injury, but were prevented by the interference of his son, and his friend General Churchill. Several divisions took place in subsequent stages of the Bill, and the ministerial majority dwindled from 61 to 17. A private meeting was now summoned by Sir Robert of the principal members who had supported the Bill, at which he was urged to proceed with the measure,

* 'The Craftsman,' a weekly newspaper, commenced in 1727, as the organ of the country party. It was written with great spirit, and some of the opposition leaders occasionally contributed to it.

† Coxe's 'Life of Sir R. Walpole,' vol iii. p. 81.

notwithstanding the violence of the opposition both from within and without. Walpole is reported to have said that, "in the present inflamed temper of the people the Act could not be carried into execution, without an armed force; and there will be an end of the liberty of England, if supplies are to be raised by the sword;" and he would, he said, resign rather than enforce taxes at the expense of blood. On the 11th of April, when the Bill stood for a second reading, he moved that it should be postponed to the 12th of June, or, in other words, he abandoned his scheme. The Wine Bill, a measure of similar character, was never brought in. No great national victory could be hailed with such exuberant triumph as that with which the country greeted the defeat of the minister's "monster project."

This defeat was celebrated in London the same evening by bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other public demonstrations of joy throughout the whole city: the Monument was illuminated. The demonstrations in the provinces were, if possible, still more fervent. The rejection of a great measure would now be known at such a place as Bristol by midnight, or within five hours after the event had been announced; but, in 1733, the news of the dropping of the tobacco bill was brought to that city by an express which arrived at eleven o'clock the following night. The merchants knocked at each other's doors to announce the good news; bonfires were lighted in the streets, one of large size opposite the Excise-office; at two in the morning the bells of the city-churches struck up a merry peal, and continued ringing all that day and even on the Saturday; barrels of ale were also given away in the streets; and two effigies were burnt, probably the one representing the prime minister and the other an exciseman. The "courier" for Liverpool with the good news passed through Coventry on Thursday, "when the joy that immediately appeared in every countenance was inexpressible, and demonstrated itself by ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations, with the sound of trumpets, drums, and French horns, *warming-pans*, and everything that could make a noise, while healths went briskly round to all the honest (?) gentlemen that were against the excise." At Liverpool, the day on which the news arrived (Friday, 13th April) was spent "in ringing of bells, wearing of gilt cockades on leaf tobacco, under which was written 'No Excise;' ships' colours were displayed, and those of the Exchange, and guns fired in honour of the glorious 204." Effigies were burnt both at Coventry and Liverpool. At Southampton, also, "*somebody* was carried round the town in effigy, and then thrown into the fire." At Chester, where messengers with the intelligence arrived on the 13th, there were lighted "the greatest number of bonfires ever known in the city:" one opposite the recorder's was kept in for five days. A great ball was given, and the Exchange was illuminated by 204 candles, being the number of the worthy gentlemen who had opposed the obnoxious measure. From Lewes, the *Craftsman* received a private letter which began by saying: "No news (newspapers, we suppose, are meant) come to this place, but we are glad to hear from private accounts that the old English spirit still appears for the preservation of our liberties and properties." At Rye, most probably a great stronghold of smugglers, "every one expressed an insuperable delight in being happily rescued from further excises and *wooden shoes*." At Cambridge there were great rejoicings, but Cambridge was far outshone by

Oxford. The rampant proceedings at the latter university on the defeat of the minister sufficiently indicate that political hatred of the most violent kind was the chief motive of the leaders of the opposition, and truly they had a superfluity of ignorance and prejudice at their command, such as does not often glad the feelings of political bigotry. At Oxford, says Archdeacon Coxe, in his 'Life of Walpole,' "the gownsmen joined and encouraged the mob, Jacobinical cries resounded through the town, and three days passed in this disgraceful manner before the Vice-chancellor and proctors could restore tranquillity."

Walpole remained undismayed amidst this political storm, and so far from being disgraced, as was fondly anticipated by his opponents, the king dismissed several persons who had deserted the ministerial ranks. The Earl of Chesterfield was deprived of the office of Lord Steward of the Household two days after the Excise-bill was abandoned, and his dismissal was followed by that of five other peers who held official situations. Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton were deprived of their regiments, and the friends of the minister were appointed to several of the vacant posts. The king's speech, on closing the session, alluded to "the wicked endeavours that have lately been made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and, by the most unjust misrepresentation, to raise tumults and disorders that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom." The extravagant ideas of liberty and of their own superiority over all other people which were entertained at this period by the English are quietly satirised by Goldsmith's 'Chinese Philosopher,' who listened to a conversation carried on between a debtor through the gate of his prison, a porter, and a soldier, the subject being an apprehended invasion from France. The prisoner feared that liberty, the Englishman's prerogative, would be endangered if the French were to conquer. The soldier with an oath exclaims that it would not so much be our liberties as our religion that would suffer, and the porter terms the French a pack of slaves fit only to carry burdens. Andrew Marvell, Blackstone, and Johnson were great vilifiers of the Excise. Marvell describes it as "a hateful tax;" Blackstone, writing in 1765, says that "from its first original to the present time its very name has been odious to the people of England," and the great lexicographer's definition is well known.* The Excise laws have been so injudiciously framed, and in many instances rendered so unnecessarily vexatious, that they have, in consequence, obtained more than their due share of the discredit which attaches generally to all taxes. Above six hundred acts of Parliament for enforcing Excise regulations are a trap to even the fairest trader; and, at the best, it is no light evil to conduct manufacturing processes under a system of interference and regulation enforced by heavy penalties. While the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry give some instances of the prejudicial effects of such a system, they also point out the manner in which they may be diminished.

The Gin Act of 1736, an unwise and futile attempt to put down intemperance by a tax intended to make that liquor too dear for the poor, who solely or chiefly

* Mr. Croker, in his variorum edition of Boswell, shows that there is very good ground for believing that Johnson's inveterate hatred of the Excise had its origin in a prosecution against his father for some breach of their laws. Hence the terms in which he speaks of a Commissioner of Excise in the 'Idler,' and the scurrilous definition in the Dictionary. The latter was actually submitted by the Commissioners to counsel for an opinion as to its libellous character.—See Croker's 'Boswell.'

used it, is, at least, an instructive chapter in the history of Excise laws. Sir Joseph Jekyll, the Master of the Rolls, was the author of this Act, which raised the duty on gin and other spirituous liquors to twenty shillings the gallon, and required that only licensed dealers paying fifty pounds per annum for a license should be allowed to retail spirits. "No man could," says Lord Cholmondeley, "no man would observe the law; and it gave such a turn to the spirit of the people, that no man could, with safety, venture to become an informer." The Jacobites endeavoured, as usual, to turn the discontent of the people at this measure to their own profit, and serious fears were for a time entertained of an insurrection of the populace of London. Sir Robert Walpole, writing to his brother Horace on the 30th September, 1736, gives an account of these machinations. "The scheme that was laid was, for all the distillers that were able, to give away gratis, to all that should ask for it, as much gin and strong waters as they should desire, and the great distillers were to supply all the retailers and small shops with as much as they should want, to be distributed and given away in like manner. The shops were to begin to be opened on Tuesday evening, the eve of Michaelmas Day, and to be continued and repeated on Wednesday night, that the mob, being made thus drunk, might be prepared and ready to commit any sort of mischief; and in order to this, anonymous letters were sent to the distillers and town retailers in all parts of the town, to instruct them and incite them to rise and join their friends and do as their neighbours did." Several of these letters were placed in the hands of the government by the officers of Excise. As a means of prevention troops were paraded in the several places where the mob were likely to assemble. What follows is taken from the newspapers of the day. On Tuesday a large party of the Life Guards and Horse Grenadiers remained all night under arms in Covent Garden, and troops were stationed at the house of Sir Joseph Jekyll, the author of the obnoxious bill. On Wednesday various parts of London and Westminster were patrolled by the troops. Several persons were taken into custody for shouting "No gin, no king," and many others were lying about the streets dead drunk with "taking leave of Geneva." The '*Craftsman*' of October 9th says, that "Mother Gin died very quietly;" but the real struggle against the law was of a nature not to be put down by an armed force, and in the above paper of the same day it is remarked, "but though the common people are deprived of gin, there are various drams invented and sold at the gin-shops in lieu thereof, as sangaree, tow-row, cyder boiled with Jamaica pepper, &c." At several brandy-shops in High Holborn, St. Giles's, Thieving Lane, Tothill Street, Rosemary Lane, Whitechapel, Shoreditch, the Mint, and Kent Street, drams were sold under the following names:—Sangaree, tow-row, cuckold's comfort, parliament-gin, make-shift, the last shift, the ladies' delight, the baulk, King Theodore, or Corsica, and cholic and gripe waters. People carried spirits about the streets for sale in barrows, baskets, litters, &c. The apothecaries were allowed to sell spirits to sick persons; and on the first Saturday after the new act came into operation, the newspapers state that "several apothecaries' shops had so large a call for gripe and cholic waters, &c., by the poor sort of people, the masters were obliged to employ an additional number of hands in serving them." A person in St. James's Market sold drams coloured red in

bottles, and a paper about them with the following directions :—" Take two or three spoonsful of this four or five times a-day, or as often as the fit takes you." In a number of the '*Old Whig*' for Nov. 4, when the Act had been in operation about a month, it is stated that, " since the suppression of gin, the coarse pieces of beef, &c. have sold much better at the several markets about town than before; the lower class of people, being deprived of that liquor, have now good stomachs;" and the writer observes that " this must make meat cheaper generally, for if the coarse pieces fetch a price, the best pieces must be lowered." Some temporary effect of this kind might be produced at first, but the evasion of the Act soon became so extensive as to render its restrictions worse than useless. The number of offenders against the law was so great, that there were presently a number of informers, in spite of the personal hazard attending the occupation. They were pelted in the streets, and one of them was actually murdered by the populace. The newspapers of October 23rd announced that several apothecaries and chemists had been convicted, and had paid the penalty of 100*l.* for evading the Act. According to Lord Cholmondeley's speech, it appears that even magistrates endangered their safety in the execution of this law; and between intimidation and the expenses of prosecution, it became a dead letter, while the people were more than ever addicted to the use of ardent spirits. Before the Act was put in force, eight of the justices at Hicks' Hall made a report, which showed that within Westminster, Holborn, the Tower and Finsbury divisions, exclusive of London and Southwark, there were 7044 houses and shops in which spirituous liquors were sold, and this they believed to be short of the true number: they computed that there were not fewer than 20,000 such houses within the bills of mortality. At present the number of gin-shops in the metropolis, taking its limits in their widest sense, is under 6000, though the population has increased threefold. In 1742 the Gin Act was modified, after six years of vexatious and unprofitable trial, during two years of which period 2000 persons were convicted of offences against the law.

Above half a century elapsed after the defeat of Sir Robert Walpole's Excise scheme before any minister ventured again to enter upon the consideration of new Excise duties. Two at least of Mr. Pitt's predecessors had been afraid of proposing any fresh taxes of this nature; but he successfully carried measures of the very same nature as those which Walpole was compelled to abandon. In 1784 he imposed an Excise duty on bricks, and several classes of traders were compelled to take out licences; and in 1786 he proposed to transfer the greater part of the duty on foreign wines from the Customs to the Excise, as a means of preventing extensive frauds upon the revenue: for even allowing the consumption to have been only equal to what it was in 1750, the revenue suffered an annual loss of 280,000*l.* Walpole's scheme relating to tobacco would have rendered necessary an " army " of 126 additional excisemen: Mr. Pitt's plan respecting the wine-duty required an addition of 167 officers to the Excise establishment. The wine-merchants of London and their brethren in the country represented the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of subjecting wine to the Excise laws, and the danger of extending those laws; but a great change had taken place in the public mind in the course of half a century, and the people remained per-

fectly quiescent. Six divisions took place on the bill, but the minority never exceeded 38. In order to put an end to the smuggling of tobacco, by which the revenue sustained a loss of 300,000*l.* a-year (out of 12 million lbs. consumed 5 millions were smuggled), the same minister proposed in 1789 to transfer the greater part of the duty from the Customs to the Excise, and, of course, to subject the manufacturer to the survey of the exciseman. On this occasion he alluded to the success of the transfer of duties in regard to wine; and although a few members expressed their disapprobation of the extension of the Excise system, the measure was carried through both Houses with great ease. In the following year a motion for the repeal of the Excise duty on tobacco was brought forward, and was supported by 147 votes; but it was resisted by the minister, who had a majority of 41. He showed that the change effected in the previous session was already benefitting the country at the rate of 300,000*l.* a-year.

Pitt could now carry any fiscal measures which he seriously thought necessary; and in 1793 not fewer than twenty-nine articles were subject to the Excise laws, and the gross amount of this branch of revenue was about ten millions and a half. In 1797 the number of officers employed in England was 4777. The highest amount which the Excise produced in any one year, for England, was 27,400,300*l.* in 1821; and the largest number of officers in this department, for the United Kingdom, was 7986 in 1815, their salaries amounting to 904,922*l.* Between 1824 and 1835 duties were transferred to the Customs, which yielded 11,238,300*l.* a-year, and others were entirely repealed, amounting to 6,782,000*l.*, making together 18,020,300*l.* The duty on several articles has also been reduced. The amount of duty paid into the chief office, in 1829, for the 'London Collection,' was 6,013,159*l.*, and in 1835 only 1,462,919*l.* In 1841 the gross Excise revenue for the United Kingdom was 15,477,674*l.*, and the charges of collection amounted to 1,047,360*l.*, or 6*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* per cent. At present only ten articles are subject to the Excise Duty, namely, auctions, bricks, glass, hops, licences, malt, paper, soap, British spirits, and vinegar.

In 1835 the number of traders in England, Ireland, and Scotland, who were surveyed periodically by Excise officers, was 588,000, divided into five classes. Firstly, persons visited for the purpose of charging the "growing" duties, as maltsters, soap-makers, brick-makers, paper-makers, &c. Secondly, persons who paid a licence according to the extent of their business, as brewers and tobacconists. Thirdly, innkeepers and retailers of beer, and others who dealt in articles upon which an Excise duty was levied. Fourthly, persons who dealt in tea, coffee, pepper, tobacco, and other articles which paid Customs duties; and, lastly, there were others who paid no duty, but were subject to a cautionary survey—tallow-melters, for example, as a check upon soap-makers. The cost of these surveys amounted to 533,902*l.* for the English country Collections, and to 41,390*l.* for the London Collection. The duty on spirits in the London Collection amounted to 928,556*l.*, and on soap to 208,266*l.* The limits of the district in which the chief office is situated excludes parts of the metropolis, so that the above statements do not afford a correct notion of its relative importance. Some traders who live in London go out of London to pay their duties, those who

reside just beyond the extremity of Southwark paying at Greenwich in the Rochester Collection; and those in a part of St. Pancras parish are in the Hertford Collection, while a trader living near Croydon pays his duties in Broad Street. In 1835 three distilleries at Bromley, Whitechapel, and Thames Bank contributed 622,000*l.*, and two soap-manufacturers in the metropolitan district paid 150,000*l.*, but not all of them at the chief office. Since 1835 several of the surveys have been abolished either by acts of Parliament or by direction of the Treasury. Thus, above 310,000 dealers in tea, wine, tobacco, and brewers have been exempted from Excise control. The number of surveys in one year of tea, wine, and tobacco dealers was about fifteen millions; 1,657,959 permits were annually required before goods in certain quantities could leave their premises; and 778,988 stock-books were supplied to them to keep an account of their stock and sales. These administrative improvements are of real practical value, and the restrictions so long insisted upon are proved on the whole to have been useless

We have now to speak of the establishment in Broad Street, which is charged with the collection and management of the Excise revenue. Before 1823 the Excise revenue in Scotland and Ireland was managed by separate boards, consisting all together of twelve commissioners, each board being independent of the English board. The business is now better conducted by seven instead of

[Hall of Excise Office.]

twenty-one commissioners. The Chairman has a salary of 2000*l.* a year; the Deputy-Chairman has 1500*l.*, and the other Commissioners have 1200*l.* per annum each. The Commissioners hold courts, and decide summarily in cases of infraction of the Excise laws. Formerly the Board never had any communication with traders, except by verbal messages through their officers, but since 1838 they have adopted the plan of giving written answers. The number

of persons employed at the chief office is about five hundred, who were principally distributed in the following departments, in 1835:—The 7 Commissioners, who constitute the Board; employed in the Secretary's office, 20 persons; in the Correspondents' office, 30; in the Solicitors', 24, the two latter offices having each subdivisions for the Scotch and Irish business. In the Accountants' office there were 72 persons, with similar subdivisions; in the Receiver-General's department, 112, and 34 in that of the Comptroller-General; 8 in the Auditor's office; 8 in the Security office; 10 in the Store office; 5 in the Diary office. The number of Surveying General Examiners was 112. Many important changes have taken place in the organization of the chief office since 1835. The departments of Account for England, Scotland, and Ireland have been consolidated; that of Comptroller of Cash has been abolished; the Comptroller-General and Auditor-General's department have been consolidated. The Excise Printing-office was abolished by authority of the Treasury in 1841; but a Distillery, for the re-distillation of smuggled foreign spirits, is still under the management of the chief office. In the first twenty years after the peace considerable reductions were made in the Excise Office, in consequence of duties being abolished. The number on the English establishment reduced in these twenty years was 847. The total repeal of the salt duty was followed by the reduction of 196 officers; salaries, 18,962*l*. By the repeal of the leather duty 30 officers were reduced, salaries 3362*l*.; by the repeal of the beer duty 228 officers, salaries 24,045*l*.; of the duty on printed cottons by the reduction of 148 officers, salaries 15,064*l*.; and the reduction of the duty on candles was followed by a reduction of 207 officers, whose salaries amounted to 22,690*l*. In 1797 the Excise establishment was considered to be in so efficient a state, and so well managed, that Mr. Pitt pointed it out as a model for other public departments.

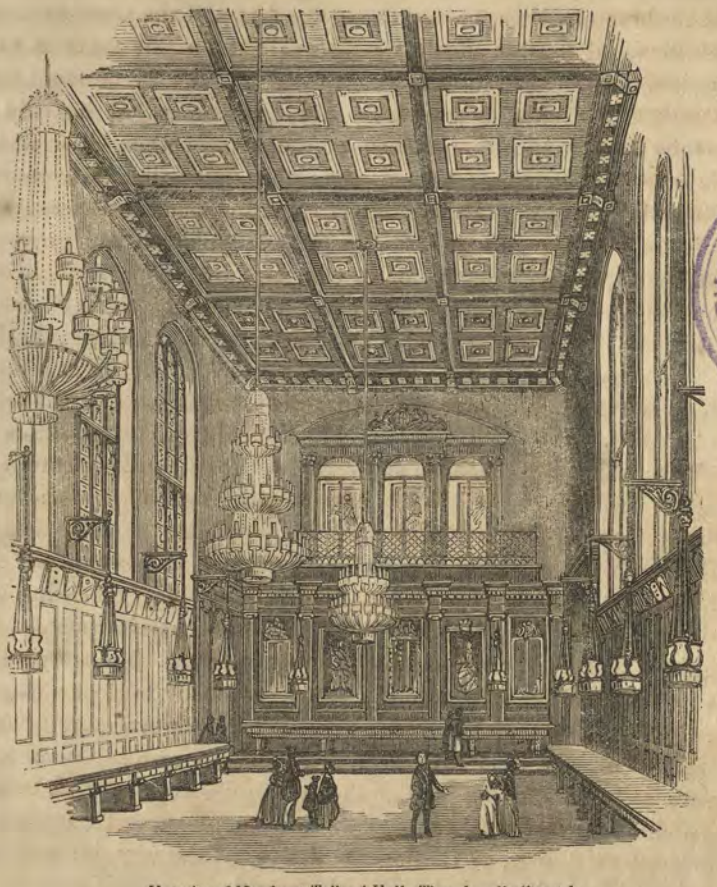
The outdoor business in London is conducted by twelve General Surveyors, to each of whom is assigned a district called a "survey," and these are broken up into about fifty smaller divisions, in each of which a house is rented for the business of the department. The English country establishment, in 1835, consisted of 55 Collectors and 2 Supernumeraries, 61 Clerks, 316 Supervisors, 1023 Divisions, 1499 Ride officers, 68 Permanent Assistants and 7 temporary, 54 Supernumeraries, and 104 Permit Writers. The fifty-five Collections in England and Wales (exclusive of London) are divided into 315 districts, and these districts into "rides" and "foot-walks." Where the traders are scattered, and the officer is required to keep a horse, it is called a ride; but where they are more numerous, and a horse is not necessary, it is called a division or foot-walk. The circuit of a "ride" is about eighteen miles, and that of a division is under sixteen. The Collector, the chief officer of a "Collection," is allowed a clerk, and visits each market-town eight times in the course of a year, to receive the duties and to transact other business connected with the department, besides having to attend to matters relating to the discipline and efficiency of the service. The number of officers in a Collection varies from forty to ninety. The supervisors are in charge of a "district," and next come the ride and division officers, whose operations he constantly checks by surveying, at uncertain times, the same premises. The labours of a supervisor and the officers under him are often very

heavy. The latter are called upon to survey manufacturing processes at the most untimely hours. Before going out each day the officer leaves a memorandum behind him, stating the places he intends to survey, and the order in which he will visit them, and he is obliged to record the hour and minute when he commences each survey. He is never sure that the Supervisor will not resurvey his work, and if errors are discovered they must be entered in the Supervisor's "diary." These diaries are transmitted to the chief office in London every two months, and no officer is promoted without a strict examination into them, in reference to his efficiency. The Surveying-General Examiner is a check upon the Supervisors, and is dispatched from the chief office to a certain district, without any previous intimation. When a supervisor's character is taken out for promotion, his books are examined for one year, and the books of all the officers under him for a quarter of a year; all the accounts are recast, and if in the books of the officers errors are discovered, the supervisor is quite as responsible as if they had taken place in his own books; and a certain degree of neglect on his part would retard his promotion. This inquiry is conducted by the country examiners; and when this has been done, the investigation is taken up by a surveying-general examiner, for the purpose of ascertaining the disposal of the supervisor's time: whether it has been judiciously employed or not; whether he has been too long employed on a duty which ought to have occupied a shorter period, &c. Two months are required for completing the investigation; and when the report is laid before the Board the name of the officer is not given. The clerks of the Diary office have all been distinguished for their ability as supervisors. No one is promoted unless, having served a certain fixed period in one grade, he *petitions* for advancement, but this involves the rigid examination just alluded to, which is technically termed "taking out a character." It is now doubted whether Mr. Pitt's plan for the periodical removal of officers from one district to another is attended with so much advantage to the service as has generally been supposed. A corrupt officer will endeavour to effect a collusion with the trader of another district, and the fraudulent trader will attempt to corrupt the new officer. Frequent removals also interfere with the comfort of families, and interrupt education. About 1100 officers change their residences each year.

Previous to 1768 the Excise Office was on the west side of Ironmonger Lane: it was formerly the mansion of Sir J. Frederick. In 1768 the trustees of the Gresham estates obtained an act to enable them to make over the ground whereon Gresham College stood to the Crown for a perpetual rent of 500*l.* per annum. "For this paltry consideration," says Mr. Burgon, in his 'Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham,' "was Gresham College annihilated; nay, the very site of it parted with for ever." He adds:—"Will it be believed that the City and the Mercer's Company further agreed to pay conjointly, out of their respective shares of the Gresham estate, 1800*l.* to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Excise, towards the charge of pulling down the College and building an Excise Office." The dismantling of the College was begun on the 8th of August, 1768. The Excise Office is plain in design, but of most commanding aspect. The merits of this edifice are known far less extensively than many others of inferior character.

There are architects of the present day who state that for grandeur of mass and greatness of manner, combined with simplicity, it is not surpassed by any building in the metropolis. It consists of two ranges, one of stone, the other of brick, separated from each other by a large court, which, during the re-building of the Royal Exchange, has been temporarily used by the mercantile and shipping interests as an Exchange. The entrance to each structure is by a staircase in the centre, which leads by a long passage to the various apartments of the commissioners and clerks. The architect of the Excise Office was Mr. James Gandon.

Excise Office Exchange.]



[Interior of Merchant Tailors' Hall, Threadneedle Street.]

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CVIII.—THE COMPANIES OF LONDON.

It is with great institutions as with great men—if they would preserve their reputation unimpaired, they should never survive the loss of their distinguishing powers; or, we may rather say, the case of the institution is the worst, as being in every respect the most injurious of the two. The accidents of life die with the man, and are forgotten, leaving all that is truly worthy of remembrance alone to be remembered; but institutions unfortunately will not die except by a slow, lingering process that too often wears out alike our patience and our gratitude, and at the same time makes us confound right and wrong together, by teaching us, however unconsciously, to infer their past from their present unfitness. Saddening are the degradations to which they are subject through this unfortunate tenacity of life. Who, for instance, can read without regret of the once mighty fellowships of London, being told by authority that their "ruling bodies are in effect mere trustees for charitable purposes or chartered festivals,"

and that the "freemen and liverymen, or commonalty, are persons entitled to participate in these charities, to partake of the feasts of the Company, and qualified to be promoted to the office of trustees; and in this light alone are the different orders of the Companies to be viewed"?* It may be true; but, rather than that such things should have been said, one cannot but heartily wish that the Companies had manfully perished in the breach when Charles II. opened his *quo warranto* battery against them, and, after destroying their independence, left them to sink into inglorious inactivity. But the Commissioners in the above passage refer only to the principal Companies, those which had grown so rich in the days of their prosperity as to have charities that now, in their decline, require management—funds that will support "chartered festivals;" but how is it with the others? Why, whilst some have disappeared altogether, the Musicians, alas! are "very poor, and in debt to their treasurer," and the Masons can only occasionally—and the occasions are very infrequent—have a dinner even on Lord Mayors' days? But the case that most touches our sympathies is that of the Pinmakers; there is a romance and a pathos about their position inexpressibly attractive and touching: "No returns relating to any bindings or admissions to the Company, whether in right of patrimony or otherwise, appear in the Chamberlain's books within the last forty years. It is supposed that one or two individuals belonging to the Company are yet living,"† bearing about with them, no doubt, in their mysterious obscurity, a high consciousness of the unsuspected dignities that have centered in their persons: but they are probably poor, as well as proud, and therefore doubly resentful of the neglect with which they have been treated: the very Commissioners said not a word more about them,—did not even propose a commission of discovery to restore them to the civic brotherhood; so they will die and make no sign,—the very skies looking as bright or as dull as usual, Cheapside in a state of perfect unconsciousness,—brother corporators dining, or talking of dining, at the very instant, haply, that the last of the "Pin-makers" is leaving the world.

But now, forgetting awhile what the Companies are, let us see what they were three or four centuries ago.

It is the morning of the festival of Corpus Christi; and the Skinners are rapidly thronging into the hall, in their new suits or liveries, and falling into their places in the procession that is being formed. As they go forth, and pass along the principal streets, most imposing is the appearance they present. Scattered at intervals along the line are seen the lights of above a hundred waxen torches "costly garnished," and among the different bodies included in the procession are some two hundred clerks and priests, in surplices and copes, singing. After these come the Sheriffs' servants, then the clerks of the compters, the Sheriffs' chaplains, the Mayor's sergeants, the Common Council, the Mayor and Aldermen in their brilliant scarlet robes; and, lastly, the members of the Company which it is the business of the day to honour, the Skinners, male and female. The church of St. Lawrence, in the Poultry, is their destination, where they all advance up to the altar of Corpus Christi, and make their offerings, and then stay whilst mass is performed. From the church they return in the same state to the hall to dinner. Extensive are the preparations for so numerous a company. Besides the principal and the side-tables in the hall, there are tables laid out

* Corporation Commission, Second Report, Introduction, p. 20. † Report, p. 298.

in all the chief apartments of the building, for the use of the guests and their attendants: the officers of the Company occupying one, the maidens another, the players and the minstrels a third, and so on. Plate is glittering on every side; the choice hangings are exciting admiration; the materials for the pageant suspended from the roof attract many an inquiring glance; the fragrance of the precious Indian sandal-wood is filling the atmosphere, though not altogether to the exclusion of the still more precious exhalations which come stealing up to the nose and thence downward into the heart of the anxious epicures, who you may perceive looking on with a sort of uneasy, abstracted air, whilst the true business of the day—the election of the Masters and Wardens—is going on in the great parlour, whither all the Assistants (the executive of the Company) have retired: the said epicures know, if you do not, to how many accidents flesh is heir in the kitchen, how easily the exact point of perfection between too much and too little done may be missed in the roasted swans, or the exquisite flavour of the mortrewes degenerate into coarseness or insipidity, if the cook swerves but a hair's breadth from the true proportions of the materials. The guests now seat themselves, the ladies according to their rank at the different tables, but in the best places at each; the Lady-Mayoress with the Sheriffs' ladies sitting, of course, at the principal board, with the distinguished guests of the day; the noblemen and others, with the Priors of the great conventual establishments of London — St. Mary Overies, St. Bartholomew, and Christ Church. Of the dinner itself what shall we say that can adequately describe its variety, profusion, and costliness, or the skill with which it has been prepared? The boars' heads and the mighty barons of beef seem almost to require an apology for their introduction amidst the delicacies that surround them in the upper division of the table (the part above the stately salt cellar), where we see dishes of brawn, fat swans, congor and sea-hog, dishes of "great birds with little ones together," dishes of Leché Lombard, made of "pork pounded in a mortar with eggs, raisins, dates, sugar, salt, pepper, spices, milk of almonds, and red wine, the whole boiled in a bladder;" and we know not how many other dishes of similarly elaborate composition; whilst the "subtleties" so "marvellously cunning ywrought," tell in allegory the history of the Company, and of the Saviour as its patron, and reveal to us the artist—if not exactly the hero—as cook. After dinner, whilst the spice-bread, hippocras, and comfits go round, the election ceremonies take place. The Master and Wardens enter with garlands on their heads, preceded by the minstrels playing, and the beadle; then the garlands are taken off, and after a little show of trying whose heads among the Assistants the said garlands best fit, it is found, by a remarkable coincidence, that the persons previously chosen are the right wearers. The oath of office is then administered; beginning, in the case of the Wardens, with an injunction that they shall swear that they will well and truly occupy the office, that they shall 'arear' no new customs, nor bind the commonalty of the said craft to any new charges, nor yet discharge any duty to their hurt; and that they shall not lay down any of their good old customs, or acts written, without the assent of the said commonalty. With renewed ceremony a cup is next brought in, from which the old Master and old Wardens drink to the new Master and new Wardens, who finally assume their garlands, and are duly acknowledged by the fraternity.

The play is now eagerly looked for; the tables are cleared away, the pageant is let down from the roof; the actors, nine in number, approach, and the entire audience is speedily engrossed in the history of Noah's flood. There remains but to pay for all the good things enjoyed—the members of the Company at a fixed rate for themselves, and at the Wardens' discretion for the guests they may have individually invited—to drink another cup of hippocras, and to depart. The annual solemnities are not, however, finished till the Sunday following, when, according to the ordinances (we transcribe from the Fishmongers'), the members "afore mete tyme" shall "be all present in the same church in their livery aforesaid, there to hear a solemn mass or requiem for all the souls of the same fraternity, and for all Christian souls; and at which mass the priest of the same fraternity, openly in the pulpit shall rehearse and recommend to all good prayers, by name, all the brethren and sisters, quick and dead, of the foresaid fraternity, and all Christians;" after which there is another, but minor feast, and then the liveries are paid for.

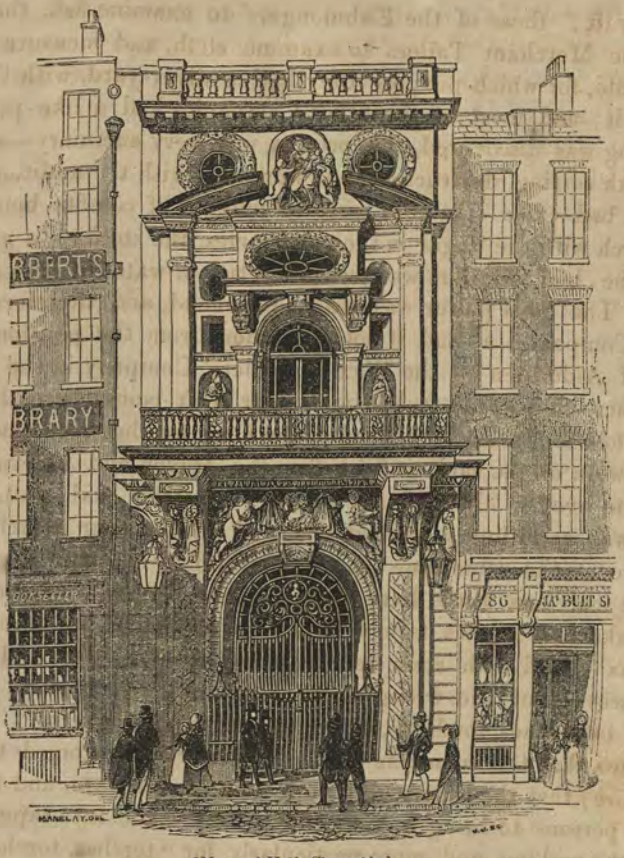
Following the newly-elected officers into the details of the business that awaited them, we begin to have some conception of the true nature of a metropolitan company at the period referred to. And first, as to their chief duty—the domestic government of the craft. This comprised many parts; among which the ordinary matters of binding apprentices, admitting freemen, and so on, formed but the least important. If there were young men belonging to the craft who, giving themselves up to idleness and unlawful games, wandered about as vagabonds within the City, it was the duty of the Master and Wardens to desire and require them to work for reasonable wages, and to take them before the Mayor and Aldermen for punishment if they refused. If members of the Company were rebellious to its ordinances, as by taking unsold wares into the country, or by employing "forens," that is, persons not free of the craft, and persisting therein, or were found to have spoken with disrespect of its officers, the Master and Wardens again had to bring back the rebel and the slanderer to due subjection and reverence, either by entreaties, or by the still more cogent influences of fine and imprisonment. A case in the Grocers' books may here be mentioned. One Simon Potkin, of the Key, at Aldgate, having been fined by the Chamberlain, said, with humorous audacity, that he had given money to the Masters of his Company that he might sell at his own will. He got into trouble with his Company in consequence, but was finally pardoned on paying 3*s.* 4*d.* for a swan to be eaten by the Masters, out of which he was allowed his own share. This took place under the mayoralty of Whittington, who was particularly watchful of the misdeeds of the retail publicans. Safe keeping of the trade secrets was a matter most carefully enjoined and provided for, not only in the oath taken by all freemen, but in specific ordinances, to disobey which subjected the offender to the heaviest displeasure of the Company, and of course to punishment. The names of craft and mystery, so often applied to the trades, are said to be from this source, though Madox derives them from the French, who, he remarks, use *mestiere* for a craft, art, or employment. The preventing or arranging disputes among the members formed another important branch of the duties of the officers. Among the ordinances of the Grocers was one to the effect, that no member of the craft should take the house of a neighbour who

also belonged to the fraternity against his wish, or do anything to enhance his rent, on penalty of a heavy fine. In cases of personal quarrel, where one party was evidently the offender, he was compelled to ask forgiveness; and in others, after an ineffectual attempt at mediation, parties were duly permitted to "go to the law." Apprentices, of course, were still more directly beneath the supervision and control of the Master and Wardens; and some curious records exist in connexion with the discipline on this subject in the books of the Companies, as noticed in Mr. Herbert's valuable work.* Here is an example of the correction of an apprentice for a *faux pas* of a particular nature. The Wardens caused to be made two porters' frocks, like porters of crafts, and two hoods of the same canvas, made after vizor fashion, with a space for the mouth and the eyes left open only; wherein, the next court-day, within the parlour, two tall men, having the said frocks upon them, because they should not be known, (for otherwise the "bold prentices" would no doubt have effectually prevented any more such kind attentions from the same quarter,) "came in with twopennyworth of birchen rods, and there, in presence of the said Master and Wardens, withouten any words speaking, they pulled off the doublet and shirt of the said John Rolls, and there upon him (being naked) they spent all the said rods, for his said unthrifty demeanour." Sumptuary laws also occupied the attention of the heads of the fraternity, and more particularly with regard to the class just mentioned, the apprentices. Those in the Ironmongers' Company, for instance, were to dress "in such wise that it be no dishonesty to the Company, but that they be apparelled reasonable and honest, that is to say, for the holy days, hose, 'throwts,' shirts, doublets, coats, gowns or cloaks, with other necessaries, such as may be conveniently honest and clean;" and on the "working day such as may be honest and profitable to keep them from cold and wet;" and then it is emphatically added, "they shall not suffer their hair to grow long." Fishmongers' apprentices were directed by their Company to wear a gown in the fish-market, but not out of it. As to the more general application of sumptuary laws, we find some noticeable entries in the books of the Merchant Tailors; in 1574 a member was committed to prison "for that he came to this house in a cloak of pepadore, a pair of hose lined with taffety, and a shirt edged with silver, contrary to the ordinances." Another member, it appears, was warned that he had on "apparel not fit for his abilities to wear," and enjoined reformation. But the most amusing illustration of the interference of the Companies in this matter is that given by Malcolm, on the authority of the Ironmongers' books. Elizabeth, it is well known, was scarcely less anxious about the dress of her subjects than about her own, with the difference, however, that her anxiety was to restrain the love of splendour in the one case, and to encourage it in the other. So, fresh orders to her milliners, and fresh precepts to the Companies, flew thick and fast, and it was in consequence of one of the latter that the citizens were regaled one day with a rich bit of fun at Bishopsgate, where two members of the Ironmongers' and two of the Grocers' Companies were found stationed as early as seven o'clock to examine the habits of every one who passed through. Lastly, there remain to be noticed, among the regular duties of the officers of the Companies, the Trade Searches, when the Grocers' Wardens were bidden "to go and essayen weights, powders, confections, plaisters, ointments, and all other things belonging

* 'History of the Twelve great Livery Companies.'

to the same craft;" those of the Fishmongers' to examine fish, the Vintners' to taste wines, the Merchant Tailors' to examine cloth, and measure the measure used in its sale, for which purpose they had a silver yard, with their arms engraved upon it; and most of the other Companies had a like power. Where anything wrong was discovered, the process was very summary—seizure of the article, if worth seizing, destruction if it were not, with the addition of imprisonment in very bad cases. In 1571, certain makers of comfits being accused of mingling starch with the sugar in their delicacies, the stock—"a good quantity"—of one of the chief offenders was put into a tub of water, and so consumed and poured out. That this power was really beneficial, and therefore necessary to such of the Companies as had it not, is evident from the petition presented to the Court of Aldermen by the Wax-Chandlers' Company in the reign of Edward III., where they speak feelingly of their craft being "greatly slandered of all the good folk of the said craft and of the City, for that they have not Masters chosen and sworn of the said craft" before the Mayor and Aldermen, "as other crafts have, to oversee the defaults which be in their said crafts:" the power they desire was accordingly granted them, of naming four searchers, and their bye-laws were at the same time sanctioned, the first of which explains the rule by which the searchers would have to be guided: "That no wax-chandler of the said craft make any torches, tapers, prykettes, nor none other manner of chandlerie of wax mixed with rosin and code, but of good wax and wick;" and to facilitate discovery of the wrong-doers, every chandler was to have a mark, "and it set to torches, torchetts, and tapers which he maketh." We learn from these bye-laws that the members of the trade were accustomed to lend out wax tapers for hire; that the tapers were both round and square, and that it was customary for persons to bring wax to them to be made into tapers at a certain charge for the making, and more particularly for "torches, torchetts, prykettes, or perchers, chaundele or tapers for women ayenst Candelmas." A few words on the chief places where the Trade Searches had generally to be pursued, or in other words, on the localities of the different London trades, may not be unacceptable. Cloth Fair was, as its name implies, the chief mart of the Merchant Tailors' commodities, Foster Lane of the Goldsmiths, Ironmonger Lane of the Ironmongers, Old Fish Street and Fish Street Hill of the Fishmongers, the Mercery—a part of Cheapside between Bow Church and Friday Street—of the Mercers and Haberdashers, and who were previously on the other side, where the Mercers' Hall now stands. Silks and velvets appear to have formed the chief articles of trade with the Mercers, as they gradually resigned to the Haberdashers the sale of all the less important wares. The Haberdashers dealt in hats, millinery, small articles of jewellery, pins—a lucrative commodity—and a thousand other things, in addition to some of those which still belong to the trade. The Drapers did their chief business in Blackwell Hall, the site of the present Bankruptcy Court; the Grocers, or Pepperers, as they were once called, were mostly to be found in Soper Lane; the Butchers in Cheapside, Newgate Market, and at the Stocks, the site of the present Mansion House; whilst the Tanners favoured the localities "without Newgate" and "without Cripplegate."

In this grant of powers to the Wax Chandlers, we see one example of the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Aldermen over the Companies; a jurisdiction so complete, from time immemorial, that the Brewers in 1435, addressing the former,



[Mercers' Hall, Cheapside.]

style him "their right worshipful and gracious lord and sovereign, the Mayor of London;" and precisely the same idea is conveyed, in different words, a century and a half later, when he is spoken of as "the Warden of all the Companies." The duties arising from the connection between the Companies and the Civic Corporation, therefore, form the second division of the duties of the officers of the former, and a great many unpleasant matters they involved. Some of them are interesting as illustrative of the working of the system. Thus, for instance, as to the monopoly enjoyed by the Companies, we may see that we should greatly err if we looked upon the constitution of the Companies as framed for that especial object, using the word monopoly in its present sense, though there is no doubt it had a great tendency to establish the evils that, under a different state of things, have made the very idea hateful to us. But this tendency the more enlightened governors of the City made it their business to repress, and in a manner that must *then* have been tolerably effectual. The Brewers' records furnish a case in point, and Whittington is again one of the principal actors. In 1422 he laid an information before his successor in the Mayoralty, Robert Chichele, in consequence of which the latter "sent for the Masters and twelve of the most worthy of our Company to appear at the Guildhall; to whom John Fray, the Recorder, objected a breach of government, for which 20*l.* should be forfeited, for selling *dear ale*. After much dispute about the price and quality of malt, wherein

Whittington, the late Mayor, declared that the 'brewers had ridden into the country and forestalled the malt to raise its price,' they were convicted in the penalty of 20*l.*; which objecting to, the Masters were ordered to be kept in prison in the Chamberlain's custody until they should pay it, or find security for the payment thereof." Another feature of the connection, arising no doubt from the one just referred to, though we should hope not materially influencing it, is the system of making presents to the Mayor, of which we find many examples; among them, "for two pipes of red wine, to Richard Whittington's butler," a "boar, price 20*s.*, and an ox, price 17*s.*" to William Walderne, Mayor in 1422-3, who "behaved well to the Company until two or three weeks before his retirement from office," when he began to annoy them, and they thus "assuaged his displeasure." When these presents took a more circuitous route, the object was openly acknowledged, as in an entry in 1423, in the Brewers' books, of "money given to divers Serjeants of the Mayor, for to be good friends to our craft." After all there is nothing here to fix any stain of corruption on the eminent civic governors of the period; though some of them, thinking very rightly that the mere acceptance of such gifts not only looked like bribery, but might really have that tendency at times, eschewed them altogether. Under the date 1423 we read, that "William Crowmere, Mayor this year, was a good man, and well pleased all the citizens, especially the Brewers; when the Masters offered gifts to him, he thanked them, but would not receive any." The general domestic government of London, of course, afforded many points of intimate connection between the officers of the Companies and of the City; when there was an Exchange to be erected, or a city ditch to be cleansed, precepts came from the Mayor to the different Masters and Wardens, to collect the sum of money to which their respective fraternities had been assessed, as their fair share of the expenses. Setting the poor to work, a still more weighty undertaking, was accomplished in the same way. But the most important labours which the Companies and the city undertook in matters relating to the domestic economy of London, was the supply of corn and coal in times of scarcity, to the poorer citizens, at a moderate price. The commencement of the custom, as to corn, may be dated from the early part of the fourteenth century, when, with that princely liberality that distinguished so many of the citizens of London in early times, Sir Simon Eyre built a public granary at Leadenhall, and Sir Stephen Brown sent out ships to Dantzic, "causing [rye] corn to be brought from thence, whereby he brought down the price of wheat from 3*s.* the bushel to less than half the money, for corn was then so scarce in England that poor people were enforced to make their bread of 'fearne' roots."* At first the cost of the supplies of corn to the granary (made, of course, always when the corn was cheapest), was defrayed by loans and contributions from the Mayor and Aldermen, and sometimes the citizens, but in 1521 the Companies were called on to assist, and from that time precepts of a similar nature followed with a most unsatisfactory frequency, until at last the Mayor and Aldermen had some difficulty in obtaining the sums required. The truth is, no doubt, that there was a continual loss on the business, and consequently that though funds were generally obtained, under the name of loans, they were in effect, gifts. The Companies were therefore desirous of leaving the matter entirely in the hands of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who were equally

* Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 89.

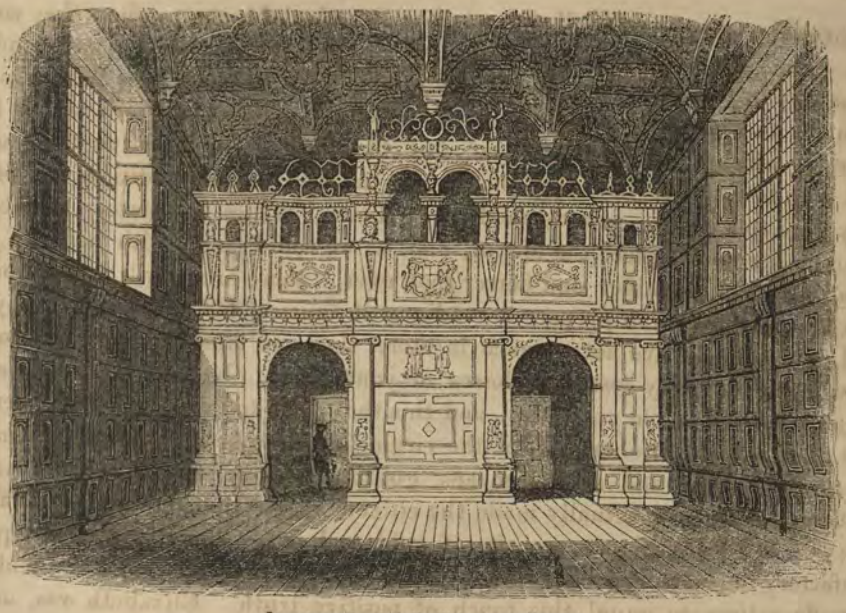
desirous of leaving it with the Companies. In 1578 an arrangement was finally concluded, that the Companies should provide the quantities of corn that it was deemed necessary to have in store—5000 quarters, and that the City should provide a place of deposit, which they did in the Bridge-house, on old London Bridge, where the garners were divided into twelve equal parts for the twelve great Companies (who seem to have had the general management imposed upon them), and where mills and ovens were erected. This arrangement was soon disturbed by the cupidity and meanness of the government, who frequently exhibited a desire to turn the affair, in various ways, to its own selfish advantage. So, when in 1594, Sir John Hawkins applied for the use of the granaries and ovens for the royal navy, the Companies took the alarm; and although Sir John understood and gave way to the Mayor's reasoning—that if the granaries were taken, the Companies would neglect making their provision and plead want of room, the latter saw in his acquiescence only a stronger proof that it was the corn rather than the granaries he desiderated; and obtained permission of the Common Council to lay in stocks of grain on their own premises. This seems for a time to have checked the Court; who, however, in 1622, returned to the charge, in a letter from James's Lord High Steward—the Duke of Lennox, and two other great officers of the household. It is addressed to—"Our loving friends the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Grocers: After our hearty commendations: Whereas, by the neglect of his Majesty's purveyors, his house is at this time altogether unfurnished with wheat, by means whereof there is a present want of 100 quarters of wheat for the service of his household, we do therefore pray and desire you, that out of your stock his Majesty may be supplied with 30 or 40 quarters of your best and sweetest wheat, until his own provisions may be brought in, the which we do faithfully promise shall be paid unto you again in November next, at the furthest; and because it is intended that, by the exchange thereof, you shall lose no loss, we have therefore committed the care thereof to Mr. Harvey, one of his Majesty's officers of the Green Cloth, who shall see the same duly answered and brought into your granary by the time appointed; and so, not doubting of your willing performances upon so present and needful occasion, we bid you, heartily, farewell. Your loving friends—Lenox; Thomas Edmond; John Suckling (father of the poet). Whitehall, 27th September, 1622." Sweet words, and irresistible! Mr. Harvey, who was in attendance on the Court when the letter was read, being called in, promised "so to mediate, that 10 quarters should be taken in satisfaction of the whole demand," which were granted. Mr. Herbert adds, with a laudable sense of the bare possibility of its return, "whether it was ever repaid does not appear." At the fire of London the granaries were burnt, and never afterwards restored. The coal custom was so exactly of the same nature as that relating to corn, that it is unnecessary to make any further allusion to it.

The last division of the business of the Companies is that relating to its connexion with the government, of which the royal application, incidentally referred to in the preceding passage, betokens in a great measure the character. The sovereigns of England, from the earliest times down to the extinction of the Stuart dynasty, looked upon the City of London generally, and the Companies in particular, as a kind of reserve treasury, not, certainly, to be resorted to when

they could manage very well without, but as undeniably theirs when they could not. The impudence, as we cannot but call it, with which Elizabeth applied for money in these quarters is really ludicrous. The Ironmongers once received from her the following exquisite specimen of the manner in which royalty borrows, in which the reader will not fail to remark how attentive the Queen had been to consider how they should get, as well as the conditions on which they were to lend, the sum demanded. "These," writes the stately Elizabeth, through her mouth-piece the Mayor, and, as we could fancy, with her ruff and stomacher looking stiffer and fiercer than ever, "these are to will and command you that forthwith you prepare in readiness the sum of 60*l.* of the stock of your hall, and if you have not so much in store, then you must borrow the same at interest, at the only costs and losses of your hall, to be lent to the Queen's Majesty for one whole year," &c., and this they were to fail in at their "peril!" But there is a still richer trait of the virgin Queen to be mentioned: having at one time, by these and similar means, got more money than she knew exactly what to do with, she actually made the citizens receive it back again in loans of from 50*l.* to 500*l.* each, on security of gold and silver plate, or other equally satisfactory deposits, *at seven per cent.* There is nothing in Swift or Fielding's fictitious satires to equal this touch of positive truth. Elizabeth was, at the same time, too politic a guardian of her Exchequer to fill it by one method only: if the scourge could not but be felt, still it was not necessary to make it always be felt in the same place; so, borrowing a hint from the continental governments, she established in 1567 our first lottery, and her loving friends the Companies were immediately desired to avail themselves of its advantages. They did so, and, whatever they thought of the result, it was no doubt satisfactory to the ingenious author. Unfortunately, however, when another lottery was set on foot for armour, in 1585, the Lord Mayor had to use, among his other arguments, one of a very suspicious nature, but which, it seems, the experience of the former rendered necessary; he had to assure the Companies that there should be a "*true* delivery of the prizes to the winners," and to add something about the appointment of a body of persons to see justice done. To quicken his own and the Sheriff's zeal in "persuading every man to venture," her Majesty promised, in respect of the "forward service of the said lottery," one basin and one ewer, of 100*l.* value, to each of them. The Merchant Tailors' books exhibit a very clear intimation of their ideas on the subject at the period in the following couplet:—

> "One bird in the hand is worth two in the wood;
> *If* we get the great lot, it will do us good."

From forced loans and lotteries we advance to the patents, a system of direct infringement upon the chief powers and rights of the Companies, for the most selfish purposes, and with the most reckless disregard of the certain evils that must accrue. The scheme was first directed against the Brewers' Company, but failed at the outset. With the Leathersellers it was more successful. One of the hangers-on of the court, Edward Darcy, obtained a patent from Elizabeth to search and seal all the leather through England, and found it, says Strype, "a very gainful business to him;" but the whole body of persons connected, directly or indirectly, with the trade, mustered their forces, and exhibited so formidable



[Leathersellers' Hall, Bishopsgate Street.]

an appearance that, to avoid a tumult, the patent was revoked. The wardens of the Leathersellers' Company distinguished themselves greatly in this contest by their firm adherence to the rights of the fraternity lodged in their keeping, in spite of threats and actual imprisonment. But, notwithstanding these checks, the scheme proceeded, till there were patentees for currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, felts, leather, ox-shin bones, train-oil, and many other articles. Hume observes, that when this list was once "read in the House, a member cried, 'Is not bread in the number?' 'Bread!' said every one with astonishment; 'Yes, I assure you,' replied he, 'if affairs go on at this rate we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before the next Parliament.'" This system, so vicious in itself, as transferring powers from highly respectable bodies of men, who had a deep interest in using them for the benefit of the community, to single individuals, whose only object or desire was to turn them to the greatest possible pecuniary advantage, was made infinitely worse by the practice of transfer of those powers as matters of bargain and sale from the original patentee to others; "who," remarks the author just mentioned, "were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts." It was in the reign of James that the system rose to its highest point, then began to decline, and at last fell to rise no more in 1641, when the Parliament fined severely two patentees for obtaining a wine-license from the King, Charles. We may conclude these notices of the connexion between the government and the Companies, by one or two of a more agreeable nature. Whenever any great public occasion rendered a pecuniary demand upon the Companies reasonable, there seems to have been a liberality shown worthy of the metropolis; they assisted largely in the early voyages of discovery that at different times left our shores, and more particularly those in which the two Cabots—father and son—were concerned. Whenever

armies were fitting out, their contingents formed a very considerable item in the whole: thus, on the Spaniards threatening us with their armada, the City furnished no less than 10,000 men and 38 ships. In ordinary times the Companies could always furnish a respectable force for their own and the City's defence, and had their armouries attached to their halls, though it was not till 1572 that they had a regularly enrolled standing army. In that year they selected from amongst their members 3000 of the "most sizeable and active young men," who were immediately placed in training, and subsequently reviewed by Elizabeth herself in Greenwich Park: a locality that reminds us of another feature of the connexion between royalty and the Companies; the attendance of picked bodies of "handsome men, well and handsomely arrayed," to attend the Mayings in Greenwich; and of the chief officers, with the Livery on all great state processions, as the entry of the sovereign into London, or of his bride, his coronation, or his funeral.

From this glimpse into the economy of the metropolitan fraternities in their prosperous days, let us for a moment turn our eyes backward to their origin and rise. We have already in our preliminary remarks on Guildhall referred to the custom of frankpledge, which it is supposed formed the germ of the guilds, or, as we now call them, companies. When these guilds first assumed positive shape and efficiency is unknown, but the weavers of London received a charter so early as the reign of Henry II., and that only confirmed liberties previously enjoyed: this, say the Commissioners, is the oldest of the Companies. In the

[Arms of the Weavers Company.]

same reign, besides the licensed, there were no less than eighteen other London guilds, but unlicensed, and which were fined by the King in consequence. The only guild of which we know the exact origin is that referred to in the interesting story told by Stow in his account of Portsoken Ward, but which evidently was of a somewhat irregular nature:—"In the days of King Edgar, more than six hundred years since, there were then thirteen knights or soldiers, well beloved of the King and realm, for services by them done, who requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the city, being left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude: they besought the King to have this land with the liberty of a guild for ever. The King granted to their

request, with conditions following: to wit, that each of them should victoriously accomplish three combats, one above the ground, one under ground, and the third in the water; and, after this, at a certain day, in East Smithfield, they should run with spears against all comers; all which was gloriously performed; and the same day the King named it Knighten Guild."* And, we may add, the locality in question forms, either partially or entirely, the present ward of Portsoken. Of these early guilds, perhaps the most striking feature is their semi-religious character, of which we have given one illustration in the procession to church on the election day, and the praying for the dead on the following Sunday;—the designation of some of the Companies forms another: thus we have the "Guild or fraternity of the Blessed Mary, the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers," and the "Guild or fraternity of the body of Christ of the Skinners." A chaplain was one of the regularly-constituted officers of all the larger Companies. Although licensed, the guilds generally were not incorporated till the reign of Edward III., when that monarch, conscious of the growing strength and prosperity of the country through the instrumentality of the trades fraternities, raised them at once into the highest possible estimation and honour, by confirming—in many cases by letters patent—the privileges they had previously enjoyed more by sufferance than of right—and in return for the payment of the ferm—and then by enrolling himself as a member of one of them, the Merchant Tailors. About the same time it was ordained that all artificers and people of mysteries should each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas, and that, having so chosen it, he should thenceforth use no other. Edward also transferred the right of electing members to Parliament from the ward representatives to the Trade Companies, another important influence in raising them to their subsequent power. The number of Companies sending members to the Common Council towards the close of his reign was forty-eight. Among these the Saddlers, the Weavers, and Tapestry-makers were next in importance, as sending four members each, to the Grocers, Mercers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, and Vintners, who sent six, and with them the Barbers ranked. It was not for a considerable time that the twelve great Companies assumed their final position as regards the other fraternities; and many violent and occasionally bloody quarrels mark the history of the struggle for precedence. Their present order will be seen in the note below,† where we have given the complete list of

* Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 115.

† *List of the Companies of London in the order of their precedence, the first twelve forming the Great Livery Companies, and those which are extinct being marked in Italics.*—1. Mercers. 2. Grocers. 3. Drapers. 4. Fishmongers. 5. Goldsmiths. 6. Skinners. 7. Merchant Tailors. 8. Haberdashers. 9. Salters. 10. Ironmongers. 11. Vintners. 12. Clothworkers. 13. Dyers. 14. Brewers. 15. Leathersellers. 16. Pewterers. 17. Barbers. 18. Cutlers. 19. Bakers. 20. Wax Chandlers. 21. Tallow Chandlers. 22. Armourers and Braziers. 23. Grinders. 24. Butchers. 25. Saddlers. 26. Carpenters. 27. Cordwainers. 28. Painter-stainers. 29. Curriers. 30. Masons. 31. Plumbers. 32. Innholders. 33. Founders. 34. Poulterers. 35. Cooks. 36. Coopers. 37. Bricklayers. 38. Boyers. 39. Fletchers. 40. Blacksmiths. 41. Joiners. 42. Weavers. 43. Woolmen. 44. Scriveners. 45. Fruiterers. 46. Plasterers. 47. Stationers. 48. Broderers. 49. Upholderers. 50. Musicians. 51. Turners. 52. Basket-makers. 53. Glaziers. 54. Horners. 55. Farriers. 56. Paviors. 57. Lorimers. 58. Apothecaries. 59. Shipwrights. 60. Spectacle-makers. 61. Clock-makers. 62. Glovers. 63. Comb-makers. 64. Felt-makers. 65. Frame-work Knitters. 66. Silk-throwers. 67. *Silkmen.* 68. *Pin-makers.* 69. Needle-makers. 70. Gardeners. 71. *Soap-makers.* 72. Tinplate-workers. 73. Wheelwrights. 74. Distillers. 75. *Hat-band-makers.* 76. Patten-makers. 77. Glass Sellers. 78. Tobacco Pipe-makers. 79. Coach and Harness makers. 80. Gun-makers. 81. Wire Drawers. 82. *Long Bowstring-makers.* 83. Playing-card-makers. 84. Fan-makers. 85. *Woodmongers.* 86. *Starch-makers.* 87. *Fishermen.* 88. Parish Clerks. 89. Carmen.

the London Companies, including those which sprung up during the mania for incorporation that prevailed in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, or just when, through a variety of concurring causes, but chiefly that the trade and commerce to be directed had become much too mighty a thing for the directors, the old faith in the necessity and value of the Companies was disappearing, and with that their faith their own energies. And thus when Charles II. sought to destroy their independence by frightening them into a resignation of their charters, that he might re-grant them with such restrictions as he saw fit, having neither strength within nor without, they succumbed at once, and almost licked the dust off the feet of the spoiler in so doing. That to these causes rather than to the King's arbitrary proceedings we may attribute the decline of the Companies is evident, from the circumstance that, although at the Revolution of 1688 these proceedings were finally reversed, the Companies, with the exception of those which possessed large charities, or of those who still from peculiar causes continued in close connexion with their respective trades, steadily continued to decline from that time. Of the eighty-nine enumerated in the list, eight are practically extinct, and a ninth, the Parish Clerks (the actors in the old miracle plays), has no connexion with the municipality of London. The others are divided by the Commissioners into three classes—1. Companies still exercising an efficient control over their trade, namely, the Goldsmiths and the Apothecaries. Both these also belong to class 2. Companies exercising the right of search, or marking wares, &c.; in which are included the Stationers' Company, at whose Hall all copyright books must be "entered;" the Gunmakers, who prove all the guns made in the City; the Founders, who test and mark weights; the Saddlers, who examine the workmanship of saddles; and, in a lesser degree, the Painters, who issue a trade-price list of some authority; and the Pewterers and Plumbers, who make assays. 3. Companies, into which persons carrying on certain occupations in the City are compelled to enter: such are the Apothecaries, Brewers, Pewterers, Builders, Barbers, Bakers, Saddlers, Painter Stainers, Plumbers, Innholders, Founders, Poulterers, Cooks, Weavers, Scriveners, Farriers, Spectacle Makers, Clock Makers, Silk Throwers, Distillers, Tobacco Pipe Makers, and Carmen. This last-mentioned fraternity is the only one that exclusively consists of persons belonging to the trade, though the Stationers and the Apothecaries, with one or two others, have a majority of such members. Admission into the body of freemen is obtained by birth, apprenticeship, purchase, or gift; and thence into the livery, in most cases at the pleasure of the party, on payment of the fees, which are generally light where the claim arises from patrimony or servitude, but otherwise vary from a few pounds to as much as 200 guineas. The government of most of the companies is now intrusted to Courts of Assistants, formed from the senior members of the livery, and comprising Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, and a certain number of assistants, who succeed in rotation to the higher offices. Among the officers and classes who have disappeared from the Companies, or changed their designation, are the Pilgrim, the ancient head of the Merchant Tailors, so called from his travelling for them; the Master Bachelor and Budge Bachelor of the Drapers; the Bachelor in foins of the Skinners; with the Yeomanry of most of the companies, who seem to have been the old freemen.

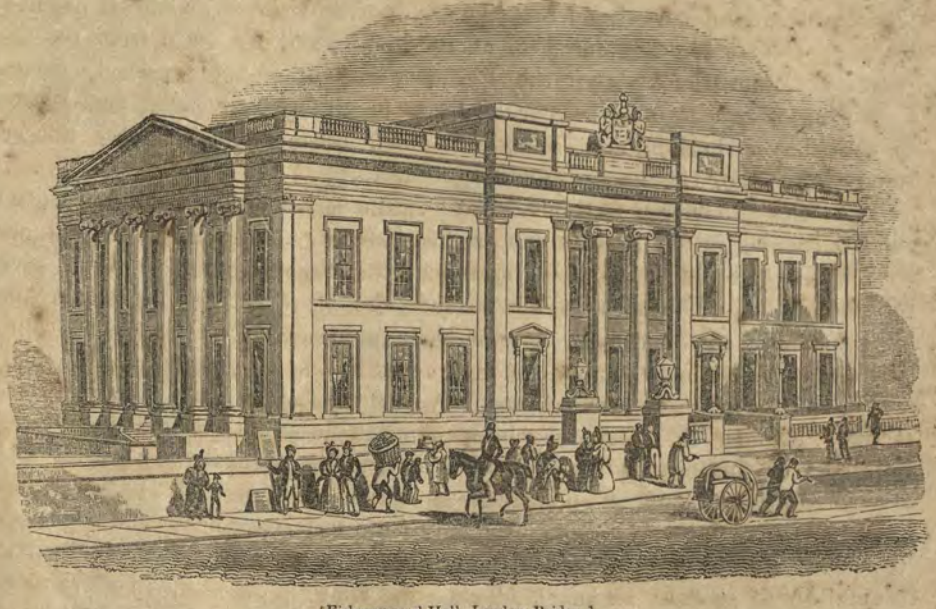
Recurring to the words of the Commissioners, in which they describe the ex-

isting Companies as so many trusteeships for "charitable purposes" and "chartered festivals," it is worthy of observation that one of the earliest objects sought by the guild, in some instances apparently their primary one, was the foundation of a common stock, for the relief of poor or decayed members. Large funds were established in course of time, and the charitable character thus attached to the Company led to their being chosen as trustees for the care and management of a variety of other charities founded by benevolent persons; who, in the earlier periods of metropolitan history, were so numerous, that Stow devotes some five-and-twenty folio pages of his 'Survey' to the mere enumeration of their acts, under the appropriate and characteristic title of the Honour of Citizens and Worthiness of Men: a noble chapter in the history of London. The variety of these charities is as remarkable as their entire amount must be magnificent; comprising as they do pensions to decayed members, almshouses, innumerable gifts of money to the poor, funds for the support of hospitals, schools, exhibitions at the universities, prisoners in the city gaols, for lectures and sermons, donations to distressed clergymen, and so on through an interminable list. The most interesting, perhaps also the most valuable, of the charities has yet to be mentioned—the loans of different sums to young beginners in business, to an amount, and for a time, amply sufficient to start them fairly in life with every expectation of a prosperous career. Some idea of the magnitude of the Companies' charities, on the whole, may be derived from two illustrations. The Charity Commissioners stated that the Goldsmiths' Company's annual payments to their poor alone amounted to about 2836*l.*; and we learn from the Corporation Commissioners that the Fishmongers, out of their princely income, averaging above 18,000*l.* a-year, disburse in all between 9000*l.* and 10,000*l.* in charities in England and Ireland: in which last-mentioned country this and some of the other Companies have large estates.

As to the "chartered festivals," that form the other distinguishing feature of the Companies in the present day, we have already noticed the election dinner; and have only to add, that, notwithstanding the magnificence of the feasts given by some of the Companies, as, for instance, the Merchant Tailors, they are not for a moment to be compared with their predecessors of the same locality. There may be eminent men among the guests, but no king sitting down "openly among them in a gown of crimson velvet of the fashion" as a member, which Henry VII. once did: there may be speakers to please with their eloquence, and statesmen to flatter with the expression of kindred political views, but no Ben Jonson to prepare such an entertainment as that which greeted James I. "with great and pleasant variety of music, of voices, and instruments, and ingenious speeches;" no Dr. Bull, to make the occasion still more memorable by the first production of such an air as 'God save the King.' The halls in which these festivals take place present many features of interest, but none of them are of very early date, the Great Fire having swept away most of those then in existence. The hall of the Barber Surgeons, described in a previous number,* and that of the Leathersellers engraved in this, may be taken as interesting examples of those which escaped. Of the halls recently rebuilt, the Goldsmiths',

* No. LXII.

one of the most sumptuous specimens of domestic architecture in the metropolis, has also been fully treated of.* The Fishmongers', with its fine statue of Walworth on the staircase, its stained glass windows, its elegant drawing-room with a splendid silver chandelier, and its grand banquetting hall, is built, decorated, and furnished on a similarly splendid scale. Of the remainder we can but briefly refer to Merchant Tailors' Hall, with its tabular lists of the kings, princes, dukes, and other distinguished personages, who have been members, making one wonder who is not included in it rather than who is; Drapers' Hall, on the site of the building erected by Henry VIII.'s vicar-general, Cromwell, with its public gardens, where was the house occupied by Stow's father, which Cromwell so unceremoniously removed upon rollers when making the said gardens out of his neighbours' land; Mercers' Hall, with its chapel, standing where, several centuries ago, stood the house of Gilbert Becket, father of the great archbishop, and husband of the fair Saracen who had followed him over the seas; the Clockmakers', with their library and museum, richly illustrative of the history of their trade; and lastly, the Painter Stainers, who not only claimed a supervision over the highest branches of art, but had their claims admitted by the enrolment of such men as Verrio, Kneller, and Reynolds among their members.



[Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge.]

* No. LXXV.

[Covent Garden.]

CIX.—COVENT GARDEN.

THE name of this well-known place is one of the many instances of popular corruption, which, should the original be once forgot, from thenceforth become both the trouble and the delight of bewildered but zealous antiquaries. We are, however, as yet spared their theories as to the origin of Covent Garden, seeing that we are told in many a bulky volume that there was on the spot, so early as 1222, a large garden belonging to the monks of Westminster Abbey, which was therefore known as the *Convent Garden*. And it is curious to note how the deities to whom the place was then dedicated have kept watch and ward over it through all the changes that have been experienced here: the only difference being that Flora, having grown more comprehensive and exotic, and, it must be acknowledged, artificial in her tastes, has changed her simple plat into a conservatory; and that Pomona, instead of having to superintend the supply of the Abbey table, now caters for no inconsiderable portion of mighty London.

We have spoken of changes; and perhaps no part of London forms a happier text for such a theme,—no part that more strikingly illustrates the growth of London in comparatively recent times. Let us look at Covent Garden in 1560, as it is exhibited to us in a large Map of the period,* or at the view of the Strand given in a frontispiece to our first volume. It forms there an oblong walled space, sprinkled over with trees and some three or four cottages, or, as

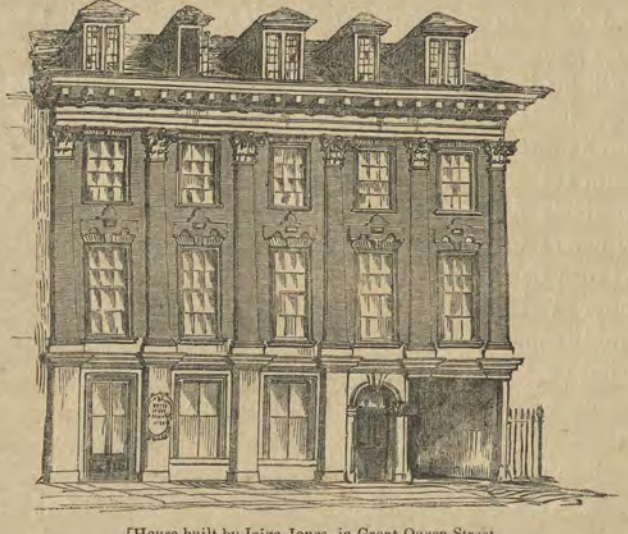
* Preserved in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and re-engraved in Maitland.

Strype describes it, "fields, with some thatched houses, stables, and such like," bounded by open meadows with footpaths on the north, by the enclosed and gay-looking parterres of Bedford House on the south, by the road from St. Giles's into the Strand and to Temple Bar, with Drury House on the opposite side, embosomed in green foliage on the east, and by St. Martin's Lane on the west, a fine leafy avenue carrying the eye onwards into the country, towards the beautiful hills of Hampstead and Highgate. That these features are correctly delineated in the map is evident from other proofs: Anderson, for instance, writing about the middle of the last century, refers to his having met persons in his youth who remembered the west side of St. Martin's Lane to have been a quickset hedge. Towards the southern corner of the western side, St. Martin's church formed a portion of the boundary line, with the Mews beyond it, "so called of the King's falcons there kept by the King's falconer, which of old time was an office of great account, as appeareth by a record of Richard II. in the first year of his reign; [when] Sir Simon Burley, Knight, was made constable of the castles of Windsor, Wigmore, and Guilford, and of the manor of Kennington, and also master of the King's falconry at the Mews near unto Charing Cross." * The Bedford family, to whom we are indebted in a great measure for the difference between the Covent Garden and precincts here described, and the same localities of the present day, is the one referred to in Malcolm's remark, "Strange, that a fifth of London should have been erected by this family within two centuries!"

But for the dissolution of the monasteries, all these as well as many other important metropolitan changes could hardly have taken place: then it was that the Convent Garden, with a field called Seven Acres, or more popularly, from its shape, Long Acre, was granted by Edward VI. to Edward Duke of Somerset, and again in 1552, after the attainder of that nobleman, to John Earl of Bedford, who immediately built himself a house at the bottom of the present Southampton Street, in the Strand (so called from the illustrious wife of the Lord William Russell, who was the daughter of the Earl of Southampton), and laid out the parterres before mentioned. The house was, it appears, but "a mean wooden building, shut up from the street by an ordinary brick wall;" it was pulled down in 1704. In the early part of the reign of Charles I., Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, looking with the eye of a man of business at the capacities of his newly-acquired property, and with that of a statesman at the desirableness and certainty of a continual increase of the progression which alarmed so many of his brother senators, and of their monarch, began the magnificent improvements which were to distinguish his name. How he appeased Charles I., or how he ventured to act in opposition to him, it is difficult to say, but that the Earl's proceedings were in direct violation of the laws which Elizabeth, James, and Charles had set down for the repression of fresh buildings in London is certain: perhaps, after all, he quietly submitted to be fined, as we shall find was the case with his successors, and then let the exaction—like such exactions generally—fall on that portion of the public who rented the houses. To the general energy in all departments of mental and social life exhibited in the reign of Elizabeth may be attributed the increase in the metropolis which so startled the sagacious

* Stow's Survey, p. 493.

virgin queen, that she issued a proclamation in 1580, forbidding the erection of any but houses of the highest class within three miles of the city. James was not even satisfied with this precaution, but added (1617) a proclamation commanding all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who had mansions in the country, to depart within twenty days, with their wives and families, during the summer vacation. As to Charles, he, in the very year that the Earl commenced operations, strained the restrictive virtue of proclamations so far as to forbid the entertainment of additional inmates in houses already existing, "which would multiply the inhabitants to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed." This, we repeat, was the precise time the Earl of Bedford began. His first step was to call to his assistance Inigo Jones, who had already commenced at Lincoln's Inn Fields the erection of that class of houses, and in that disposition, which gave such novel features to London, and forms to this day, in the different squares, one of its principal charms. The old buildings of the locality having been removed, a large oblong space, 500 feet long by 400 broad, was laid out in the centre, around which were to be stately buildings, with arcades after the Italian manner, for persons of rank and fashion, then fast migrating westward from Aldersgate Street and the different parts of the city. The north and a part of the east sides only were erected, however, by Jones, or after his designs, and the latter was burnt down in the fire that injured the church in 1795. The remainder of the space was laid out in streets, which still bear in their names a reference to the period, as King Street, Charles Street, and Henrietta Street. The impulse, thus given, spread; noble mansions shot up with surprising rapidity, in Drury Lane, in Queen Street, and generally through the neighbourhood, where we may still trace Jones's handiwork, as in the building in the street last mentioned, which is here shown. This fine artist, indeed, it seems to us, ought to be looked upon as the true founder of the modern domestic architecture of the metropolis. It was not till after he had laid out Lincoln's Inn Square and Covent Garden, and built the palatial mansions that adorned both, that



[House built by Inigo Jones, in Great Queen Street.

Soho Square and Golden Square arose; to be followed still later by Hanover and Cavendish Squares, and a host of others. Of the minor streets that sprung up subsequent to and in consequence of the erection of the buildings of Covent Garden, in the same century, we may mention Catherine Street, so designated from the wife of Charles II.; Duke Street and York Street from his brother; also Bloomsbury, and the streets of Seven Dials; and, lastly, in the reigns of William and Anne, the remaining unbuilt sides of Covent Garden. As to the fines for such labours, which we before referred to, it appears that during the Protectorate, in the year 1657, William, the fifth Earl, and his brothers John and Edward Russell, were abated 7000*l.* from the amount of their fines for violating the proclamation, in consideration of the great expense which the family had incurred in the erection of the chapel, and the improvement of the neighbourhood.

As houses accumulated, the parish church of St. Martin became insufficient for the accommodation of the parishioners; so the Earl one day sent for his architect, and "told him," says Walpole, who had the anecdote from the Speaker of the House of Commons, Onslow, "that he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent Garden, but added, he would not go to any considerable expense; 'in short,' says he, 'I would not have it much better than a barn.' 'Well, then,' replied Jones, 'you shall have the handsomest barn in England.'" This story, so far from appearing to us as "somewhat questionable," as Mr. Brayley esteems it, or to have arisen from a mere "expression of pleasantry on the part of the Earl," as suggested by a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' is so exactly illustrated by the building, that were there no truth in it, we should be half inclined to agree with the opinion of him who said the most remarkable thing about the structure is the reputation it enjoys, so exceedingly naked is it as regards all decorative details, so destitute, in short, of any qualities that can command admiration *except* the air of grandeur thrown over the whole by the masterly combinations of form and the powerful lights and shadows which they bring into play: the very quality, in short, that the anecdote shows us was alone at the architect's disposal. Some time after the erection of the chapel, a dispute occurred between the Earl and the vicar of St. Martin's as to the right of patronage or appointment of curates to the former, in consequence of which the Earl used all his influence to get the district formed into a separate parish, and successfully; in 1645 his wishes were finally accomplished, and the chapel became the church of St. Paul—Covent Garden a parish. The cost of the former was 4500*l.*, a sum that contrasts very oddly with the charges for repairing the structure only about fifty years later, namely, 11,000*l.*; but the Vandals who had the management of the repair appear to have gone out of their way to increase the expense by altering the portico—Inigo Jones's portico; for we learn from a newspaper of 1727 that "the right honourable the Earl of Burlington, out of regard to the memory of the celebrated Inigo Jones, and to prevent our countrymen being exposed for their ignorance, has very generously been at the expense of 300*l.* or 400*l.* to restore the portico of Covent Garden Church, now one of the finest in the world, to its primitive form: it is said it once cost the inhabitants about twice as much to spoil it." * Would it were always so; it is impossible to desire a better argument for the conviction of such persons, and

* 'Weekly Journal,' April 22, 1727.

where that fails nothing could succeed. In 1795 the fire took place which burnt the arcade on the east side of the square, and did terrible damage to the church; Malcolm says, not a particle of woodwork escaped (the wondrous architectural roof of timber of course early disappeared); and describes the flames at their height as making "a grand scene, the portico and massy pillars projected before a background of liquid fire." The church had been insured for 10,000*l.*, but the insurance having been allowed to expire about a twelvemonth before, the entire expense of the rebuilding fell on the inhabitants in the shape of an accumulation of rent to the amount, it is said, of at least 25 per cent. The essential parts of Inigo Jones's structure, that is, the portico, with the walls, resisted the fire and were preserved. There were some interesting things in the building thus destroyed, and which shared the same fate; such as the monument by Gibbon of Sir P. Lely, who

> "——— on animated canvas stole
> The sleepy eye that spoke the melting soul,"

and who was buried in the church; the painted-glass portraits of St. Paul, of which Bagford speaks; and the picture of Charles I., by Lely, which shows how the painter's zealous political views had got the better of his common sense, not to say of his religious perceptions: the king was painted kneeling, with a *crown of thorns* in his hand, his sceptre and coronet lying by. We do not find it stated that this picture was burnt, but such was no doubt the case, as it is not now in the church. Many of our readers may be aware that St. Paul's, Covent Garden, derives some reputation from the eminent men who have been buried within its walls or churchyard; but they will hardly be aware how very rich it is in such associations. Beneath the vestry-room, where is a fine portrait by Vandyke of the first Earl of Bedford, lie Wolcot, the scourge alike of Academicians, and of the royalty who conferred on them the honours they so delighted in, and Johnstone, the best Irish gentleman of our stage. In other parts of the church are the remains of Wycherley, the author of the 'Plain Dealer,' and the worthy precursor of the Congreves, Vanbrughs, and Farquhars; Macklin, who, as his inscription informs us, was

> "——— the father of the modern stage,
> Renowned alike for talent and for age,"

and Dr. Arne, the great English musician (without stone or memorial). In that part of the churchyard which lies on the northern side of the walk, against the back of the houses of King Street, and called King Street Plat, reposes the author of 'Hudibras;' and in another corner of the same plat, appropriately designated the Theatrical corner, Michael Kelly, Edwin, King, and Estcourt, the founder of the first Beef Steak Club, of which Mrs. Woffington was president, and which is mentioned in the 'Spectator.' Two other names yet occur to the memory in connexion with St. Paul's, Carr Earl of Somerset, and Sir Robert Strange, the founder of the English school of engraving, and who enjoys the peculiar honour of having had his portrait introduced into the picture of the 'Progress of Engraving,' in the Vatican—the only one of our countrymen so distinguished.

Nor are the interesting recollections of the locality confined to the church. In

Rose Street, now Rose Alley, Covent Garden, was Dryden waylaid and beaten by ruffians hired by the Earl of Rochester, in revenge for an attack upon himself in the 'Essay on Satire,' a production attributed to Dryden, but really written by Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire. The poet was at the time returning from his favourite haunt at the western corner of Bow Street, the far-famed Will's Coffee House. Dryden was also concerned in another act of violence in Covent Garden, and which ended fatally, but in which he was less personally interested: we allude to the duel, so dramatically described by Pepys, between "Sir H. Bellasses and Tom Porter," and which, he justly observes, is worth remembering as a "kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present." He then continues, "They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's, where, it seems, people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together, and Sir H. Bellasses talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, 'What, are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?' Sir H. Bellasses, hearing it, said, 'No,' says he, 'I would have you know I never quarrel but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!' 'How,' says Tom Porter, 'strike? I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow.' With that Sir H. Bellasses did give him a box of the ear; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by-and-by Tom Porter went out, and, meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellasses presently; for he knew that, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him, which he would prevent; and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellasses goes. By-and-by he is informed that Sir H. Bellasses' coach was coming: so Tom Porter went down out of the coffee-house, where he stayed for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellasses come out. 'Why,' says H. Bellasses, 'you will not hurt me coming out, will you?' 'No,' says Tom Porter. So, out he went, and both drew; and H. Bellasses having drawn, and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked him whether he was ready. The other answering him he was, they fell to fight, some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and Bellasses so much, that it is feared he will die: and, finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and bade him shift for himself; for, says he, 'Tom, thou hast hurt me, but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayst withdraw, and the world will not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done.' And so, whether he did fly or not I cannot tell; but Tom Porter showed H. Bellasses that he was wounded too: and they are both ill, but H. Bellasses to fear of life." * Bellasses died ten days afterwards.

In Covent Garden, again, was Powell's Theatre, where Punch, soaring above the mere antics that regale the eyes of his street worshippers, marshalled a goodly company of puppet actors, and laid under contribution the mightiest subjects in the history of man for dramas, that might worthily exhibit their powers. Here is one of Powell's advertisements.—"At Punch's Theatre, in the Little Piazza, this present Friday being the 2nd, and to-morrow, the 3rd of May, will

* Pepys's Diary.

be presented an opera, called the 'State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man.' With variety of scenes and machines, particularly the scene of Paradise in its primitive state, with birds, beasts, and all its ancient inhabitants, the subtlety of the serpent in betraying Adam and Eve, &c., with variety of diverting interludes, too many to be inserted here. No person to be admitted in masks or riding-hoods [commonly used at the other theatres for the purposes of licentious intrigue], nor any money to be returned after the curtain is up. Boxes 2*s.*; pit 1*s.* Beginning exactly at seven o'clock." It must not be supposed, however, that Punch thought there should be no more cakes and ale because his master was virtuous, or that fun was to be debarred merely because the theme might be somewhat serious: so, whether Adam and Eve were wandering hand-in-hand about Eden, or Noah and his daughters shut up in the ark, Punch, in his own proper character, was not long missing. Powell had constantl audiences of the most fashionable description. Lastly, in and around Covent Garden, *the* Beefsteak Club—not the oldest one, but by far the greatest—held its sittings, from its first formation in the dressing-room of the manager and pantomimist Rich, a man of whom Garrick says,—

"He gave the power of speech to every limb,"

and who carried the pantomimic art to great perfection in his theatre at Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently at Covent Garden when he became its manager. To ensure the effect of his scenes, and the working of his ingenious mechanism he painted the one, and put in motion the other, in small pasteboard models, with his own hands. Whilst thus engaged, his room was the continual resort of men of rank and intellectual eminence, who admired the skill of the artist, and still more the conversation of the man. Hogarth, his father-in-law Sir James Thornhill, and Lord Peterborough, were among this class. The latter having been detained accidentally on one occasion, through the non-arrival of his carriage, was so delighted with the converse that passed as to overlook the lapse of time, and the necessity that his entertainer—a man of regular habits—should get his dinner. Rich, however, did not forget or postpone it, but at two o'clock commenced preparations by clearing his fire, placing a gridiron with a steak on it, and spreading his cloth. When ready, Rich invited his lordship to join him, who did so, and enjoyed his repast so much that further supplies, with wine, were sent for; and thus was the evening spent. On leaving, Lord Peterborough proposed a renewal of the feast on the Saturday following, when three or four friends came with him, and the club was finally determined upon, with "Beef and Liberty" for its motto, and beefsteaks, port wine, and punch for its regular fare. This took place in 1735, and from that to the present time there are few persons of very high personal, political, or intellectual distinction who have not been among its members. In the notices of the proceedings of different periods the most prominent names are Bubb Doddington, Aaron Hill, Hoadley, the author of the 'Suspicious Husband,' Glover the poet, Lord Sandwich, Wilkes, Bonnel Thornton, Arthur Murphy, Churchill, Tickell, the Prince of Wales afterwards George IV., the late Duke of Norfolk, the late Charles Morris, &c. &c. Here, indeed, were met the fellows of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy, with their gibes, their gambols, their songs, their flashes of merriment that were wont to

set the table in a roar. Pre-eminent among them was the poet Churchill, whose wit in many a dazzling attack or repartee still lives in the memory of the members. The "Liberty," added to the Beef, had probably attracted a descendant of King Charles's stern judge, Bradshaw, to the society, who was always boasting of the connexion. Pursuing one day his usual theme, Churchill remarked, "Ah, Bradshaw, don't crow! The Stuarts have been amply avenged for the loss of Charles's head, for you have not had a head in your whole family ever since." The society, after numerous migrations, as from Covent Garden Theatre to the Bedford Hotel in the square, and from the Bedford to the Lyceum, is now permanently settled in a room attached to the latter, where Rich's original gridiron "now presents itself, encircled with its motto, and suspended from the ceiling to every eye which can spare a wandering glance from the beefsteak smoking before it."* We conclude these historical notices of Covent Garden with a brief reference to its aspect in the beginning of the last century, when the square was enclosed with rails, and ornamented by a stone pillar on a pedestal, with a curious four-square sun-dial; when the south side lay open to Bedford Garden with "its small grotto of trees most pleasant in the summer season," and in which part alone was then kept the market for fruit, roots, and flowers. On the erection of Southampton and Tavistock Streets, with Southampton Passage, on the site of Bedford House and its parterres, the market was removed farther into the square, to the great annoyance, it seems, of the "persons of distinction" who then resided in it, and who gradually left their houses in consequence. Maitland, referring to this point, in describing the "things remarkable" of Covent Garden, calls the latter "a magnificent square," and then adds, "wherein (*to its great disgrace*) is kept a herb and fruit-market." If the sage topographer could see the latter now, we wonder whether its increased magnitude would make it seem in his eyes a still more disgraceful affair, or whether that very magnitude, as in a thousand analogous instances, would stamp it as respectable. The contrast is certainly curious between the opinions of the market held by a historian of London only a century or so ago, and the state and reputation of that market now.

The supremacy of Covent Garden as the great wholesale market for vegetables, fruit, and flowers is now undisputed. So early indeed as 1654 proposals were made for establishing a herb-market in Clement's Inn Fields; but, though the population had been fast increasing in that direction of the town during the whole of the century, the Stocks Market and the Honey Lane Market, in the City, were still flourishing, and the interests connected with them too powerful to admit of a rival. With a single bridge over the Thames, leading into the very heart of the City, these ancient markets were most convenient to the market-people, whether their supplies were brought by land-carriage or by the river. A century later the Stocks Market was removed, and Spitalfields and Covent Garden had become markets of great importance. The origin of Covent Garden Market is said to have been casual—people coming and standing in the centre of the square with produce for sale gradually led to the establishment of a regular market. This took place before either Westminster or Blackfriars bridges were erected. A paper, published about the middle of the century,

* Clubs of London, vol. ii. p. 11.

entitled, 'Reasons for fixing an Herb-Market at Dowgate,' appears to have been the last attempt to preserve a great vegetable market in the City. It is stated in this paper, that since the removal of Stocks Market the farmers and gardeners had laboured under very great inconvenience, as they were obliged to take their produce to Spitalfields and Covent Garden, which markets, it is observed, were daily increasing. The establishment of a market at Dowgate would, it was argued, have the effect of bringing back into the City all those who went from Stocks Market to Spitalfields; and, as a large proportion of the supply of vegetables and fruit was either landed at the bridge-foot, or brought over it from Kent and Surrey, the proposition seemed reasonable enough. While Dowgate was only three hundred and sixty-six yards from the bridge, Spitalfields was eighteen hundred yards, and Covent Garden three thousand one hundred and ten. The building of Westminster Bridge, and the continually increasing population, particularly in the western and northern suburbs, settled this question. Honey Lane Market, close to Cheapside, and the Fleet Market remained the only places within the City which were supplied by the producers. The Honey Lane Market is now entirely abolished, and its site occupied by the City of London School. In 1824 an Act was passed authorizing the corporation of the City to remove the Fleet Market, and to provide a new one in its place, now called Farringdon Market, on a site adjoining the western side of the old market. In 1830 a company was incorporated for re-establishing Hungerford Market, which is partly a vegetable market. In the same year an Act was passed for establishing Portman Market, in the parish of Mary-le-bone. Finsbury Market is another of the modern vegetable markets of London. We, however, need only notice those markets where the growers and the retail dealers meet to transact their business; and these are Covent Garden; the Borough Market, near the ancient church of St. Saviour's, Southwark; Spitalfields, chiefly a potato-market; Farringdon Market; and perhaps Hungerford Market.

Few places could be more disgraceful to a great city than the incommodious state and mean appearance of Covent Garden Market about thirteen years ago, when it was partially covered with open sheds and wooden structures, running from east to west. What it was seventy years ago we know from Hogarth's print; and the late Mr. Walker, a metropolitan police magistrate, referred to it just previous to its alteration, as an instance of the pernicious effect of neglect and filth on public taste and morality in a spot where large numbers of people daily congregate. "The evil here," he says, "lies in the bad contrivance and arrangement of their places of public concernment. It is surely a great error to spend nearly a million of money on a penitentiary, whilst the hotbeds of vice from which it is filled are wholly unattended to. What must necessarily be the moral state of the numerous class constantly exposed to the changes of the weather, amidst the mud and putridities of Covent Garden? What ought it to be, where the occupation is amongst vegetables, fruits, and flowers, if there were well-regulated accommodations?" Fortunately the kind of deteriorating causes here spoken of have been now removed. In 1827 the Duke of Bedford obtained an Act for rebuilding the market, and the irregular combination of sheds and standings began to be removed in 1828, and in due time the present buildings were completed. The new pile consists of a colonnade on the exterior, running

round the north, east, and south sides, under which are the shops, each with a sleeping-room above. Joined to the back of these is another row of shops, facing the inner courts, and through the centre runs an arched passage, sixteen feet wide and open to the top, with shops on each side. This passage is the favourite promenade of those who visit the market after the rougher business of the morning is over. Forced fruits and culinary vegetables, and rare flowers constitute the great attraction. The effect of the seasons is set at nought. In January forced rhubarb is exhibited, and French beans at 3*s.* a hundred, hot-house grapes at 25*s.* a lb.; in February, cucumbers at 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* each; and strawberries 1*s.* an ounce; in March, new potatoes at 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* a lb.; in April, peaches and nectarines at 2*s.* each, and cherries at 25*s.* a lb., or perhaps 30*s.*; at the end of the month peas at 9*s.* per dozen; early in May, green gooseberries at 7*s.* or 8*s.* per half-sieve of 3½ gallons; and all the greatest results of artificial horticulture in every month of the year. In January, bouquets of geraniums, chrysanthemums, euphorbia, and other flowers, may be had at 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* each; bunches of violets at 6*d.* each; sprigs of sweet-briar, also the Persian lilac, mignonette, &c. Very extensive cellarage for storing bulky articles is excavated under nearly the whole area of the market. There are cellars with conveniences for washing potatoes. Great attention has been paid to the forming of capacious sewers, and every precaution taken to ensure the most perfect cleanliness. Water is furnished by an Artesian well, two hundred and eighty feet deep, which supplies sixteen hundred gallons an hour, and the whole market can be inundated and washed in a few minutes. Over the eastern colonnade, the principal entrance, there are two light and elegant conservatories, rented by two eminent nurserymen, for the sale of the more scarce and delicate species of plants and flowers. They are fifteen feet broad and fifteen feet high, and occupy a third of the terrace, the remaining part forming a promenade, and being also used for the display of the more hardy plants. A handsome fountain throws up a refreshing shower, and adds very much to the beauty of the conservatories. The view from the terrace into the principal passage below, and towards the eastern side of the market, is animated, if not picturesque. We shall return to Covent Garden after a brief description of two other of the metropolitan vegetable markets.

First in extent, so far as the building is concerned, is Farringdon Market. It occupies the sloping surface on which Holborn Hill and Fleet Street stand, and is, in fact, the ancient bank of the river Fleet. This inclination of the surface is remarkably favourable to the drainage, and the market is not only well supplied with water, but is well lighted when the market is open. The area occupies about one acre and a half, in the form of a parallelogram, surrounded on two sides by buildings 41 feet high and 48 broad, and measuring along the middle about 480 feet long. On the above sides are the shops of the butchers and poulterers. The third side consists of a spacious covered space, 232 feet long, 48 feet broad, and 41 feet high, for the fruiterers and dealers in vegetables, and it opens on the central area by an arcade at several points. The south side is open to the street, but separated from it by a long iron palisading, in which there are two entrances for waggons. The number of shops is seventy-nine. Altogether the quadrangular area with the buildings covers 3900 square yards,

being 232 feet by 150 feet. Two of the largest provincial markets are St. John's Market, at Liverpool, 183 feet by 45; and one at Birmingham, 120 feet by 36. The cost of building Farringdon Market was 30,000*l.*, but the purchase of the site, the buildings which stood upon it, and the rights of the occupiers, cost the city about 200,000*l.* Hungerford Market was erected by the architect of Covent Garden Market, but it is not confined to the sale of articles of food only. The Borough Market is of tolerable size, but altogether destitute of architectural pretensions; and, if possible, Spitalfields and the other markets are still less distinguished in this way.

The supply of a population amounting to nearly two millions with articles of such general and necessary consumption in every family as culinary vegetables and fruit, involves of course a very extensive and comprehensive system of co-operation, and in this and every other department connected with the provision of food to the inhabitants of London there is that perfect working to each other's hands amongst the several branches of those immediately or remotely employed by which alone the final result is so successfully accomplished. In vegetable food and fruit the demand cannot at all times keep pace with the immense supply which is poured in by steam-boats, sailing-boats, and boats conducted by a pair of oars, by the railways, and by land-carriage, from the metropolitan counties, from every part of England and parts of Scotland, and from the continent. It is nearly half a century since Middleton, in his 'Agricultural Survey of Middlesex,' estimated the value of the vegetables annually consumed in London at 645,000*l.*, and of fruit at 400,000*l.*, making together a sum exceeding one million sterling (1,045,000*l.*), and this exclusive of the profits of any other class besides the growers. The total amount paid by the consumer would of course very much augment the above large sum. Middleton gives an instance in which the market-gardener received 45*l.* per acre for turnips, while the consumer was paying at the rate of 150*l.*, the former selling bunches at three halfpence each, which were sold in the retailer's shop at fivepence. This of course was not the general course of the trade, for though the retail dealer has, generally speaking, to pay a heavy rent, and is subject to other great expenses and bad debts, the difference of the wholesale and retail price was in this case disproportionate. There are perhaps more cases of garden-farmers or market-gardeners making handsome fortunes by production than amongst the class who sell the same articles by retail. Middleton speaks of a person who grew at Sutton eighty acres of asparagus, and the cost of forming the beds was estimated at 100*l.* per acre. Another grower had sixty acres of his own land under this crop. The market-gardeners, he says, on five acres of the best land, or nine acres of a secondary quality, or on twenty acres of inferior land, at that time provided as well for their families as an ordinary farmer on one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres. He calculated that, for the supply of London with vegetables, there were 2000 acres cultivated by the spade, and 8000 partly by the spade but chiefly by the plough: the gross annual produce varied from 200*l.* to 50*l.* an acre. There were besides the fruit gardeners, who, in 1795, had three thousand acres under cultivation in Middlesex alone, the "upper crop" consisting of apples, pears, cherries, plums, walnuts, &c., and the "under crop" of gooseberries, raspberries, currants, strawberries, and other bearing trees which would grow

well under the shade of the larger ones. Peaches, nectarines, and similar fruits were trained against the walls. In the height of the season Middleton supposed that each acre of these gardens gave employment to thirty-five persons, amongst whom were many women, chiefly from Wales, part of whose time was employed in carrying baskets of fruit to town on their heads. The vegetable gardeners also gave employment to great numbers of persons in the busiest season. The gathering of a crop of peas required forty persons for every ten acres, the "podders" being paid at the rate of fourpence a bushel in 1795. After peas succeeded turnips, and these as well as carrots are washed and tied in bunches before being sent to market. The cutting and packing of waggon loads of cabbages or whatever other vegetables may be in season cannot be done without the services of a number of persons besides the labourers actually engaged in their cultivation. Since Middleton's work was published the population of the metropolis has just doubled, and it probably will not be far wrong to double his estimates: the mode of cultivation and of preparing the produce for market remains much in the same state as it was fifty years ago. Two centuries ago, Samuel Hartlib, author of several works on agriculture, writing in 1650, states that some old men recollected "the first gardener who came into Surrey to plant cabbages, cauliflowers, and to sow turnips, carrots, and parsnips, to sow early-ripe peas, all which at that time were great wonders, we having few or none in England but what came from Holland and Flanders." Twenty years before, he tells us, that so near London as Gravesend, "there was not so much as a mess of peas but what came from London." In our day we have pea salesmen in London, and in a single day one grower will send to one firm about four hundred sacks of twelve and sixteen pecks each, besides from three to five hundred sieves (of seven gallons each) of those of a superior kind; and the same grower will in the same way send seven or eight waggon loads of cabbages, each load averaging one hundred and fifty dozen cabbages; at another season, from the same farm, fourteen or fifteen hundred baskets of "sprouts" will be sent in one day, and in the course of the year from five to six thousand tons of potatoes. If we look at the immense quantity and variety of vegetables and fruits which are sent to London in the present day, it is easier to perceive the great change which has taken place in the diet of the people than to imagine how they could do without that varied supply of vegetable food which is now considered indispensable.

The market-days at Covent Garden are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the last being by far the most important. There is no particular hour for commencing business, but it varies at different seasons, and by daybreak there are always a few retail dealers present. Waggons and carts have been arriving for some time before, and porters are busied in transferring their contents to the different stations of the salesmen while the dawn is yet grey. The houses of refreshment around the market are open at half-past one in summer; and little tables are set out against the pillars of the piazzas by the venders of tea and coffee. Here the porters and carters can obtain refreshment without needing to resort to exciting liquors; and few greater benefits have been conferred on the laborious classes whose occupation is in the public markets than that of substituting tea and coffee for ardent spirits. There is some separation of the

different classes of articles, and potatoes and coarser produce are assigned a distinct quarter. Vegetables and fruit are tolerably well separated, and flowers and plants are found together. The west side of the square is covered with potted flowers and plants in bloom, and a gay, beautiful, and fragrant display they make. The supply of "cut" flowers for bouquets, or, to use the old-fashioned word, nosegays, is very large, including "walls," daffodils, roses, pinks, carnations, &c., according to the season. The carts and waggons with vegetables are drawn up close together on three sides of the market. A waggon-load of fine fresh cabbages, of clean-washed turnips, carrots, or cauliflowers, or an area of twenty square yards covered with the latter beautiful vegetable, or either of the others piled in neat stacks, is a pleasing sight. Here are onions from the Bedfordshire sands or Deptford, cabbages from Battersea, asparagus from Mortlake and Deptford, celery from Chelsea, peas from Charlton, these spots being each famous for the production of these particular articles, though the supply may be larger from other places. By and by the greengrocers come jogging in; and the five spacious streets leading to the market in time become crowded with a double row of their vehicles. The costermongers and venders of water-cresses, and itinerant dealers who have taken up the trade as a temporary resource, arrive with their donkey-carts, trucks, or baskets. The Irish basket-women, who

[Covent Garden Basket Women.]

ply as porteresses, and will carry your purchase to any part of the town, jabber in Erse, and a subdued clamouring sound tells you that the business of the day has really begun. As fast as the retail dealer makes his bargains a porter carries the articles to his market-cart, pushing through the crowd with the load on his head as well as he can. The baskets of "spring onions" and young radishes are thronged by the itinerant dealers trying to drive hard bargains. It is interesting to watch for a short time the business of the flower-market.

This is the Londoners' flower-garden, and is resorted to in the early summer morning by many a lover of flowers compelled by his occupation to live in the densely-crowded parts of London, and who steals a few moments from the busy day to gratify one of the purest tastes. This out-of-door floral exhibition has undergone an extraordinary improvement within the last few years, and it is really an attractive show. It keeps alive a taste which in many instances would otherwise languish; and it is not a little "refreshing" to see the humble mechanic making a purchase of a root of "hen and chicken daisies," a "black" wall-flower, or a primrose, to ornament the window of his workshop. Some who love flowers better than they understand how to treat them, while making their purchase, gather instructions for keeping them fresh and healthy. The "pot" plants are bought in ones and twos by private persons; but the itinerant dealer fills his basket or donkey-cart, and will be met with in his perambulations during the day in most parts of London in spring and summer. The most common plants are pelagorniums, fuchsias, verbenas, heliotropes, amaranthus, cockscombs, calceolarias, roses, myrtles, and other greenhouse plants. The cut flowers are purchased for the decoration of public rooms, and by persons who love the exquisite beauty of flowers, and by itinerant dealers, chiefly females, who make them up into small bouquets and vend them in the streets. The smart clerk purchases them for a posy, and to stick a fine pelagornium in the button-hole is not a practice to be despised, albeit a glass phial filled with water on a corner of his desk would perhaps be as good a destination. The sweet-briar which the flower-girl offers for sale in the crowded street gives out a fragrance which is most delicious, as its odours are momentarily inhaled by the hasty passenger proceeding to scenes so different from those which it recalls. The costermongers,* who may be seen in all the great wholesale markets of London, Smithfield excepted, unless they may go there to speculate in horse-flesh for the boiler, or to buy a donkey, are a very singular race, and in their sharp commercial habits come nearer to the Jews than any other class. From their appearance any one would infer that their purchases would be confined to a few bunches of water-cresses, but they often buy considerable quantities of the best description of articles; and though, still judging from appearances, it would seem to display a very reckless degree of confidence in each other, they not unfrequently club their money and buy up an advantageous lot on favourable terms, though it is not easy to perceive by what arrangement they can divide the bargain amongst each other without serious disputes. The narrow and dirty streets which they inhabit may often be seen gay with a rich display of potted flowers and plants which they are about to carry through the town for sale; and at other times an unwonted aspect of purity is given to the vicinity by a profuse supply of the finest cauliflowers. The costermongers may be divided into several ranks, the lowest being scarcely worthy of the name, as he only purchases in small quantities which he can carry off in his basket. A considerable degree above him is he who carries his commodities from street to street on a truck with a capacious board on the top, shelved at the edges; but it must be stated that the truck is only a hired one, either for the day or the

* See No. VIII. 'Street Noises,' vol. i, p. 134.

week; the costermonger who owns a donkey, and a rough cart which seems to have been rudely made by his own hands, is indeed worthy of his name and character, and he may save money if he is not too fond of low sports; but a prince among the tribe is he who has not only cash for any chance speculation which may turn up, but possesses accumulated capital in the shape of trucks which he lets out at a fixed rent to his less fortunate or less steady brethren. One man of this class, who lives near the 'Elephant and Castle,' has forty of these trucks. They cost from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.* when new: he is not so extravagant as to buy them fresh from the maker, but picks them up when misfortune obliges one of the fraternity to descend to a humbler rank in the profession. The charge for letting them out is 4*d.* a-day, or 2*s.* a-week, but without the board at the top 3*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.*; and in winter the price for each sort is only 1*s.* 6*d.* Sometimes one of these wealthy truck-men will buy up on very advantageous terms large quantities of such articles as are in season, and he can sell again to the drawers of his trucks cheaper than they can buy in small quantities in the market. He knows better than to employ the buyers as his servants, but is content with a small profit and no risk, and as he gets so handsome an income from his trucks he ought to be content. A boy of the lowest class commencing his career in Covent Garden Market, if he be prudent, sharp, and intelligent, and is fortunately exempt from the vices of his companions, has a better and surer prospect of making a fortune, if he pursues a right course, than most of the youths of the middle class.

The Borough Market is well supplied with vegetable produce, but there is no catering here for a wealthy class of consumers: the market is held three times a-week. Hungerford can scarcely be regarded a wholesale market, the dealers who have shops here being chiefly supplied from Covent Garden. Farringdon Market has not realized the expectations which were entertained of its importance, but produce is brought to it by the growers on two days in the week, and it is a good deal resorted to by the itinerant venders, those especially who sell hot baked potatoes and the criers of water-cress. Spitalfields is the largest potato market in the metropolis, as, besides being convenient to the growers in Essex, whence the chief supply by land-carriage is obtained, it is in the midst of a dense population of the poorer class. It is difficult to obtain an estimate worthy of much confidence relative to the consumption of potatoes in London, but it is really enormous, and of late years has increased in a greater ratio than the increase of population would warrant. The most extensive potato-salesmen are established in Tooley Street, where they have warehouses adjacent to the river. There are some retail dealers who dispose of thirty tons of potatoes per week, in quantities of a few pounds weight at a time, all weighed in the scale; but ten tons is considered as a very good amount of business in this article, and sales of this extent only occur in particular quarters of the town where the means of the population do not rise much above poverty. One wholesale dealer in Spitalfields Market can store up a thousand tons or 14,000 sacks on his premises. The Irish Railway Commissioners estimated the quantity of food consumed by an adult living wholly upon vegetable food at eleven lbs. per day, inclusive of waste, which is very great; the quantity

consumed by the next class, who enjoy a limited use of other kinds of food, they ascertained to be two lbs.; and those who were unrestricted as to the nature of their food consumed one lb. of vegetable food. Now, taking the population of London requiring a supply of potatoes from the market at 1,500,000, and allowing the consuming powers of a population of 1000 adults and children to be equal to that of 655 adults, we have in the metropolis the full consuming power of 982,250 persons. As so many other vegetables are used besides potatoes, would it be very far wrong to estimate the consumption at one lb. for each adult per day, that is, 3070 tons per week, or say 3000 tons, and 156,000 tons per year? Even if some reduction were made on this estimate, the quantity would still be very great. Not more than one-half of this supply is obtained from the metropolitan counties, chiefly Essex and Kent. When prices range high, the inland supplies are brought thirty miles or more, a great distance for so bulky an article. The quantity conveyed by the railways is very trifling, and steam-boats only occasionally bring ten or fifteen tons when other freight is not to be obtained. There remains, then, probably from seventy to eighty thousand tons for the supply by water, the larger proportion of which comes from land on the banks of the Humber, Trent, and Ouse, which is fertilized by artificial flooding and the deposit of a rich silt. Scotland ranks the next, afterwards Jersey, and lastly Devonshire. Scarcely any potatoes reach London from Ireland, as they have hitherto been more profitably consumed in the production of bacon and pork; and the small quantity of foreign which have arrived since the alteration of the tariff has not proved good enough for the London market. In the busy season of the year there is always a considerable number of vessels laden with potatoes lying off the wharfs adjacent to Tooley Street; those from Yorkshire being of 50 to 120 tons; the Scotch vessels from 80 to 150 tons; and those from Jersey are sometimes as large as 300 tons. At the same time the yards which communicate with the wharfs are crowded with the waggons and carts belonging to the retail dealers waiting for a supply. For about three months in the year this water-side trade is suspended, but it revives again in the month of October.

[The Admiralty.]

CX.—THE ADMIRALTY AND THE TRINITY HOUSE.

THE Admiralty, which forms the left flank of the detachment of Government offices drawn up in line opposite the Banqueting House at Whitehall, cannot stand a very critical examination on its architectural merits. Well; it is not the only plain and homely body in which a mighty spirit has been lodged. These three huge sides of a square, without even an attempt at ornament—excepting the posts, which the polite call pillars, at the grand central entry—which resemble nothing on earth so much as an overgrown farmstead, which have had that architectural screen, almost as tasteless as themselves, drawn before them like a Mokanna's veil, from a dim sense that not even stone walls could hear with patience the remarks that must necessarily be made upon them if fully exposed to view—are the unlikely form in which is lodged the mind that wields the naval power of Britain.

There sit the Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Board which, except for two years, separated from each other by the lapse of more than a century,* have been invested with the government of the navy of England since the Revolution. The First Lord of the Admiralty (who is a member of the Cabinet) and his four junior Lords hold their deliberations there. They prepare the navy estimates,

* Prince George of Denmark was Lord High Admiral in 1707-8; the late King, when Duke of Clarence, in 1827-8; with these exceptions the office has been in commission since 1688.

and lay them before Parliament; issue orders for the payment of naval moneys; make or approve all appointments or promotions in the navy; recommend all grants of honours, pensions, or gratuities for services performed in their department; order ships to be commissioned, employed, and paid off, built, sold, or broken up. There is a ceaseless ebb and flow of business surging about that homely building. Reports, inquiries, and petitions are flowing in like a spring-tide incessantly from the remotest regions of the earth, and orders and instructions are flowing out as continuously to regulate operations that fill as wide a sphere.

If we take up our station on the esplanade in St. James's Park, the eye is caught by a huge upright beam erected on the roof of the Admiralty, with straight arms extending from it laterally at different angles. At times these may be seen altering their positions, remaining a few moments at rest, and then changing again. The giant upon whom the stranger gazes with uncomprehending curiosity is whispering to his huge brother on Putney Heath, who will repeat the intelligence to his neighbour behind Richmond, and he to the next in order, so that by their unconscious agency the heads of the navy in London give and receive intelligence to and from the great naval stations hundreds of miles off as quickly as they can communicate with a storehouse at the other end of the metropolis. The semaphore is, as any man may see, but a block of wood, and, heaven knows, no beauty, yet, in the hands of man, it becomes instinct with wondrous power. Like all the other mechanical inventions of the age, it indicates at once the power of intellect and its limit. By the instrumentality of machinery man adds to the puny strength of his body, and ekes out his dwarfish stature. By the steam-engine he rows a mighty ship as if it were a Thames scull-boat, or hammers at once masses of iron too colossal for a troop of Cyclopses. And by the telegraph he renders himself as it were present in the same moment at distant places. But he cannot inspire his instruments with intelligence; only while his hand is upon them can they "do his spiriting gently" or otherwise: left to themselves they relapse into the inertness of mere matter. Nor can he clothe them with the flexible grace of movement, with that ever-varying elegance of form and harmony of tint which is the contradistinguishing mark of God's creations. Wonderful though they be, these inventions of man—these his mute senseless drudges—they all of them bear legibly and indelibly stamped upon all their lineaments, the name of MAKESHIFT. Mere makeshifts they are and must remain—something inferior stuck in to supply the want of better that cannot be had—confessions of weakness—reminding us even more of human littleness and feebleness than of its power.

There is quite as little to interest the eye in the interior of the structure round which we have been loitering and musing as in its exterior. Through the great central door you pass into a spacious hall, cool, airy, and pleasant in summer, but bare of ornament. There appears to be something imposing in its mere size and proportions, but perhaps this is self-deception—attributing to the building the impression produced by the presence that lies beyond. A few attendants in plain dresses are lounging in the hall; always civil, but always cool—they answer any questions with Spartan brevity, and allow the inquirer to

pass on. The public rooms are, like the vestibule, sufficiently spacious and well proportioned, furnished with everything necessary to facilitate the discharge of business—decorously simple. Except in the extent of the building there is nothing to distinguish it from the private establishment of some great mercantile firm. It is nothing of outward show that impresses us as we pass through these suites of rooms: it is our consciousness of a spiritual presence which has pervaded them ever since they became the residence of the central management of the British navy.

How many an anxious, how many an elated heart, passes daily in and out of this building! Nerves that would remain unshaken, minds that would remain self-possessed, while the iron-hail-shower of a broadside was crashing through bulwark and bulkhead, or while the thunders of whole fleets beneath the smoke-canopy of their own creation were shaking the breezy atmosphere into a calm, sulphurous and portentous as that which broods over an earthquake, have here become relaxed and confused as those of a bashful girl. The midshipman as he passed up these broad stairs has felt that there was something worse on this earth than a mast-heading, and even his petulance has been subdued; nay, the equanimity of the most coolly imperious captain has been shaken. Perhaps Nelson has laid his hand upon these banisters while his far-distant spirit was marshalling the future fights of Trafalgar and the Nile, or giving orders to hang out the signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." Poor Dalrymple, the first Admiralty hydrographer, has here been convulsed with the wayward querulousness of age, attributing to malevolence and oppression the conduct rendered necessary by his own dotage. Cook passed up these stairs to report what unknown regions and tribes he had discovered, and how he had triumphed over sickness, and brought back a crew scarcely diminished by death, from a long, distant, and dangerous voyage. Here many a plan of action has been struck out which conducted to victory; many a one, in defiance of the absurdity of which the skill and courage of British sailors have gained victories. The succession of gallant spirits endowed with scientific acquirements, calmness, and fertility of resource in unexpected emergencies, honourable pride in their profession and devotion to their country, which has filled these walls for a great part of two hundred years, is unsurpassed in history.

It is impossible for any citizen of a state which is so essentially maritime as Great Britain, not to feel that this centre of our naval organization is among the most interesting localities that London contains, and to feel irresistibly tempted to linger on the spot conjuring up an outline of the stages through which our navy has passed into its present maturity of growth.

Most of our kings since the Conquest appear to have possessed some vessels of war; and an Amiral de la Mer du roi d'Angleterre appears on the records as early as 1297. But the English "Amiral" was at this time merely a great officer of state, who presided generally over maritime affairs. Often not a professional person, his duties were, not to command ships in battle, or indeed at any other time, but to superintend and direct the naval strength of the kingdom, and to administer justice in all causes arising on the seas. In the former capacity he may be considered as "the original Admiralty;" his judicial functions

have long been separated from the administrative, and are discharged by the "High Court of Admiralty," which nestles beside the Ecclesiastical Courts in Doctors' Commons. Lord Stowell might have been called in old times "Amiral du roi d'Angleterre:" think of an admiral in a wig and gown! And fleets in these early days were fitted out when the King went to war, by adding to his own little squadron, merchant-vessels pressed from all parts in the kingdom; for the pressgangs of old took the ships along with the sailors.

The naval affairs of Great Britain continued much on this footing till the close of the fifteenth century. It has been usual to assume that Henry VII. was the first king who thought of providing a naval force which might be at all times ready for the service of the state. It does not appear that Henry did more in this way than building the 'Great Harry,' which writers on this subject have agreed among themselves to call the first ship of the royal navy. But there were royal ships before his time; and as for general attention to naval affairs, there was quite as much paid by Edward IV. as by Henry VII. The fitting place for looking a little more narrowly into this question, however, will be when we come to speak of the Trinity House.

Henry VIII. is said to have "perfected the designs of his father," which being interpreted, means that the existence of a real royal or state navy, such as England has possessed since his time, cannot be traced back to an earlier period. He instituted the Admiralty and the Navy Office; established the Trinity House and the dockyards of Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth; appointed regular salaries for the admirals, captains, and sailors, and, in short, made the sea-service a distinct profession. He also made laws for the planting and preservation of timber; caused the 'Henri Grace de Dieu' to be built, which is said to have measured above 1000 tons; and left at his death a navy, the tonnage of which amounted to 12,000 tons. The ships of this age, say the historians, "were high, unwieldy, and narrow; their guns were close to the water; they had lofty poops and prows, like Chinese junks;" and Sir Walter Raleigh informs us, "that the 'Mary Rose,' a goodly ship of the largest size, by a little swing of the ship in casting about, her ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was overcast and sunk." This took place at Spithead in the presence of the king, and most of her officers and crew were drowned.

What little we know of the navy of Bluff King Harry's time is almost entirely confined to the existence of such lubberly craft as the 'Mary Rose' and certain government offices. Coming down to the days of Queen Bess we scrape acquaintance with the gallant fellows who manned her somewhat improved vessels. Elizabeth was economical. Though she increased the navy—at her death it consisted of 42 ships, measuring 17,000 tons—and though she raised the wages of seamen to 10*s*. a-month (under her father they appear to have been only about 5*s*. per month), yet she encouraged the merchants to build large ships, which on occasion were converted into ships of war and rated at 50 to 100 tons more than they measured. Of the 176 ships, manned by 14,996 men, which met the Spanish Armada, a considerable number were not "shippes royal." Raleigh's criticism on the faulty build of the 'Mary Rose' will lead the reader to the inference that in his time naval architecture had made some progress. This

improvement, however, was most marked under Elizabeth's successor, who had the good sense to encourage Phineas Pett. Pett, who has been called our earliest able and scientific ship-builder, made many improvements in the construction of vessels, and in particular relieved ships of much of their top-hamper. This the more deserves notice as it seems to be the only respect in which naval matters advanced under James. Signals, as a means of communication between ships, had been introduced under Elizabeth.

But we have intimated above that in the age of Elizabeth and James we scrape acquaintance with the sailors as men. The great national effort by which—with the assistance of the bad choice the intruding invaders made of a season of the year for their expedition—the Spanish Armada was discomfited, may be regarded as in part the natural consequence of the growth of the spirit of maritime enterprise in England, in part the cause of a great and sudden development which it received at that time. The exaggerated estimate made of the gain of the Spaniards by their American conquests had stirred the emulation of England. Merchants of Bristol and merchants of London were fitting out voyages of discovery and soliciting the royal countenance to their efforts. Oxford was seized by the prevailing epidemic: her mathematicians and her historical students were full of the thoughts of new Indies, busily devising how their own scientific acquirements could most promote discovery. Dr. John Dee was making maps as well as casting nativities, and Hackluyt was lecturing on geography at Oxford. The high nobility became associated with adventures to unknown lands, as we have seen their descendants with all kinds of joint-stock companies and other bubble speculations. An Earl of Warwick was at the expense of having published at Florence the 'Arcano del Mare,' a treatise on navigation. Earls of Bedford, Lords Chamberlain, and other nobles who in that half-feudal age still ruffled with troops of retainers, cherished their gallant naval dependants more than any others. The Frobishers, Drakes, and the rest of these patriarchs of our fleet almost all started in life as followers of some nobleman. The young gentry of Devonshire and Cornwall, the Raleighs and the Gilberts, partly from natural inclination, partly because they saw "that way promotion lay," sought to swing themselves into notoriety by entering the sea-service. The theory as well as the practice of navigation was studied—the discovery and colonisation of new lands and the seamanship of the whole nation went hand in hand. It was court fashion, but it was quite as much country fashion. The queen had the good sense to encourage this spontaneous burst of national energy, and to feel that countenance was almost all she needed to give. In those days might be seen the bold speculator Michael Lok, who gambled in adventures of discovery, seated between the mystical scholar Dee and the stout practical mariner Frobisher, devising how, by skirting the polar ice, they might discover the direct road to Cathay. Next might be seen each of these stirring up their respective patrons to furnish forth the enterprise; Master Lok negotiating with the Muscovy Company and other great city merchants, Captain Frobisher with the Earl of Bedford and other patrons of "men of action," and Dr. Dee with the subtle and accomplished courtiers who, like Leicester, either encouraged learning from taste or from policy; and when all was prepared, and

the ships ready to drop down the river, then to give the finishing grace to all this stir and bustle did the virgin queen repair in person to Greenwich, and sit in open air as the fore-topsail was loosened and the boatswain's shrill call was heard, and sail after sail rose and swelled to the wind like white clouds on the horizon; and waved her somewhat skinny but jewelled hand, as amid a rattle of patereros and other artillery the ships bent over from the breeze as if doing homage to their sovereign, and glided off on their far and perilous errand. Our ships were of small size then, but they carried big spirits and most picturesque personages. The reader will but half appreciate the artistical value of Frobisher's voyage if when he reads of that gallant seaman risking himself at the extremities of the booms, amid a squall in the North Seas that laid his ship on her beam-ends, he forgets the trunk-hose with which he was encumbered; or if he fail to note that Best, the historian of the voyage, when he narrates the broils between the crew and Esquimaux, dwells with emphasis on the "*gilded* partisan" that was held to the wild man's throat. And Elizabeth, the great prototype of Black-eyed Susan—

"Adieu! she cried, and waved her lily hand,"—

had knighthoods for her captains when they returned, as well as smiles when they departed. It was then that Englishmen became a nation of mariners—the "tight little island," a great tender moored in the Atlantic. The infectious enthusiasm caught all ranks and ages; and the poet mirrored it in his lines, or even attempted to produce its bodily presence on the stage. It must have been a right willing audience that was good-humoured enough to eke out to this end the makeshift machinery of that time with its imagination; but, seated in our closets, the shipwreck scenes of Shakspere, and the naval battles of Beaumont and Fletcher, become living and breathing realities.

All have heard of John Hampden and his ship-money: that controversy between a king and his subject marks an era, not only in constitutional history, but in the formation of our navy. The necessity of increasing the strength, and improving the organisation of the navy, was equally felt by royalist and republican statesmen. The opposition to Charles arose not so much out of any objection to the creation of a navy, as out of distrust of the policy which sought to raise the money for that purpose without the aid of parliament. It was under Charles I. that the navy was first divided into rates and classes; but the civil troubles during the latter part of his reign diverted attention from maritime affairs. When Cromwell seized the reins of government, he found the navy much reduced, but his energy restored it, and he left 154 sail, of which one-third were two-deckers, measuring nearly 58,000 tons. Cromwell was the first who laid before parliament estimates for the support of the navy, a practice which has been continued ever since: he obtained 400,000*l.* per annum for that purpose. The navigation laws, an important feature in the naval policy of England, were also originated by Cromwell, or some of his councillors. The government of the Restoration, with all its faults, had the good sense to appreciate Cromwell's naval policy. The extravagance of the king, and the jobbing propensities of some of his ministers, starved the navy for intervals; but it was a passion with the Duke of York, afterwards

James II., and the labouring oar was taken by the indefatigable Pepys, and between them the naval service had on the whole fair-play down to the time of the Revolution. The duke introduced improved signals, and Pepys kept the accounts in order. When James II. mounted the throne, he found 179 vessels, measuring 103,558 tons. He took immediate measures for improving the navy. He suspended the Navy Board, and appointed a new Commission, with which he joined Sir Anthony Deane, the best naval architect of the time, who materially improved the ships of the line by copying from a French model. 400,000*l.* per annum was the sum set apart for naval purposes; and so diligent were the Commissioners, that at the Revolution the fleet was in excellent condition, with sea-stores complete for eight months for each ship. The force was 154 vessels, of which nine were first-rates, carrying 6930 guns, and 42,000 men.

Scientific navigation continued to be patronised during the whole of this period: during the latter half of it under the auspices of the Royal Society. The sailing and fighting men of the navy had not, however, become so thoroughly fused into one class as they are in our day. Blake never was at sea till he had passed forty, and it may be questioned whether he was ever much of a navigator. He asked his pilot, or master, to lay him alongside of the enemy, and his self-possession, fearlessness, and pertinacity did the rest. The Montagues and Albemarles, who commanded under the Restoration, were not much of seamen: they trusted the navigation of their vessels to the mariners—their business was to fight. They were followed on board, when they hoisted their flags, by volunteers from the court. They were high *caste* "waisters." The peculiarities of British men-of-war were not fully developed so long as this system continued. It is fashionable to speak of the fleet as republican during this period: this is one of the meaningless generalisations of historians. The sailors were all for their profession, and for the land that owned their ships. They troubled their heads as little about politics then as now. Some of Blake's and Deane's old roundhead captains retired from the service in disgust after the Restoration, as did many of the old roundhead captains from the army; and, as the power of conceiving a devoted attachment to such abstractions as forms of religious and civil policy is generally indicative of a higher grade of intellect, doubtless some of the best men were thus lost to both services; but these were exceptional cases. The habit of sending land generals to fight naval battles, kept the real seaman's spirit under. It is not to the literature of this age that we are to look for illustrations of the seaman's character. In the days of Chaucer they furnished good subjects to the artist; in the days of Shakspere, and since the Revolution, ample use has been made of them. But Congreve's moon-calf Ben is almost the only type of the sailor that was smuggled into the regions of art during the period now under review.

It was not long after the Revolution that the Admiralty took up its abode here in the official residence where we are spinning this yarn. It was in 1688 that the management was permanently put in Commission. The office of Lord High Admiral was held by an individual till 1632. In that year it was intrusted to a Commission, of which all the great officers of State were members. During the Commonwealth the affairs of the navy were managed by a com-

mittee of parliament, till Cromwell took the direction of them upon himself. The Duke of York was Lord High Admiral during the greater part of the reign of Charles II.; when he ascended the throne he took the charge into his own hands. Since the Revolution the office has always been in Commission, with two brief exceptions already noticed. The Revolution government, looking about in search of a residence for its naval Commissioners, placed them for a time in a house associated with rather a disagreeable reputation. The son of the infamous Jefferies soon wasted his father's ill-got gains by his dissolute and extravagant conduct. He was obliged to sell, with other property, the house which James II. had allowed the judge to build in Duke Street, with a gate and steps into the park. The house was bought by government, and converted to the use of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. From this they soon removed to Wallingford House, opposite Scotland Yard—the building from the roof of which Archbishop Usher had witnessed the execution of Charles I., and fainted at the sight. In the reign of George II., the present structure was erected on the site of Wallingford House, by Ripley; and, in the reign of George III., the architectural screen, now in front of it, was drawn by the decent hand of Adam, to veil its homeliness. Here has been the head-quarters of the Admiralty ever since it left the mansion of Jefferies.

[The Admiralty as it appeared before Adam's screen was built.]

The improvements made in the naval department of government, since the Revolution, have consisted chiefly in those details of management which escape the notice of the public. Its more prominent features have remained, on the whole, unaltered. The instrument wielded by the Admiralty has grown with the nation's growth in stature and in perfection of its organisation. Theoretical improve-

ments have made their way slowly, but not the less surely. The example of the revolutionary government of France was required to spur on the Admiralty to establish a telegraph. It was not till 1795 that the important officer, the hydrographer, was permanently annexed to the Board. Within these few years the steam-ships of the royal navy have been regularly increasing. And during the time that Sir James Graham had a seat at the Navy Board, important improvements were made in the system of general management, that have rendered the Admiralty the best organised department of the Imperial government. In 1839 the British navy consisted of 392 vessels of all kinds, of which 175 were in commission, 149 in ordinary, and 68 building: 34 were steam-vessels, of which only four were in ordinary; of these, however, no more than seven appear to have been adapted for purposes of war. There were, besides, 30 steamers employed in the packet-service of Great Britain. The vessels composing the navy are divided into three classes—the first of which consists of what are called rated ships; the second of sloops and bomb-vessels, or vessels commanded by a commander; the third of such smaller vessels as are commanded by a lieutenant, or inferior officer. The first class comprises ships of six rates :—the first-rate, all three-decked ships; the second, all two-decked ships, whose war complements consist of 700 men and upwards; the third, all ships whose complements are from 600 to 700; the fourth, ships whose complements are from 400 to 700; the fifth, ships whose complements are from 250 to 400; the sixth, ships under 250. Vessels of the first, second, and third rates are called line-of-battle-ships. A 92-gun ship carries six eight-inch guns on its lower, and four on its main-deck, each weighing 65 cwt.; and twenty-six 32-pounders on its lower deck, and 30 on its main-deck, each weighing 56 cwt., besides six, each weighing 42 cwt., on its upper-deck. This weight of metal, stored up in one floating fortress, may help to convey, even to those who have never seen that majestic object a first-rate man-of-war, some idea of its terrible power for destruction; and the true might and beauty of the ship may be faintly imagined when its buoyancy, the apparent ease with which this huge heavy mass turns and cuts its swift way through the water is conceived. The dark threatening hull alow, the swelling white sails and tapering masts aloft, as, like "the swan on still St. Mary's lake," which "floats double, swan and shadow," the first-rate lies mirroring itself on the glassy ocean—or tearing through the surge beneath a gale in which small craft could not keep the sea, its bright copper sheathing flashing like the brazen scales of Spenser's dragon, as it leaps from one mountain wave to another, one is tempted to believe that it was an excess of diffidence in the Promethean power of man, that made us deny him at the outset of these remarks the power of clothing in beauty the ministering servants created by his genius. Less imposing, but scarcely less terrible to an enemy, is the multitude of smaller vessels, less formidably armed, which, on the breaking out of a war, this nation can let loose to swarm in every gulf and bay, very wasps and hornets, stinging the foe in the most vital parts.

To man this navy there were voted in 1839-40, rather more than 20,000 seamen of all ranks, and 9000 marines. That is a peace establishment. It has already been remarked that the peculiar character generally attributed to the British tar may be said to have been formed since the Revolution. It partook

at first of that homeliness and even carelessness which characterised more or less the whole English nation when the Hanoverian family ascended the throne. When we wonder at the Hawser Trunnions of Smollett, we must keep in mind the manners of the real Walpole—the licence taken in matters of language by Lady Mary Wortley Montague—above all, the minute details of common decency and cleanliness which Chesterfield expressed with such solemnity. We undervalue that great reformer, because every child knows and practises what he preached, but it is because he preached it. And amid all that undeniable rudeness which made the sailor of those days the stock subject of caricaturists and burlesque writers, there existed that stock of unostentatious decision in action and shrewdness of practical judgment in the sphere with which he was familiar, which is the groundwork of the British seaman's character. There was a quiet grandeur about the higher order of spirits in the navy at that time. In homely majesty of character no man perhaps ever surpassed Lord Anson. Favoured in the outset of life by his good connections, he rose in the service in a manner that showed he must be a good steady officer, but necessarily implied nothing more. Twelve years of his life he was contented to let his ship "ground on his beef bones on a Carolina station;" entering into the pursuits of a planter with as much gusto as his elder brother into those of a country gentleman; a universal favourite in the colony, but alleged by the ladies to be fonder of listening to music than of dancing to it, and most happy over a quiet bottle with a professional friend. But he rose with the occasion, and though involved in many perilous emergencies, never failed to prove great enough for the most trying. In the hour of impending shipwreck, or on the quarter-deck on the eve of battle, he was imperturbable, apparently apathetic till the moment for action came, and then his impetuosity first revealed the tremendous power of the iron will which must have held such energies in check. His conduct towards his prisoners, especially the females, during his cruise in the Pacific, was marked by equal courtesy and high moral self-control to what has immortalized one classical hero. As a promoter of the sciences which bear upon his profession, and as a civil administrator, he proved that his intellect was worthy to be mated with his chivalrous heroism and morality. And all this under the cloak of a homely, retiring, and even awkward manner. The disregard of show which characterised men like Anson became fashionable in the navy: our seamen prided themselves on being men who could do much and say little. It was their boast that rollicking tarry jackets could fight better than the gilded or pipe-clayed martinets of the land-service. Even in excess this is an honourable ambition, and it is to be hoped that the anxiety to prove themselves "no shams" will remain unaltered now that the changed tone of general society and the extension of scientific education are smoothing off the rough angles of the seaman's deportment. Science has never been neglected by him. Halley's observations were in due time followed up by the experimental trials of Meyer's lunar tables. Anson was not alone in that extensive study he made of Spanish discoveries before he sailed on his great voyage, or in his care to eke out what he had learned by necessary observation and inquiry while it lasted. Phipps preceded Cook; and the paternal discipline of that great navigator, and the conversation

of the men of science shipped on his voyages, trained a new and more intellectual class of officers—the Vancouvers, Kings, Blighs, Burnets, and Broughtons. Education has done its part. The Naval College trains commissioned officers, and the Lower School at Greenwich trains warrant officers and private seamen. Christ's Hospital has long sent an annual tribute to the navy. And the Hydrographer's Office finds encouragement and employment for all who choose to cultivate the science of their profession. The efficiency of our navy is increased; our naval men occupy a front rank in the national literature and science; and in the senate the sailor feels his full value recognised, and conforms to the prevailing tone of society.

It is neither an unpleasant nor an unprofitable task to note how the British naval officer has been polished without being made effeminate. The sailors of Marryat and poor Tom Cringle (to give him the name by which he is best known) contrast widely with those of Smollett and his contemporaries, but in refinement of manners alone;—the same wild and reckless glee, when for a time cast loose from service—the same coolness and relish for mischief or danger, indifferent which stimulant offers itself, provided one of them does offer—the same carrying of the single-heartedness of the boy into the matured intellect of the man. Tom Cringle and Peter Simple are genuine descendants of Tom Pipes and Lieutenant Hatchway; and Master Keene—Marryat's bold attempt to lend an interest to a sharp self-seeking calculator of how closely a man may tread upon dishonesty—would, in ruder times, have grown up into one of Smollett's tyrannical captains. And yet it is a curious speculation—what would the old rough sea-dogs have thought of their successors? Tom Pipes thought it was all natural enough in Peregrine Pickle to write the letter which honest Tom wore to rags in the sole of his shoe, and possibly did not despise the schoolmaster who composed a substitute for him; but what would he have said of officers in the navy publishing novels, like Marryat; and books of travels for young masters, like one whom we have lost by a more melancholy stroke than death—the amiable and accomplished Basil Hall?

Enough of the gallant men of whose eyes the Admiralty is the cynosure: we return to the house itself. It will at once be seen that here is not room for the whole of the managers of the huge instrument of national power just sketched in outline. It spreads over the whole of London. Here are the council-rooms and the residences of the senior Lords; and if you pass the broad easy flight of steps by which access is attained to the public apartments, and ascend the narrow dark stairs beyond it, you will find yourself in the labyrinth of narrow passages, conducting to small rooms crowded with boxes and drawers full of charts, in which the busy hydrographical department is constantly at work. On the west side of the great square of Somerset House are the Victualling, Navy-Pay, and Transport branches of the Navy Office. The west terrace of the same structure contains the official houses of the Treasurer and the Comptroller of the Navy, of three Commissioners of the Navy Board, and the principal officers of the Victualling Department. Other branches of the management of the navy must be sought at Sheerness, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and even in the colonial dockyards. Greenwich, with its Upper and Lower Schools, and its Hospital, is a

part of the great system, the training-place of the sailor-boy, and the refuge of the worn-out veteran. And, wide though the space be which this administration of the navy fills, a communication of inconceivable rapidity and regularity is kept up by the cabs and busses of the metropolis, the telegraphs of the Admiralty, the railroads on shore, and the steamers at sea. Where is the "Ministry of Marine?" a native of the trim governments of the continent, where all departments of state are organised after the newest drill fashion, asks when he first comes to England. It is everywhere in the British dominions. This is the characteristic of British government, that a few heads, by enlisting, when occasion calls, the energies of private individuals and associations, make the nation govern itself. The Steam Navigation Company, or even the Metropolitan Parcels Delivery Company, act occasionally as Admiralty messengers, and do their duty as effectively as if they were liveried retainers constantly in waiting, and devoid of other occupation. By such simple means is it that in the control of a fleet which girdles the globe with a navy of stations, the obstacles of time and space are well nigh set at nought.

But the mechanism of our navy and the great secret of its power will be imperfectly comprehended unless we turn our attention to the inmates of a not inelegant structure in the handsome Trinity Square on Tower Hill.

The Trinity House has already been more than once mentioned in the course of these remarks. The architectural pretensions of the building are far superior to those of the Admiralty; and the corporation which transacts its business there is the right arm of the British minister of marine.

Henry VIII., it is said, established the Trinity House about the same time that he constituted the Admiralty and the Navy Office. It is not easy to say how the truth stands, for the records of the Trinity House were destroyed by fire early in the eighteenth century. But some expressions in the earliest charters of the corporation that have been preserved, and the general analogy of the history of English corporations, lead us to believe that Henry merely gave a new charter, and intrusted the discharge of important duties to a guild or incorporation of seamen which had existed long before. When there was no permanent royal navy, and even after one had been created, so long as vessels continued to be pressed in war time as well as men, the king of England had to repose much more confidence in the wealthier masters of the merchant-service than now. They were at sea what his feudal chiefs were on shore. Their guild or brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Deptford Strand were probably tolerated at first in the assumption of a power to regulate the entry and training of apprentices, the licensing of journeymen, and the promotion to the rank of master in their craft, in the same way as learned and mechanical corporations did on shore. To a body which counted among its members the best mariners of Britain came not unnaturally to be intrusted the ballastage and pilotage of the river. By degrees its jurisdiction came to be extended to such other English ports as had not, like the Cinque Ports, privileges and charters of their own: and in course of time the jurisdiction of the Trinity House became permanent in these matters, with the exception of the harbours we have named, over the whole coast of England, from a little way north of Yarmouth on the east to the frontiers of

Scotland on the west. Elizabeth, always ready to avail herself of the costless services of her citizens, confided to this corporation the charge of English sea-marks. When lighthouses were introduced, the judges pronounced them comprehended in the terms of Elizabeth's charter, although a right of chartering private lighthouses was reserved to the Crown. When the navigation laws were introduced by Cromwell and re-enacted by the government of the Restoration, the Trinity House presented itself as an already organised machinery for enforcing the regulations respecting the number of aliens admissible as mariners on board a British vessel. James II., when he ascended the throne, was well aware of the use that could be made of the Trinity House, and he gave it a new charter, and the constitution it still retains, nominating as the first master of the reconstructed corporation his invaluable Pepys.

The Corporation of the Trinity House consists of Younger and Elder Brethren. The number of Younger Brethren is unlimited: they are commanders in the merchant-service who have never served under a foreign flag; they are admitted on the nomination of the Elder Brethren, after taking the oaths prescribed by the charter. The Elder Brethren are thirty-one in number: eleven are considered noble, or in the honorary line of the brotherhood; and twenty are taken from the merchant sea-service. Vacancies at the board of Elder Brethren are filled up by their electing (by ballot) a successor; if to an honorary member from any admirals of the navy, ministers of state, and other persons of distinction; if to one of the merchant-line from among the Younger Brethren. The business of the board is in reality managed by the twenty members from the merchant-service, the honoraries rarely, if ever, interfering. The board consists of a master, four wardens, eight assistants, and eighteen Elder Brethren, simply so called. The business of the board is transacted by committees, six in number; the first and principal is called the Committee of Wardens: it consists of the Depute Master and the four wardens; it exercises a general control and takes charge more especially of the treasury and accounts. The second committee, consisting also of four members, is for the examination of masters in the navy and pilots. To ensure the competency of these examinations, the Elder Brethren are never appointed upon this committee until they have been in the corporation some time, in order that the experience they gain by being employed on surveys of the coast may qualify them for the task. The third committee, consisting of two members, is for the supervision of ballastage in the river Thames; the fourth is the committee of lighthouses; the fifth for the collection of dues; and the sixth for attending to the pensioners and inmates of the noble almshouses belonging to the corporation.

This brief recapitulation of the constitution and functions of the corporation will suffice to show that it is an institution by means of which the energies of the independent seamen which proved so available in the reign of Elizabeth have been retained in the service of the state down to the present moment. The lighting, beaconing, and buoying of the coasts, the examination and licensing of pilots, and we trust ere long to add the examination and licensing of masters and mates of merchant-vessels, are branches of maritime police, functions of the general government. By devolving them upon the incorporated

merchant-service it is not merely a trifling economy that is attained; it keeps alive in the merchant-service a consciousness of its own importance that is favourable to the general character. If the navy captain look forward to be an admiral, the merchant captain can look forward to become an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, intrusted with the supervision and control of the lightage and pilotage of a great part of the kingdom, rendering himself of importance to the public by his care for the safety of navigation and navigators. At no time has the merchant-service shown itself unsusceptible of the due sense of its responsibility. Officers who have risen high in the royal service have begun their career before the mast, not only in merchantmen of the long voyage, but in coasters. Cook was apprentice in a collier. At the time of the mutiny at the Nore, the presence of mind of an Elder Brother who proposed and executed the removing of the buoys, which marked the seaward channel, paralyzed the motions of the mutineers. When invasion from France was apprehended, the task of preparing defences, at the mouth of the river, was intrusted to the Board of the Trinity House, and skilfully executed. The merchant-service has kept pace with the awakening spirit of the age, as well as the navy. The Lower School at Greenwich supplies the merchant-service, as well as the Royal navy, with able, educated seamen. The East India trade has formed a valuable branch of the merchant-service. Many extensive ship-owners manifest a most laudable anxiety to promote the education, both professional and moral, of their apprentices, and to advance the young men from rank to rank as they prove themselves worthy. Many have done well in this respect, but none have evinced more persevering interest in their *élèves*, more judicious and paternal care for them, than the Gladstones of Liverpool. To show the high character attained by our mercantile marine under these auspices, it is only necessary to name the Scoresbys, the Enderbys, the Warhams, the Becrofts, and Lairds, who have competed for the palm with the Royal navy in urging onward the progress of discovery.

To a superficial observer the maritime administration of England appears a chaos—much that is of vital consequence seems to be neglected. But observations, such as have now been provoked by our visit to the Admiralty and Trinity House, show that this is a misconception. The secret of the efficiency of our marine is that it governs itself, and that all classes belonging to it can, in some way or other, attain to a voice in its management. The bureaux of the Admiralty contain many practical and experienced seamen; and it is well known that in a government like ours, in which party leaders chase each other in and out of office, the permanent secretaries in the offices are, in nine cases out of ten, the real ministers. The active members of the Trinity Board are recruited from the ranks of the merchant service. The Trinity House consults the Admiralty in cases of difficulty; the Admiralty intrusts to the Trinity Board important practical duties. The Hydrographer's Office—the statistical department of the Admiralty—forms a connecting link between the two Boards. These practically trained officials are watched and checked by unofficial pupils of the same school —members of the Royal navy, or wealthy ship-owners—whose ambition has carried them into parliament. The maritime administration and legislation of Great Britain, like all other parts of the British constitution, has rather grown than

been made what it is, and it has sprung up stately and athletic. As the nation grows, so must it be extended; as the nation improves, so must the details of its organisation be amended. But the grand outline must be adhered to, for it is the form that nature has given to us, and to tamper with, or mutilate it, is death.

Here we close our retrospect; but standing in the new Trinity House when we break off, as we stood in the Admiralty when we began, our eyes resting on the old banners, and plans of almost forgotten fights, evolutions, and the gilded names of benefactors of the corporation, our mind wanders back to the habitations of the naval rulers of England in ancient days. They have vanished: the Navy Office, in Crutched Friars, will be sought in vain. The scene of the memorable siege of poor, precise, garrulous Mr. Pepys by a bum-bailiff is no more. It was a memorable siege that; far transcending in interest even that which my uncle Toby, with the aid of the jackboots cut up into cannons by Trim, carried on in his garden. Valiantly were the outworks defended by the servitors of the Admiralty; ruthlessly persevering was the blockade into which the bum converted his repulsed assault; and then, when Pepys is stolen out at the back windows, one feels as if one would have felt if in the tale of Troy divine Eneas had carried off Helen and the Palladium before the death of Hector, and the Greeks, learning that what they sought was no longer there, had quietly beaten a retreat.

The Old Trinity House, in Water Lane, is not even that in which Pepys laboured: it was rebuilt in 1718, after a fire which destroyed many important records. Yet is there something in the old Trinity House of the engraving which forms our tail-piece that might almost persuade us it was the veritable scene of Pepys' daily in-goings and out-comings. Between his time and the reign of the first George the architecture of London had undergone little change. And standing here in the clean, narrow, paved court, with tall brick tenements ornamented by protruding architraves of stone over door and window, and the little scroll-shaped tablets containing the narrative of the destruction of the building by fire, and its re-edification, we feel that the hero of the rent camlet cloak, which, "though it was a trifle, yet it did vex him," would not be here out of place. It is strange how this intellectual and moral pigmy has so indissolubly associated himself in our imagination with the mighty navy of Great Britain. It is as if, in inventing a naval mythology for our country, we were to shape the presiding genius after the model of some Nipcheese the purser. Yet the little man, though garrulous and vain, was of real service to the navy. He had a turn for accurate book-keeping, a love of justice, a power of estimating that greatness in others he so entirely wanted in himself, and it became with him a passion to see that justice was done to the navy. In good times and in bad times he adhered to his purpose—when it was fashionable at court to be honest (that was at very brief intervals), and when it was unfashionable. He was a good old woman, ever watchful for the interests of this brawny son of his adoption, and succeeding in being useful to him. It is the old story of the dwarf befriending the giant—of the mouse setting free the lion—of Wamba, the son of Witless, bringing rescue to Cœur-de-Lion. If this had been a Popish country, it would

have been the duty of the mariners of the royal navy to burn wax tapers before the effigies of St. Pepys.

In this want of antiquity the residences of the managers of our mercantile and our military navy resemble everything around them. London was a city in the time of Tacitus; yet the edifices of London are, with few exceptions, essentially modern. This is typical of our civil and social organisation, in which everything is the creation of the day, and yet retains the impress of an old antiquity. We are an ancient people, but we are the flesh and blood sons of our ancestors, not animated mummies, presenting caricatures of their lineaments.

[Old Trinity House, from an anonymous print in the Pennant collection.

[Exterior of Dutch Church, Austin Friars.]

CXI.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. I.—Before the Fire.

In the church of St. Peter, Cornhill, there has been from time immemorial a tablet bearing a very remarkable inscription, and which, if trustworthy in the chief matter to which it refers, not only points out to us the locality of the oldest of metropolitan Christian churches, but the very first edifice of the kind raised in Great Britain. The tablet was "fast chained" in the church in Stow's time, and although written by what authority he knew not, was certainly *then* "of no late hand." Thus runs it: "Be it known unto all men that the year of our Lord God C.lxxix. Lucius, the first Christian king of this land, then called Britain, founded the first church in London, that is to say, the church of St. Peter, upon Cornhill; and he founded there an archbishop's see, and made that church the metropolitan and chief church of this kingdom; and so [it] endured the space of CCCC. years, unto the coming of St. Austin [Augustine], the Apostle of England, the which was sent into this land by St. Gregory, the Doctor of the

church in the time of King Ethelbert. And then was the archbishop's see and pall removed from the aforesaid church of St. Peter, upon Cornhill, unto 'Derebernaum,' that now is called Canterbury, and there remaineth to this day. And Millet [Mellitus], monk, the which came into the land with St. Austin, was made the first bishop of London, and his see was made in Paul's church." The tablet then goes on to inform us how many years after Brute Lucius reigned, M.C.C.xlv. (the precision of these old chroniclers is admirable), how long his reign lasted—no less than seventy-seven years; and that he was, according to one chronicle, buried in London, whilst another set him down at Gloucester, "in that place where the order of St. Francis standeth now." But this is by no means the entire extent of our information as to these very ambitious claims of St. Peter's, Cornhill. Stow also gives us, on the authority of 'Joceline of Furneis,' the names of both the first and second archbishops, Thean and Elvanus, as well as of their fourteen successors; and informs us that whilst the first, aided by King Lucius's butler, Ciran, erected the church, the second added a library, and "converted many of the Druids, learned men in the Pagan law, to Christianity." He adds, evidently with a lingering belief in the story, "True it is, that a library there was pertaining to the parish church of old time builded of stone."* It also appears a school was held there from some very early, but unknown, period. Altogether, the story forms so delightful a piece of antiquarian gossip, that we wish it was in our power to assert its undeniable truth.

Turning to a more general view of our subject, and to matter of a less romantic, but more trustworthy nature, it may be observed that the first (in time) of our metropolitan topographers, Fitz-Stephen, amongst his notices of the temperateness of the air and the strength of the place, the honour of its citizens, and the chastity of its matrons, its schools, its customs, and its sports, does not, of course, exclude a view of the provision of the religious demands of his favourite city; and brief and unadorned as is the single sentence with which he dismisses the subject, the facts he gives us derive considerable interest as well as value from the antiquity of the period referred to. It is something to be able to lift off the dark mist that hangs over the London of the middle ages, even though it be but to learn that "there are in London and in the suburbs 13 churches belonging to convents, besides 126 lesser parish churches." And a very striking illustration the statement forms of the wealth and zeal of the inhabitants of London, as well as of their great numbers during the period in question, and makes it probable that there is no error, after all, as to the 20,000 armed men who, according to the same writer (himself probably an eye-witness), went out to a muster in the neighbourhood "in the fatal wars under King Stephen." Nay, it should seem, if we may judge of the increase of the population by the increase of churches, that that population had been stationary for some centuries after Fitz-Stephen's time, for when Stow wrote, the entire number of churches in and about London within four miles' compass was but 139: the exact number mentioned by Fitz-Stephen, if we add the conventual to the parish churches, as Stow does in his list with regard to all that were still preserved. And thus, no doubt, they remained down to 1666, when the great fire destroyed at once 89 of their

* Stow, ed. 1633, p. 211.

number, many of them never again to rise from their ruins. Fitz-Stephen gives us no enumeration of the buildings he mentions, but this is of little importance, for Stow does; and it is tolerably clear that the buildings he refers to are almost identical with the buildings mentioned by Fitz-Stephen. So that however much older than the twelfth century may have been the churches of London generally that existed before the fire, it is evident that their foundation must be referred to at least that early period. Eleven of the thirteen "belonging to convents" may be traced with precision. We find on examination that there were in existence in Fitz-Stephen's time, Trinity Priory, Aldgate, founded in 1108 by good Queen Maud, wife of Henry I., for Regular Canons of the rule of St. Augustine, by whose influence "was the number of those that praised God day and night so much increased, that the whole city was much delighted with the sight of it;"* St. Bartholomew's, already fully treated of in our pages; Bermondsey, the same; St. James Priory, Clerkenwell, founded for Black nuns about 1100, near the famous well from which it derived its name; the Priory of St. John the Baptist, near another well of still higher repute—Holywell, Shoreditch; St. Katharine's Hospital, founded by Matilda, Stephen's queen, of which the building in Regent's Park is the legitimate descendant; St. Thomas Acon, founded in honour of Fitz-Stephen's master, Beckett, by the ambitious churchman's sister and her husband, within a few years after his murder, and on the site of their father's house, in which Beckett himself was born; St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, the house of the Hospitallers; and the Temple, the house of their rivals; St. Mary Overies, noticed in our first volume; and, lastly, St. Martin's-le-Grand, which, both from its antiquity and its magnificence, was appropriately named: it was founded in 700, by a king of Kent, Wythred; rebuilt, and a great increase made to its endowments, about 1056, by two noble Saxon brothers; confirmed in all its rights, privileges, and possessions by the Conqueror, who made it not merely independent of his own or the kingly jurisdiction, but of the Papal also, and which, among its other noticeable features, included within its precincts a sanctuary, that seems to have been the Alsatia of an earlier day. For a certain class of persons, those who had occasion to pass to and fro between Newgate and Guildhall on business of a more indispensable than agreeable nature, this sanctuary was most conveniently situated, and the advantages it offered were fully appreciated. Thus, in 1439, when a soldier for some crime was pursuing the route mentioned, five men rushing out suddenly from Panyer Alley rescued him, and the whole fled into St. Martin's. The Sheriffs in their irritation were incautious enough to follow them into the church, seize them, and send them to Newgate; but the authorities soon compelled them to replace the offenders in the sacred building.

If the great fire of London was calculated to beget in the minds of contemporaries the deepest awe and astonishment at the amount of the mischief consummated within so small a space, those feelings were not likely to be lessened by the peculiar severity of the visitation as it regarded the churches of London. In the following list is shown in alphabetical order the churches as they stood in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the central portion of London must

* Stow, p. 951.

have appeared one forest of steeples.* If the reader, after glancing over this list, will then mark how many of them have an asterisk prefixed, he will see those which remained: surely no other single feature of the conflagration furnishes us with so startling a notion of its effects as this:—

CHURCHES OF LONDON AND THE SUBURBS BEFORE THE FIRE.

Albans, Wood Street, *W.*
*Allhallows, Barking
Allhallows, Bread St. *W.*
Allhallows the Great, *W.*
Allhallows, Honey Lane
Allhallows the Less
Allhallows, Lombard Street, *W.*
*Allhallows, Staining
*Allhallows, London Wall
*Alphage
*Andrew, Holborn, *W.*
Andrew Hubbard
*Andrew Undershaft
Andrew, Wardrobe, *W.*
Anne, Aldersgate, *W.*
Anne, Blackfriars
Antholin, *W.*
Augustine, *W.*
*Bartholomew the Great
*Bartholomew the Less
Bartholomew, Exchange, *W.*
*Battersea
Bennet Fink, *W.*
Bennet, Gracechurch Street, *W.*
Bennet, Paul's Wharf, *W.*
Bennet Sherehog
*Botolph, Aldersgate
*Botolph, Aldgate
Botolph, Billingsgate
*Botolph, Bishopsgate
Bride, Fleet Street, *W.*
*Bridewell Precinct
*Chelsea
Christ Church, *W.*
Christopher, *W.*
*Clement Danes, *W.*
Clement, East Cheap *W.*
*Deptford
Dionis, Back Church, *W.*
Dunstan, East, *W.*
*Dunstan, West
Edmund, Lombard Street, *W.*
*Ethelburgh
Faith
*Fulham
Gabriel, Fenchurch
George, Southwark
George, Botolph Lane, *W.*
*Giles, Cripplegate
Giles in the Fields
*Greenwich
Gregory, by St. Paul
Hackney
*Helen, Bishopsgate
*Islington
*James, Clerkenwell
*James, Duke's Place
James, Garlick Hill, *W.*
John, Baptist
John, Evangelist
John, Zachary
*Katherine Coleman
*Katherine Cree
*Katherine, Tower
*Kensington
*Lambeth
Lawrence, Jewry, *W.*
Lawrence, Poultry
Leonard, East Cheap
Leonard, Foster Lane
*Leonard, Shoreditch
Magnus, *W.*
Margaret, Lothbury, *W.*
Margaret Moses
Margaret, New Fish St.
Margaret Pattens, *W.*
*Martin in the Fields
Martin, Ironmonger Lane
Martin, Ludgate, *W.*
Martin, Orgar
*Martin, Outwich
Martin, Vintry
Mary, Abchurch, *W.*
Mary, Aldermanbury, *W.*
Mary, Aldermary, *W.*
Mary le Bow, *W.*
Mary Bothaw
Mary Colechurch
*Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey
Mary Magdalen, Milk Street
Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, *W.*
Mary at Hill, *W.*
Mary Mounthaw
Mary, Somerset, *W.*
Mary Staining
*Mary, Whitechapel
Mary Woolchurch
Mary Woolnoth, *W.*
Matthew, Friday St., *W.*
Michael, Basinghall Street, *W.*
Michael, Cornhill, *W.*
Michael, Crooked Lane, *W.*
Michael, Queenhithe, *W.*
Michael Querne
Michael Royal, *W.*
Michael, Wood Street, *W.*
Mildred, Bread Street, *W.*
Mildred, Poultry, *W.*
*Newington
Nicholas Acon
Nicholas, Cole-Abbey, *W.*
Nicholas, Olave
*Olave, Hart Street
Olave, Jewry, *W.*
Olave, Silver Street
*Olave, Southwark
Pancras, Soper Lane
Peter, Cheap
Peter, Cornhill, *W.*
Peter, Paul's Wharf
*Peter Le Poor
*Putney
*Rotherhithe
*Saviour, Southwark
*Savoy
Sepulchre, *W.*
Stephen, Coleman St. *W.*
Stephen, Walbrook, *W.*
*Stepney
*Stratford Bow & Bromley
Swithin, *W.*
Thomas Apostle
*Thomas, Southwark
Trinity Church
*Trinity, Minories
Vedast, Foster Lane, *W.*
*Wandsworth
*Westminster, St. Margaret
*Westminster, St. Peter.

The *W* affixed to many of the above names show the churches rebuilt by Wren; consequently those without either that mark or the asterisk are the buildings that have been entirely lost to us. Among all these it would have been difficult to have found one uninteresting structure, whilst many of them were, no doubt, exquisite specimens of their respective architectural styles, and they all belonged to one long period in the history of Christian architecture, when none but beautiful buildings were erected, and the only differences were as to their relative degrees of beauty. In their origin, names, customs—in the monuments and inscriptions they contained—in their wealth and decorative splendour, one might find materials for a pleasant and instructive volume; thus, to refer to the first point only—the name:—there is, to explain how St. Martin, Ironmonger's Lane, came to be called also Pomary, "supposed to be of apples growing where now houses are lately builded;"† St. Mary Woolchurch, from the beam placed in the churchyard for the weighing of wool; St. Michael at the Quern, corruptly

* For a picturesque general view of these buildings in old times, see 'Something about London Churches at the Close of the Fourteenth Century,' in vol. iv. p. 209, No. LXXXIX.

† Stow

from Corne, on account of the neighbouring ancient corn-market by Paternoster Row; Fen Church, from the fenny or moorish ground on which it was built, through which ran the once sweet and beautiful waters of Langbourn; St. Bennet Sherehog—a ludicrous popular misunderstanding of the right appellation: "St. Syth," writes Stow, "hath also an addition of Bennet Shorne or Shrog, or Shorehog (for by all these names have I read it), but the ancientest is Shorne: whereof it seemeth to take that name of one Benedict Shorne, some time a citizen and stock-fishmonger of London, a new builder, repairer, or benefactor thereof"* in the time of Edward II.: and so on. Many of them, again, were very rich in memorials of the dead, from the most magnificent structures that art and munificence could raise to their memory, down to the single stone with its "Pray for the soul of ——;" from the gloomy, and pathetic, and elaborate, and, we must add, frequently fearfully long-winded, inscriptions, down to the humorous or fanciful, or simply gay and cheerful; in some cases so full of the exhibition of animal spirits, that one would almost suppose the writer—not to say it irreverently—thought death only a capital joke. Here is one, the jingle of which we cannot get rid of, inscribed in St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, a church built by one of the deans of St. Martin's-le-Grand, about 1236, for the use of the inhabitants of the sanctuary:—

"When the bells be merrily rung
And the mass devoutly sung
And the meate merrily eaten,
Then shall Robert Traps—his wife—and children be forgotten."

Passing, as our space compels us to do, with this brief mention, the extinct churches, and reserving those rebuilt by Wren for our next paper, let us now once more glance over the list on the preceding page. Of those marked with the asterisk, we need not concern ourselves with the more distant, as Greenwich on one side or Kensington on another; but as to the remainder, an interesting question suggests itself—are any of those which fortunately escaped the fire, or were altogether beyond its range, still preserved to us in their architectural integrity? in other words, do any of the churches of London before the fire still exist essentially as they were? It is pleasant to find that, though few in number, there are such existing; churches that not only have been spared the fire, but the worse fate of architectural degradation that has befallen those which have grown too old for any merely-repairing processes. The church of Allhallows, Barking, where the headless bodies of the poet Surrey, Bishops Fisher (More's friend) and Laud, were deposited after their respective executions on the neighbouring Hill, is still preserved to us; so is Allhallows, Staining, where Elizabeth, on leaving the Tower, by Mary's permission, for a less severe imprisonment in Woodstock, full of thankfulness, hastened to offer up her grateful acknowledgments to God; St. Andrew, Undershaft, that altar, as it might almost be called, for the worship of the old "Spring-time in London," and where rest the honoured ashes of him whose heart was as open to all the freshness and loveliness of the present, as his mind was earnest and sagacious in inquiring into the past—(a church we could as ill have spared for Stow's sake as for its own); St. Katherine Cree, where Laud displayed those superstitious tendencies which sub-

* Stow, p. 276.

sequently formed one of the chief charges against him; the curious little church of St. Ethelburgh, in Bishopsgate Street, so diminutive that the pettiest houses and shops seem, in very contempt of its insignificance, to have half smothered it up, pressing it on each side, and creeping across its front till the door below and the tip of its fine window above, with the surmounting turret, are all that can be seen; St. Helen's, close by, in every way the most perfect and interesting of the whole; St. Giles's, Cripplegate, rich in many recollections, were they not almost rendered as nothing in contrast with the one—Milton's burial within its walls; St. Olave, Hart Street, with its elegant architecture, and remains of antique decoration on the roof of its aisles; Lambeth; St. Margaret's, Westminster; and, still more distant, Chelsea, where Sir Thomas More, when Chancellor, sang with the boys in the choir, and now lies in that last sleep which, with such a spirit, could not but be sweet; Fulham, Putney, &c. If to these are added the structures already described in our pages as St. Mary Overies (or St. Saviour's), Bartholomew the Great (the Less also has remains of the ancient structure), Ely Place, and the Savoy—the reader will have a tolerably complete general view of the old churches that remain. The Dutch church, Austin Friars, may here also be mentioned. This priory was founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex; the date is shown on the exterior, 1253. Strikingly handsome as this building still is, with its long range of pointed windows of great size on each side, its magnificent western front, and its elegantly-clustered columns in the interior, both exterior and interior give but a partial view of the original splendour of this house of the bare-footed friars; the one wanting its spire, which formed the "beautifullest and rarest spectacle" in London, and the other the sumptuous and all but innumerable monuments which formerly adorned it: whilst the whole forms but the nave of the perfect structure. For all these deficiencies we have to thank my lord Marquis of Winchester, into the hands of whose family the place fell after the dissolution: the mayor and many other influential persons bestirred themselves greatly, in 1600, to induce his lordship to assist in the repair of the steeple, then in a dangerous state, for which they asked only 50*l.* or 60*l.* from him; his answer was—first, a refusal, and then the pulling down of the steeple and choir, with the sale, for 100*l.*, of all the rich tombs. We may judge of the character of those memorials from the individuals to whom they related. There were buried in this church—Edmond, half-brother to Richard II.; the founder, Humphrey Bohun; Richard, the great Earl of Arundel, Surrey and Warren, beheaded 1397; Vere, Earl of Oxford, beheaded 1463; the lords barons slain at Barnet, in 1471, who were interred together in the body of the church; "poor Edward Bohun," Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521; with several other noblemen, many knights and ladies, and a countless number of less distinguishable persons.

Of the churches enumerated in the preceding paragraph, it will be necessary to notice in detail only the more important. The name of Barking church, Allhallows, was evidently a great favourite with our ancestors; our list exhibiting no less than eight metropolitan buildings similarly dedicated; a circumstance no doubt to be attributed to the great popularity of the holiday of All-hallowmas, which having, it is supposed, its origin in pagan times, seems to have been first incorporated into the Christian system by Pope Boniface IV. in

the seventh century. The Pope's object in so doing is stated in a passage from an old manuscript transcribed by Strutt, in his 'Horda Angel Cynnan,' to be the correction of "our omissions for many a Saint's day in the year we have unserved, for there be so many that we may not serve them all;" but Mr. Forster, in his 'Perennial Calendar,' says that "the Church, in this great festival, honours all the Saints rising together in glory:" so when a new church was to be dedicated in the earlier ages of Christianity, and the perfections of the different apostles, saints, and martyrs were canvassed, whenever there was much difficulty of choice, we may easily imagine how *All* Saints would carry the day. What better watchers and warders, too, either for the living or the dead, could be desired? Some such feeling possibly it was that led Richard I. to found a "fair chapel" here, on the north side, apparently with the intention of being buried in it; and it is said that his heart was actually interred in the church under the high altar. Legend connects another monarch with Allhallows, Barking, in an interesting point of view. Edward I., when Prince of Wales, is said to have been admonished in a vision to erect an image to the Virgin, and told at the same time, that if he visited the said image five times a year, he should be victorious over all nations, and more particularly over those which he most yearned to conquer, Scotland and Wales. He did erect one accordingly, as well as further augment the revenues and establishment of the chapel; and the image became so famous, that pilgrimages were regularly performed to it, down even to the period of the suppression: forty days' indulgence was the reward for all such pilgrimages. The chapel continuing still an object of royal solicitude, we find Edward IV. calling it "the King's," and empowering his brother John, Earl of Worcester, to found a brotherhood in it; whilst Richard III. rebuilt it, and founded a regular college of priests there. All these notices indicate great antiquity, as well as great interest in the structure in early times; and the sight of the interior confirms, in some degree, all that the enthusiastic antiquary might be apt to imagine from them. The church generally is of the Gothic style prevalent in the Tudor era, but there are certain pillars on each side of the nave, toward the western extremity, that at once attract the eye by their dissimilarity to the remainder: these are low, massive, round—in a word, Norman. The antique inscriptions, monuments, and brasses too, all about us, point far backwards over the stream of time. If from among the latter, where all are so interesting, we select one for mention, the best perhaps is the brass plate of John Rulche, 1459, who appears in a close-fitting gown, with long hair, hands clasped upon his breast, a pouch at his girdle, and a rosary on his arm. We have already mentioned that the Earl of Surrey, and the Bishops Fisher and Laud, were interred here after their executions, but it was only for a limited period in each case. Surrey's remains were removed in 1614 to Framlingham; Fisher's, first buried in the churchyard here, were taken to the chapel in the Tower, and placed by the side of his murdered friend the great Chancellor More; and Laud's, whose temporary resting-place was the chancel, were afterwards taken down to St. John's College, Oxford. A terrible and, in one respect, curious accident injured the church in 1649—the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder, which at the same time destroyed fifty or sixty of the neighbouring houses with their inhabitants: one of these was an alehouse full of people at the time. The first

person who ascended the steeple afterwards was not a little surprised at what he saw there—a female infant in a cradle, unhurt. The parents could not be traced, and in consequence some good Samaritan stepped forward and brought her up as his own. To the repair of the injuries done on this occasion was added the erection of a new and ugly *brick* steeple.

That the majority of the earliest churches built in London were of wood seems sufficiently probable, if we consider merely the length of time that structures of greater pretension must have required for their erection, and how unwilling the enthusiastic builders must frequently have been to wait any longer than was absolutely necessary for a temple in which to worship; and the name of Allhallows *Staining* points no doubt to some such state of things. Stane is the Saxon word for stone, and was most probably applied to this church to distinguish it from the others of the same name of wood; and if the view be a correct one, the choice of the word shows how uncommon was the use of the more durable material at the time. Looking at the modern front of this church in Mark Lane, a model of plain deformity, one would never suspect there was aught behind it worth a single glance; but if we step through the little court close by, the eye at once rests upon a tower of unmistakeable antiquity. Sad reverses that tower has known! The body to which it belonged fell in 1671, and was replaced by the structure, of which the front already mentioned is a worthy representative; and, as if that was not enough degradation for a venerable steeple which could possibly date its birth from the days of the third Henry, they have actually thrust one of those abominable round-headed windows into its walls. But it has had its consolations too. If tradition speak truly, it was the merry peal of its bells pouring forth their congratulations to the parish on the release of Elizabeth from the Tower, that attracted the Princess herself hither, as the most agreeable place in which to perform her devotions. Whether it was that the parish had not previously coquetted much with princesses, or that Elizabeth had in truth won their entire hearts and souls, who shall say? but certain it is that in 'The King's Head' tavern adjoining, certain dishes of pork and peas appear once a-year in commemoration of the visit, Elizabeth having regaled herself on the occasion with such delicacies from this very house: witness those dark-looking vessels that hang up over the fire-place in the coffee-room, the dish and cover used by her, with an inscription between, detailing the circumstances, from Hughson's 'London,' and a print above of the Princess from a painting by Holbein, where the future Virgin-Queen appears in all the pride of high shoes, square waist, and out-swelling petticoats. But apart from personal considerations, Elizabeth could hardly have come to a more beautiful or more interesting, or, therefore, a more suitable place. The entries of the churchwardens in their parish books, dry and succinct as they are, conjure up many a vision of surpassing ecclesiastical splendour which we should else little dream of attributing to the apparently insignificant-looking church of Allhallows Staining—this thing of yesterday, as its aspect seems to speak it. We read of a high altar dedicated to Allhallows, with "carved tabernacle" work, and drapery of red Bruges satin, bearing a representation of the Ascension; of a silver gilt cross on the high-altar, with small statues at its base of the Virgin Mary and St. John; and another (very large probably) of wood, plated with silver and gilt, having silver figures of our Saviour, the Virgin, and

St. John, the five wounds of the first marked by as many precious stones (rubies perhaps), and having at its base a piece of inserted crystal covering, but not concealing, the word JESUS. We read of three other altars similarly decorated; of a statue of St. Katherine, with a lamp constantly burning before it; of a rood-loft, with a great crucifix, and twenty-two tapers of extraordinary size burning about it. Then, to people the scene, come the priests in their robes of red damask with leaves of gold, red velvet embroidered with golden roses, white, green, and crimson satin, with their cross-banners lifted high, their streamers, their incense, their choral songs; and lastly, shutting in the whole picture, the kneeling, devout, adoring crowds of worshippers. Then the festivals: where, it may be asked with allowable parochial pride, were these observed with greater regularity and zeal than at Allhallows Staining, though its reputation in this matter be now dwindled away into a line in the register? The simplest statement of some facts, however, produces eloquence; and so it is with this passage, reviving all the jovial hilarity of the ecclesiastical Saturnalia, the rule of the boy-bishop: "Paid unto Goodman Chese, broiderer, for making a new mitre for the bishop ayenst St. Nicholas' night, 2*s.* 8*d.*;" and this, referring to another and scarcely less popular festival, "Paid for the hiring of a pair of wings and a crest for an angel on Palm Sunday, 8*d.*," when the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem was dramatised, though by no irreverent artist, nor before an irreverent auditory; and when Allhallows, like many other churches, would present some such spectacle as that here shown. The parish books so frequently referred to show two noticeable

[Procession of the Wooden Ass on Palm Sunday.]

signatures—Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, in connexion with his own marriage; and Ireton's, as the alderman and justice of the peace, who married certain parties in pursuance of the Marriage Act of the time, which made the ceremony a civil, instead of a religious contract, as before, and which, subsequently annulled, has been again and in all probability permanently revived of late years.

The objects of our inquiry now grow thick around us: here we see the low but elegant Gothic exterior of St. Olave's, in Hart Street, there the more imposing range of pointed windows belonging to St. Katherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street, and scarcely a stone's-throw distant, the modern and beautiful tower of St. Andrew Undershaft, looking so light and so lofty that one could almost fancy the architect had the idea of the famous May-pole floating in his mind as he designed it. The interior of St. Andrew's forms a very interesting specimen of the Tudor architecture of the fifteenth century; and is rich in large fresco paintings of the Apostles, in its stained glass, with portraits of Edward VI. and succeeding monarchs down to Charles II., in its monuments, its noble organ, and its painted and gilded roof. But one thinks little of these things on the spot, for there in the north-east corner is Stow's monument. Poor Stow! the fate that followed him in life deserted not his remains in death; the story of the removal of his bones from his own monument to make room for some wealthier new-comer, forms the appropriate pendant to that of his begging his bread in his eightieth year,—is equally disgraceful and equally true: it occurred, states Maitland, in 1732. The history of St. Katherine Cree's—the latter word being a corruption for Christ's—church, like many others of the metropolis, impresses upon the mind the dateless antiquity of its foundation; the original edifice was pulled down about 1107, with three other churches, to make way for the great convent of Trinity, and the church of the latter, under the appellation of Christ's, having been made parochial, was devoted to the use of the four united parishes. The body of this church having become, it is said, old and crazy, was pulled down and rebuilt in 1628; if so, there must have been a very praiseworthy determination on the part of the architect to follow in some degree the style of the preceding building or of some of the neighbouring churches; but it was probably only an extensive repair of the exterior that took place at the times mentioned, for the interior exhibits proofs that there was no such self-denial in the artist's thoughts: here Gothic and Corinthian jostle in strange, but certainly picturesque confusion. It is said that Inigo Jones was the author of the repair or rebuilding in 1628. We hope he is not answerable for walling up the magnificent western window, the tracery of which is just visible at the top. That it was magnificent any one may easily assure himself by stepping up the narrow alley in Leadenhall Street, at the eastern extremity of the building, and gazing, as well as the place will permit, upon the correspondent work that there lies before him. Within, among other noticeable dead, we are reminded of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the gallant spirit who so baffled the hunters in Guildhall, by the sight of his canopied effigy, and we remember without such aid that in all probability somewhere beneath our feet, or in the adjoining churchyard, lies all that remains of Hans Holbein. In the beautiful monument to Samuel Thorpe, 1791, by Bacon, St. Katherine Cree possesses another claim to the attention of the lovers of art. It was after the repair or rebuilding of 1628, that the consecration took place by Laud, who having

caused all necessary preparations to be made for the extraordinary scene he meditated, appeared before the church on the 16th of January, 1630-1. At his approach persons stationed near the door called out in a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in." The archbishop then entered, and, falling upon his knees in the church and extending his arms, exclaimed "This place is holy, the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Rising, he went towards the Chancel, throwing dust from the floor into the air on his way, bowed, went in procession round the church, repeated two psalms and a prayer. He then cursed all who should profane the place, bowing at the close of every sentence, and blessed all who had advanced the erection. What took place after the sermon is best described in the words of Prynne, every sentence of whose pungent and humorous satire must have cut deep, and given earnest of the coming retribution for the bold Puritan's cropped ears and slit nose. He says, "When the bishop approached near the communion-table, he bowed with his nose very near the ground some six or seven times; then he came to one of the corners of the table and there bowed himself three times; then to the second, third, and fourth corners, bowing at each corner three times; but when he came to the side of the table where the bread and wine was, he bowed himself seven times; and then, after the reading of many prayers by himself and his two fat chaplains (which were with him, and all this while were upon their knees by him, in their surplices, hoods, and tippets), he himself came near the bread, which was cut and laid in a fine napkin, and then he gently lifted up one of the corners of the said napkin, and peeping into it till he saw the bread (like a boy that peeped into a bird's-nest in a bush), and presently clapped it down again and flew back a step or two, and then bowed very low three times towards it and the table. When he beheld the bread, then he came near and opened the napkin again, and bowed as before; then he laid his hand upon the gilt cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it; so soon as he had pulled the cup a little nearer to him, he let the cup go, flew back, and bowed again three times towards it; then he came near again, and, lifting up the cover of the cup, peeped into it; and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover on it again, and flew nimbly back and bowed as before. After these and many other apish, antick gestures, he himself received and then gave the sacrament to some principal men only, they devoutly kneeling near the table; after which, more prayers being said, this scene and interlude ended." When Prynne applied the epithet interlude to these ceremonies, he was no doubt aware that it derived fresh force from the associations of the place; the churchyard of St. Katherine Cree seems to have been a popular place for the exhibition of dramatic interludes properly so called. Among entries of a similar nature in the parish books we read, under the date 1565, "Received of Hugh Grymes, for licence given to certain players to play their interludes in the churchyard, from the feast of Easter, An. D'ni. 1565, until the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, next coming, every holyday, to the use of the parish, the sum of 27*s.* 8*d.*" Scaffolds, it appears, were erected all round the churchyard. Performances took place on Sundays, but in connection with this point, and the sacred character of the place, it is to be observed that the pieces performed would be of a religious

character, though with a plentiful admixture of the ordinary jests and practical fun. Of the three churches pulled down with St. Katherine's on the erection of Trinity Priory, we have probably a remnant of one of them—St. Michael's, in the beautiful crypt that still exists beneath a house near the pump at Aldgate, a most curious and interesting piece of antiquity.

Let us now turn into Bishopsgate Street, and from thence into the area at the back of Crosby Place, where a path runs between the fine young trees just putting forth their delicately green foliage, and through the centre of the bright level sward of the churchyard of St. Helen's to the church. The remarkable aspect of the exterior must strike every one. The ends of two naves or bodies of separate churches placed side by side, with a little turret at the intersection above, is the idea at once impressed. The interior shows us that this is no fanciful notion; the double church being there still more evident, although intimately connected together. An irregular, but far from unpleasing or unpicturesque effect is thus produced. One set of lofty pointed arches differs from another, ranges of windows extend along walls for a certain distance, and then unaccountably stop; the long aisle—as the northernmost of the two churches appears to be—on one side, is balanced by a chancel occupying merely the eastern extremity of the other; the two great eastern windows extending side by side from the floor to the roof are not alike, yet is neither subordinate to the other; but every individual form is beautiful, and constructed of the same elements; and it

Interior of St. Helen's.]

is surprising the harmony that may be thus produced even where the artistical laws of combination are violated. An air of indescribable antiquity, too, prevailing over and through all, tends powerfully to the same effect. In the part that now appears as an aisle, a long row of carved seats against the wall catches the eye, and the inquiry into their use explains the peculiar architectural exhibition around us. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, and discoverer, in her own belief, of the very cross on which Christ was crucified and the very sepulchre where he was entombed, and who built on the spot a church, was of course canonized, and enjoyed all the honours pertaining, all the Christian world over, to that state of beatitude. Here there was a church dedicated to her from a very remote period, of which the nave of the present building is the descendant. About 1212 William Fitzwilliam, a goldsmith, founded on the same locality a priory of Benedictine nuns, and probably built a church for them, against that of St. Helen's; when the latter came into the possession of the nuns, which it did at no very distant period, it may have been thought desirable to lengthen the nuns' church to range with that of St. Helen's (hence the blank wall in the north-east corner, on which are the Bonds' and other monuments), and to throw them open to each other, or divided at least merely by the screen between the intercolumniations, which we know to have existed here until the Reformation. The seats we have alluded to were those used by the nuns. Among the monuments of St. Helen's which most imperatively demand notice, we may first mention the oldest and most valuable—Sir John Crosby and his lady's, an exquisite specimen of the sculpture of the fifteenth century, exhibiting their effigies side by side, on a table monument; the costume is remarkable, particularly the head-dresses, and in all its details carefully defined. On one side near him, beneath an ambitious-looking Elizabethan canopy with double arches, lies Sir W. Pickering, one of the courtiers of the virgin queen, who is said to have aspired to a share of her throne, and who could plead as a justification of his hopes the possession of qualifications which make Strype call him the finest gentleman of the age in learning, arts, and warfare. Still farther, on the same side, directly before the great window of the nuns' church, and with the coloured rays from his own arms in the said window falling upon his tomb, lies Sir Thomas Gresham; that tomb, as becomes the eminent man whose remains it guards, is simplicity itself—a very large square slab, raised table high, bearing his sculptured arms, but no adornments, no inscription. Of the tablets and other memorials on the wall beyond Gresham's monument, the most remarkable are those to Sir William Bond, a distinguished merchant adventurer, who died in 1576, and his son's, Martin Bond, one of Elizabeth's captains at Tilbury. A still more interesting feature of this wall is the beautiful niche, with a row of open arches below, through which the nuns, according to Malcolm, heard mass on particular occasions (during punishment?) from the crypt below. By the way, the nuns of St. Helen's seem to have been somewhat wild and unruly, if we may judge from the complaints made by Kentwode, Dean of St. Paul's, who visited them in 1439. He makes many suspicious remarks about the employing of some "sad woman and discreet" to shut cloister doors, and keep keys, about not using nor haunting "any place within the priory [the precincts of which were extensive], through the which evil suspicion or slander might arise," about for-

bearing to dance and revel except at Christmas, "and other honest times of recreation," and so on.* At the other end of the nuns' church, an immense square mass of masonry, with urns rising at intervals, marks the place of interment of one Richard Bancroft, founder of the almshouses at Mile End, and who is understood to have exhibited this generosity in his last days as an atonement for conduct of a very different nature previously. His monument, we need hardly state, was a provision of his own, and from it yearly, for some time, his body was taken out (for which conveniences had been made), on the occasion of the preaching of the commemoration sermon (also founded by himself), and exhibited to the almsmen. Returning to the eastern part of the church, we find in the chancel, that occupies the south-east corner, the remarkable monument of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, who died in 1636. It is a beautiful table-tomb, the workmanship of Nicholas Stone, who received for it one hundred guineas, and on the top exhibits a piece of black marble in the form of a parchment deed, inscribed with writing, and having a dependent seal. On reading the inscription we find it is truly in form a legal document, applied to an odd purpose: Sir Julius Cæsar gives his bond to Heaven to resign his life whenever it shall please God to call him, and the whole is duly signed and sealed.

Of the three remaining churches, St. Giles Cripplegate, Lambeth, and St. Margaret's Westminster, that alone our space will allow us to mention, we can speak but briefly. St. Giles was built by Alfune, the man who rendered Rahere such efficient assistance in the erection of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, and derives the concluding part of its designation from the gate in the great wall, near which it was erected (one of the finest remaining pieces of that wall is still preserved in the churchyard), and which was called the *cripple* gate, from the number of deformed persons who haunted it to beg. The church was partially burnt in the sixteenth century, but a single glance at the tower and exterior walls shows how much remains of a date anterior to that event. Here rest, in addition to Milton and his father, Fox the martyrologist, Speed the historian, and "Sir Martyn Furbisher, Knt.," who is generally, but incorrectly, said to have been buried at Plymouth, where he was brought after receiving his death-wound in the assault on Croyzon, near Brest. His name is entered as we have transcribed it (from Malcolm) under the date 1594—5 Jan. 14. Numerous other interesting recollections of St. Giles might be mentioned; we must confine ourselves to two: here, on the 22nd of August, 1620, were married Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bouchier; and in connexion with Cromwell's friend and secretary the great poet before mentioned, we cannot but feel interested in observing in the parish registers the frequent mention of the names of Brackley, Egerton, and Bridgewater, dear to the lovers of Milton and 'Comus;' the family of Bridgewater having had a house in the immediate neighbourhood.

The present Lambeth Church is of the period of Edward IV. From its connexion with the palace adjoining, several of the archbishops have been interred in it, including Bancroft, Tenison, Hutton, and Secker. Bishops Thirlby and Tunstal also repose within its walls. A military-looking memorial to Robert Scot records the services of one of Gustavus Adolphus's English followers, and

* See Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' and Malcolm, vol. iii. p. 548.

the inventor of leathern artillery, which he used with great effect in the service of the Swedish monarch. In one of the windows is a painted figure of a man (said to be a pedlar) and a dog; according to tradition, the piece of land known as Pedlar's Acre was given to the parish by the individual here commemorated. The churchyard has a monument to the Tradescants, famous antiquaries during the reigns of the Charleses, who lived at Lambeth, and formed there the first Museum of Curiosities of which we have any record in England. Their garden also was very valuable for the amazing number and variety of plants they had collected in it, from all parts of the world.

The erection of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was owing to the desire of the Confessor to relieve the monks of the Abbey that he had so magnificently rebuilt from the inconveniences attending its use as a parish church: hence that proximity to the grander structure, which would hardly have been permitted under any other circumstances, and which almost makes it seem a part of it, viewed but from a short distance. St. Margaret's has been twice rebuilt;—in the reign of Edward I. by the princely-minded merchants of the Staple, and again in that of Edward IV.: from which period we may justly date the present structure, in spite of the extensive repairs that have taken place in 1735 and in 1803. Here lies the illustrious Printer, of whom we read in the parish registers: "1478. Item, the day of burying William Caxton, for ii. torches and iiii. tapers at a low mass;" and a similar entry, under the year 1491, shows the fitting honours that were paid to his memory: a handsome tablet has been placed in the church of late years by the Roxburgh Club. Here also was buried Skelton, the satirical poet of Henry VIII.'s reign, who was fain to take and to keep the Abbey sanctuary, out of Cardinal Wolsey's way; Lord Howard of Effingham, Elizabeth's gallant Lord High Admiral, who had the chief defence of the kingdom intrusted to his charge, at the period of the Spanish Armada, and to whose and to his lady's memory there is here a sumptuous monument, with their effigies; Sir Walter Raleigh, brought hither after his execution in the neighbouring Palace Yard; that "great man," as Malcolm twice calls him, Sir Philip Warwick, who, if our readers remember him at all, will most probably recollect him merely as giving an interesting description of Cromwell's appearance in the House of Commons, as a young member; and, lastly, Milton's wife, Catherine, buried here, Feb. 10, 1657, the "late espoused saint" of his pathetic and beautiful 23rd sonnet. The church, as the place of assemblage for the Members of the House of Commons during the sittings of Parliament, is kept in excellent order, and exhibits many interesting features. The architecture, where ancient, is beautiful; and more particularly the altar recess, with its lofty groined roof, its panelled niches, and fresco designs. But the painted eastern window is the grand attraction of St. Margaret's. This represents the whole history of the Crucifixion in what is considered the most masterly style of the art, and the effect is truly gorgeous. The history of this window is worthy of commemoration. It was made by the orders of the magistrates of Dort, in Holland, as a suitable present to Henry VII., for the chapel erected by him in the Abbey; hence the figure of that monarch at his devotions, and the red and white roses introduced into the picture. Henry, however, dying before it was completed, the window fell into the hands of the

Abbot of Waltham, who kept it in his church till the dissolution. Then began a series of hairbreadth escapes, through which it is wonderful the work should have reached its present home. The last Abbot of Waltham saved it from destruction by sending it to New Hall, a seat of the Butlers, in Wiltshire; from whence it was purchased, with the seat, by Thomas Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose son sold them to General Monk. The war against all such superstitious exhibitions of artistical skill was now raging hotly, and Monk knew there was no chance of his window escaping, except by its strict concealment; accordingly he buried it. At the Restoration, it was restored to the chapel at New Hall. Again danger threatened it: the chapel was destroyed by a new possessor, who, however, hoping to sell the window to some church, preserved it, cased up, and after some time sold it to Mr. Conyers, for his chapel at Epping; by this gentleman's son it was finally sold, in the last century, to the committee for repairing and beautifying St. Margaret's. Had ever window before so moving a history?

[East Window of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.]

[St. James, Westminster.]

CXII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. II.—Wren's Churches.

Interesting as many of the buildings that fall within the scope of the present article individually are, from their intrinsic merits, and the variety of historical and biographical recollections—to say nothing of less important matters—that belong to them, it is as a whole that we should first look at them, if we would do justice either to them, to their architect, or to those whose conduct deserves more admiration than it has received, the architect's employers. We must especially recall to mind the position of the citizens of London, if we would rightly understand or appreciate the noble qualities, of which the churches of London are the enduring memorials. Every stone marks a difficulty conquered—a sacrifice made on the part of those incapacitated in no ordinary degree for the making of sacrifices—an active exhibition of heroic hope, where men might have been not altogether without excuse, for a long period, of something much more nearly approximating in its characteristics to despair. We must remember—to review for a moment the successive stages of the great event in question—that "that which made the ruin the more dismal was, that it was begun on the Lord's Day morning:

never was there the like Sabbath in London; some churches were in flames that day; *and God seems to come down, and to preach himself in them, as He did in Mount Sinai, when the Mount burned with fire.* Such warm preaching those churches never had; such lightning-dreadful sermons never were before delivered in London. In other churches ministers were preaching their farewell sermons, and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment."* We must remember the result:—twelve churches only saved out of the ninety-seven standing within the walls. We must behold the miserable inhabitants—all miserable!—rich and poor, young and old, weak and strong, reduced for the moment to one common level—in their bivouacs in the surrounding fields and open country, where for months great numbers had to remain. We must above all weigh the utter ruin that many must have been plunged into by their losses, the difficulties requiring years of exertion and privation to overcome experienced by still more, the necessity for the husbanding of every penny of money, every thought and energy of the mind, on the part of all, to re-instate themselves in their former position. Houses the houseless could not but build, the commercial capital of the world could not from motives of the most evident self-interest remain long without its halls and warehouses, both piety and the habits of piety would naturally impel men to obtain some fresh places of worship; but when we find what an architect they did employ for their churches, what sums of money they did expend upon them, and how numerous were the buildings they did erect, it is impossible to repress a warm feeling of admiration at the conduct of our civic forefathers, or to resist the whispers of national pride that explain and concentrate the whole in one appropriate word (and never may that word lose its magic!) as the conduct of—Englishmen. These things, to our minds, are the best parts of the history of our metropolitan churches.

Of course, impossibilities were not attempted; and such would have been the erection of these buildings immediately after the fire. They were content, no doubt, at first, to worship God beneath his own beautiful sky, that temple not made with hands, and then, as conveniences and time presented, beneath places of temporary shelter; it is also to be remembered that the few existing churches would give accommodation to the greatest possible number of the members of those which had been destroyed: and thus we may presume to have passed the first two or three years. The general character and direction of the earliest movement towards the erection of the present structures are not unhappily illustrated by the case of Allhallows, Lombard Street, as that case is shown to us by notices written at the time in the parish register. On the 15th of February, 1669, the parishioners resolved they "should congregate and meet together about the worship of God" in their own parish, and accordingly deputed persons to select a place, and build thereon a temporary structure. They next directed that the steeple should be viewed, to see whether it could be strengthened and supported; on the 21st of the same month they ordered the walls of the body of the building to be coped with straw and lime, to preserve them from further damage. A lingering hope is here perceptible that the church might be repaired rather than rebuilt; but after the lapse of another year or so, when we may suppose the

* Rev. T. Vincent—'God's Terrible Advice to the City by Plague and Fire.'

general business of London to have regained much of its usual regularity, they dismissed the idea as impracticable, or as unworthy, and agreed not only that the church should be rebuilt, but, in December, 1670, that "young and old" would join heart and hand in expediting the work. The means at the disposal of the parishioners in this, as well as in the other parishes, were various, but chiefly a portion of the duty on coals, set apart by the parliament for the rebuilding of London and the churches, an assessment on the inhabitants, and voluntary subscriptions; the whole, however, in a great number of cases, insufficient, as we may well suppose, to admit of any rapid progress; and hence continual difficulties. At Allhallows they were so greatly at a loss at one period, that they endeavoured to raise 500*l.* upon their lands, but Sergeant Pemberton advised them that it could not be done without a decree of Chancery. From this position they were relieved apparently by the usual process, increased exertions on the part of benevolent individuals, for we find John Marsh, in 1693, lending them the exact sum stated. The year after 500*l.* was also raised by a parochial assessment. These notices are imperfect, but show sufficiently the general history of the rebuilding of Allhallows, which is but an epitome of the rebuilding of most of the other London churches.

In the foregoing passages we must also look for no unimportant part of the materials from which we are to estimate the architect's greatness. Without dwelling upon the multitude of Wren's avocations at this time—the cathedrals, palaces, government offices, hospitals, civic halls, colleges, &c. &c., he was erecting or repairing, and which make it wonderful that he could have contrived to give us so many beautiful churches in the City, rather than depreciatory of his fame, that he should also have added some that are very insignificant—passing by this consideration, which Wren barely needs, there is another, which it would be unjust to his memory not to lay some stress upon, the pecuniary difficulties above referred to, which must have hampered him at every step of his labours, and often have materially affected the design itself, which it was the object of those labours to carry into effect. In criticising therefore his works, it is sometimes more germane to the matter to speak of the design that the parochial purse approved of, rather than of his; to lament the absence of appropriate decoration there, rather than in his buildings. The church of St. Mary Aldermary offers a striking example of the importance of these pecuniary influences. Would you learn how it was that this building became erected on the expensive model of the former one, with its nave, and aisles, and clustered pillars, and surprisingly rich fan-groinings, not merely decorating but covering the ceilings, Malcolm will tell us that "Henry Rogers, Esq., influenced by sincere motives of piety, and affected with the almost irreparable loss of religious buildings, left the sum of 5000*l.* to rebuild a church in the city of London. His lady, who was executrix of the will, determined that St. Mary's should be that church." Then, again, churchwardens of that day, as of this, held their opinions with a pertinacity at least equal to their information, and, we may be sure, often plagued and occasionally thwarted the architect. To refer, for instance, again to Allhallows, we read in their parish books of Wren sending about a *spire*, but the parish, or its officers, seem to have preferred a tower—so a tower it is. Communications of a more agreeable nature, be it observed, occasionally passed, such for instance as

that referred to in the books of St. Clement's East Cheap, under the date of 1685, "To one-third of a hogshead of wine, given to Sir Christopher Wren, 4*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*;" and that in the books of St. Mary Aldermanbury, 1673, April 10—"Having considered the kindness of Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Robert Hooke (chief mason) in expediting the building of the church; and that they may be encouraged to assist in perfecting that work, it is now ordered that the parish, by the churchwardens, do present Sir C. Wren with 20 guineas, and Mr. R. Hooke with 10."

It was under the disadvantages referred to that Wren erected the structures which, as a whole, form the greatest monuments of his genius; for in them he appears as emphatically the inventor of a style of ecclesiastical architecture adapted to the wants of a Protestant community, to whose minds the older and, we may own, more beautiful Roman Catholic buildings were distasteful, from their connection with the faith from which they had only emancipated themselves after a long and bloody struggle. Of the exteriors of Wren's churches we have little to say, the principal spires and towers having been so completely shown by the design given in our first volume, in the 'Building of St. Paul's;' and, beyond the spires and towers, there being so little demanding observation. The confined and frequently obscure position of the buildings rendered it impossible that fine architectural exteriors could be adequately enjoyed, so the architect declined giving them, but, instead, concentrated his energies and skill in the parts exposed to observation, by their height, as in the campanuli, and in the interiors. Two external peculiarities, however, must not be overlooked—the original and picturesque manner in which he has applied ornamented details from the Italian to the forms of the Gothic, and the grace with which he has placed his spires on the supporting towers. As to his interiors, perhaps variety of plan is the most striking characteristic. Looking over the entire number of churches (fifty-three) erected by Wren in the metropolis,* we perceive they may be divided into three classes—the Domed; the Basilical (that is with nave and side-aisles divided by pillars from each other); and the Miscellaneous, consisting of some with single rectangular plans without columns, mere rooms, in short, apart from their decorations;—some with a single aisle, formed to conceal the intrusions of the lower part of the tower on that side of the church;—and some with pillars, disposed within the rectangular area, to give it the appearance of a cross. The churches of each of these classes are generally in the Roman style, but with some noticeable exceptions—as St. Mary, Aldermary, and St. Alban's, Wood-street, both of which belong to the Gothic—the latter, says Wren, "as the same was before the fire." We may here be permitted to pause a moment over one recollection of the old church of Mary Aldermary (that is Mary the *elder* of the churches so dedicated in London); Stow says that "Richard Chawcer, vintner, gave to that church his tenement and tavern, with the appurtenances in the Royal Street, the corner of Kirion Lane, and was there buried, 1348." He adds an explanatory marginal note, that this Richard was "father to Geoffrey Chaucer the poet, as may be supposed;" and we think with great probability, if it be remembered with what affection the latter always speaks of the City, and how closely he was connected

* That is, including two not burnt in the fire, as St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Clement Danes, and one new church, St. James, Westminster.

with its various broils in the reign of Richard II. In this very tavern, then, with its heterogeneous assemblage of people of almost every rank and pursuit, such as a tavern of the middle ages only could draw together, and attended by a thousand interesting circumstances of manner and costume equally peculiar to the time, may the young poet have acquired some of the materials for his great poem, perhaps even the first idea of the poem itself.

Reversing the order of the three classes enumerated we will now first refer to the miscellaneous; in one division of which, the churches with simple rectangular plans, with more or less regularity of outline, may be enumerated St. Lawrence, Jewry, and Allhallows, Lombard Street; in another, consisting of churches with pillars introduced into the area to give the effect of a cross, St. Martin's, Ludgate, and St. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate Street; and a third, the churches with a tower introduced into one corner, and a continuous aisle to conceal the awkwardness that would otherwise be apparent, St. Margaret Patten's, and St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf. Greatly do the churches of this class vary in the extent and beauty of their decoration, from St. Matthew's, Friday Street, at the lower end of the scale up to St. Lawrence, Jewry, at the higher, which; with all its simplicity of design, is one of the handsomest of Wren's structures; the chaste elegance of the exterior and the noble style of decoration adopted in the interior are equally worthy of admiration. There is a vestry attached to it scarcely less beautiful, where the painted compartment of the richly stuccoed ceiling represents the apotheosis of St. Lawrence. Among the monuments is one to Tillotson, some of whose best sermons were delivered here. The affixed name "Jewry" is, of course, derived from the Jews, who resided in the neighbourhood from the period of the Conqueror's coming to England, who brought many of their nation with him from Normandy; a locality, which in effect, through the operation of a law which prevented them from burying their dead anywhere but in the plot of ground known as the Jew's Garden, now Jewin Street, must have been their only place of residence in this country till the reign of Henry II. They then, after petitioning parliament, obtained permission to purchase ground for a cemetery outside the walls of any place in which they dwelt. They were expelled *en masse* by Edward I., who graciously allowed them to carry away enough to bear their travelling charges, but kept their treasure, to an immense amount, in his own hands. It may be doubted whether this was so politic a mode of treatment in the long run as his father's; at all events it must have been very convenient to a sovereign to have always at command such a mode of paying his debts as that referred to in the following regal proclamation—one of the richest things of the kind in history: "To all persons the King sendeth greeting: Know all men that we have borrowed 5000 marks sterling of our trusty and well beloved brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall; for the payment whereof we have made over and delivered to him all our Jews of England!" In the old Jewry is the church of St. Olave, with a tablet to Alderman Boydell, bearing a long inscription that does but justice to this enlightened and generous patron of art. Of the other churches of this class we may mention a few for the sake of the incidental matters of interest connected with them. In St. Edward the King, a church also beautiful, in spite of the extremest simplicity of plan, from the picturesque effect of the dark oak pews, pulpit, and galleries, so admirably contrived and so richly carved, and which is

remarkable for having its altar on the north, are some handsome modern stained glass, and two pictures, Moses and Aaron, by Etty. In the old church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, was the monument of Anthony Munday, the great literary and mechanical architect of civic pageants for a long period of years, a dramatic writer, and an antiquary, who published the third edition of Stow's 'Survey,' with additions professedly received from Stow himself; and in another old church, that of St. Mildred, Poultry, one whose inscription told us,—

> "Here Thomas Tusser clad in earth doth lie,
> That sometime made the 'Points of Husbandry,'" &c.

Tusser's disposition must have been somewhat changeable. Fuller describes him as "successively a musician, schoolmaster, serving-man, husbandman, grazier, poet, more skilful in all than thriving in any vocation." Inigo Jones was buried, at the age of eighty (as estimated), in St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf; it seems strange, therefore, to read of his death being *hastened* by any cause, yet it is said that he did die prematurely through the vexations and anxiety brought on him by his loyal tendencies in politics and his Roman Catholic in religion: on the latter ground he was subjected to a heavy fine in 1646. He died in 1651. The church of Allhallows the Great may be mentioned for its beautiful carved oak screen, with very slender twisted pillars, supporting a rich entablature, in the centre of which is an eagle with outspread wings; the whole most exquisitely carved. The feeling that brought this picturesque piece of decoration here, is one that it is pleasant to have to record. The Merchants of the Steel-yard, it is well known, occupied the adjoining precincts, and in early times probably used the church; their descendants, the Hanse Merchants of the last century, as supposed (for the time is uncertain), sent over this screen as a token of their remembrance of the old connection. With the church of St. Michael's, Paternoster Royal, the name of Whittington is inseparably associated; there it was he founded his magnificent college, with its Master, four Fellows, Masters of Arts, clerks, 'conducts,' and choristers, and bestowed on it the rights and profits of the church which belonged to him. Malcolm mentions a portrait of him as being in the possession of the Mercer's Company, which goes some way towards confirming the truth of one feature of the popular biography of him: it bears date 1536, the inscription, R. Whittington, and exhibits clearly enough *a cat* by his side. The history of his monument is disgraceful. An incumbent of the parish, one Mountain, in the reign of Edward VI., dared to open it with the view of finding buried treasure, and being disappointed contented himself, we suppose, with the leaden enclosures, which were at all events taken away at the time: in the ensuing reign the parishioners re-wrapped the body in lead. The whole, including the monument, unfortunately disappeared in the fire. The modern church possesses a work of art of high value—Hilton's admirable picture of Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Jesus, who is reproving Judas for his envious complaint that the ointment was not sold and the money given to the poor, in the beautiful passage "The poor always have ye with you, but me ye have not always." Lastly, in St. Michael's, Wood Street, after a strange series of vicissitudes regarding its preservation, was buried the head of the Scottish monarch who fell on Flodden field. The battle was fought on the 9th of September, 1513, and

the body of James was found on the same day by Lord Dacre among the slain, and recognised not only by him but by the deceased king's own chancellor and others; it is difficult to understand, therefore, how there could ever have been any real doubt on the matter. Stow, in his account of the church, gives the subsequent history. The body was "closed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and so to the monastery of Sheen (Richmond), in Surrey, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certain. But since the dissolution of that house, in the reign of Edward VI., Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, being lodged and keeping house there, I have been showed the same body, so lapped in lead close to the head and body, thrown into a waste-room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, Master Glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head, and beard, red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel."

In the churches on the ancient plan, the Basilical, with their nave and side aisles, and central recess for the altar, and occasionally with their clerestory above, we have to deal with a much more important class of architectural productions. The churches of St. Magnus, Bartholomew by the Exchange (now lost), Bride, Bow, Andrew, Holborn, Dunstan's in the East, and Michael's, Cornhill, all belong to this division, of which they are the most distinguished ornaments. St. Magnus, it appears from Malcolm, has been rebuilt, but, we presume, without material alterations of Wren's design. It now presents a noble interior, in spite of the appearance of want of solidity produced by the slender columns, and exceedingly broad intervals between. The church is further distinguished by one of the handsomest altar-pieces of its kind in London, and by the circumstance that Miles Coverdale was rector of the church till 1566, when he resigned it. The parishioners, within the last few years, have erected a handsome memorial of his presence among them. St. Bartholomew's, with remains of its ancient tower, and a body remarkable for its simple harmony of proportion, claimed a nearer connection with this translator of the first entire edition of the Bible published in the English language, for he was buried beneath its communion-table. Bride Church, with its most beautiful of steeples, and its sumptuous though not very accurate copy, in stained glass, of Rubens's great picture, the Descent from the Cross, has a fine but not in any way remarkable interior; we may therefore pass it with a brief notice of the eminent men who have been interred in the old or in the existing structure; such as—Wynken de Worde, the assistant and successor of the great printer whom Pope, in his Dunciad, when describing the altar raised by Bays for the immolation of his unsuccessful writings, thus mentions—

> "There Caxton slept, with Wynken by his side,
> One clasp'd in wood, and one in strong cowhide:"

Sir Richard Baker, author of the 'Chronicles of the Kings of England,' who died in distress in the neighbouring Fleet prison; Nicholls, the author of the 'History of Leicestershire;' and above all, Samuel Richardson, with his wife and family, the illustrious rival of the Fieldings and Goldsmiths. Bow Church is perhaps,

of all the buildings we have mentioned, the most distinguished for breadth and grandeur of effect. It is an adaptation from Wren's favourite classical authority, the Temple of Peace, at Rome. Among other peculiarities, the happy mode of introducing the galleries may be noticed. The memorials of the dead are numerous here, and include a large marble monument by Banks, to Bishop Newton, with an inscription, in which is the passage—"Reader, if you would be further informed of his character, acquaint yourself with his writings." As to the tower of Bow Church, that object of universal admiration for its beauty may challenge equally universal attention to its history, which is so full of matter that we almost hesitate in our limited space to refer to any of the details, lest we should be tempted too far. From its foundation below—a Roman causeway, discovered by Wren during the erection—to the belfry above where hang the bells, which have become a bye-word; from the exterior balcony over the door, with its recollections of Queen Philippa's awkward accident, to the interior with its associations of murder and siege, the pile, either in itself or in its ancestors, has scarcely one separate portion that has not also its own separate story. There was formerly a stone building near the site of the present tower, erected for the use of the royal family to witness the great public processions that so often in old times passed through Cheapside, and in consequence of Edward's queen, whilst standing, with the ladies of her court, on a temporary wooden scaffold to witness a magnificent tournament, having fallen "with some shame" upon the knights and others beneath. The King would have punished the artisans who had raised so insecure a structure; but the Queen interceding, he contented himself with the erection of a proper building, of which the balcony over the door facing Cheapside is a kind of memento. The murder committed in the interior of the old tower was that of Lawrence Ducket, a goldsmith, who had dangerously wounded one Ralph Crepin, and taken shelter here, but being suddenly seized in the night was strangled, and hung up so as to give the idea of his having committed suicide. Some time after a boy, who had been an unnoticed spectator of the whole, revealed the truth, and the assassins and their accomplices, sixteen in number, were hung, a woman 'Alice' burnt, many rich persons "hanged by the purse" (Stow's expression), the church interdicted, and the doors and windows filled with thorns, till the whole was properly purified. This was in 1284. Rather less than a century before, Bow Church became the scene of an event of infinitely greater, indeed of national importance. When Richard I. was engaged in the Holy Land, his officers at home, in collecting funds for his supply, levied an extraordinary taillage upon the City of London. A corrupt practice, it seems, had crept into the local government, of apportioning the respective shares of each citizen unfairly, the managers of course sparing themselves, who were the best able to bear the exaction, at the expense of their poorer fellow-citizens. A citizen of Saxon descent, called from his long beard, William *à la barbe* by the Normans, but properly, William Fitz-Osbert, who had already favourably distinguished himself by his devotion to the cause of the people, chiefly of the same descent as himself, now stood forth, and denounced, in most eloquent language, the wrong attempted to be perpetrated. Failing to convince the Norman rulers, he crossed the seas to Richard, from whom he returned with a promise of redress. This was too much for the patience of his adversaries; it

was bad enough that he should fill the people, as he had done, with "an inordinate desire of liberty and happiness;" but that he, a Saxon, should dare to interfere between them and the monarch, was monstrous; so Hubert Walter, Grand Justiciary of England, adopted a mode of prevention almost ludicrous, for the contrast between the smallness of the object, and the sweeping and reckless nature of the means, that of forbidding any man of the commonalty of London from quitting the City. Some traders, going, according to custom, to the great fair then held at Stamford, were the first victims of this exquisite specimen of an executive government; they were thrown into prison, and it became evident that the prohibition was to be really carried into effect, at whatever cost. Then began the poorer citizens to combine themselves into an association for their common defence, and their numbers swelled so fast that when their leader, William Longbeard, was cited to appear before a parliament convoked by the chief functionaries of the realm, they accompanied him in such immense multitudes, that no one dared to proceed with the charges against him. Other modes were now resorted to; skilful emissaries introduced themselves into the councils of the disaffected, and worked upon their minds by every method that could be devised; the members of the government alternately conciliated and threatened, with similar views, until the conspirators began to hesitate—to doubt each other's fidelity, and at last to allow the government quietly to obtain as hostages the children of a great number of families. Of course the power of the conspiracy was then broken, and the government, relieved of its fears, exerted itself to get possession of the ringleader, that it might be utterly annihilated. Two persons undertook the dangerous task; for some days they watched all his motions, having at hand a concealed band of armed men, to seize him when they should give the signal. An opportunity at last offered; he was walking along with only nine followers; they approached carelessly till he was within reach, then suddenly threw themselves upon him, and endeavoured to hold him whilst the armed men rushed from their place of concealment to their assistance. But Longbeard's hand was as ready as his tongue, and in one instant the foremost of the assailants was pierced to the heart; in the next Longbeard was fighting his way with his little band towards Bow Church, or, as it was then called, St. Mary at Arches. He succeeded in getting safely into the tower, which he barricaded, and then maintained so stoutly, that after three days spent in ineffectual attempts to force it by ordinary means, they were compelled on the fourth to resort to fire. Driven forth by the flames, Longbeard and his fellow unfortunates were speedily overpowered and bound. In this state he was stabbed by a son of the man he had slain four days before, and thus wounded, tied to the tail of a horse and dragged to the Tower, where the Archbishop sentenced him to the gallows. In the same terrible plight he was drawn to Smithfield, and hung with the others. The terrible Saxon Longbeard seemed destined to be an eternal plague to the ruling Normans. Not long after his death a system of Smithfield pilgrimages began, that promised to rival in popularity those of the Canterbury martyr. People from all parts came to the spot where the "King of the Poor" had breathed his last, and where miracles attested the horror of Heaven at the deed that had been committed. The Archbishop could not even drive away by force

these credulous worshippers, till he had established a permanent guard on the spot, and scourged and imprisoned numbers of both men and women. The present tower has been rebuilt, though on the model of the original, as seen in the following view.

[Bow Church and Cheapside, 1750.]

The tower of St. Andrew's, Holborn, of the date of Henry VI., displays Wren's restoring hand in so unfavourable a light that we willingly pass to the interior, the architect's own composition, that we may admire the air of magnificence he has given to it. All the accessories tend to enhance this effect—the gildings, the paintings, the stained glass, which in the chancel reach to a high point of splendour. St. Andrew's may almost be called the poets' church, from the number of that glorious but unhappy fraternity that have been in one way or another connected with it, from the time of Webster, the author of the 'White Devil' and the 'Duchess of Malfy,' who was parish clerk, down to the late Henry Neele, interred here, after his suicide in a state of temporary insanity. Under the date of 1698, as Malcolm was informed, the parish register records the christening of the poet Savage, by direction of Earl Rivers, who, according to the mother—Lady Macclesfield's—own confession of unfaithfulness to her husband, was the father. Disowned as he grew up by both his unnatural parents, unaware even who they were, till accident discovered them to him, suffering generally from poverty, and almost unceasingly from his own ill-regulated passions; there are few literary lives more truly melancholy than that of Savage. We need not wonder that (in Johnson's words), he was "very seldom provoked to laughter." One terrible event with him seemed ever to be the precursor of another, each increasing in intensity. The killing a man in a tavern broil leads to sentence of death, and that to a mother striving to intercept the pardon bestowed upon him, and the whole to the publication of "the Bastard," in which poetry was prostituted to the most awful purpose, perhaps, on record—that of holding a mother up to the reprobation and contempt of the world. Yet, if ever there was a man deserving pity, it was Savage; and he obtained more than that from one who was little

inclined, by habit or principle, to confound right and wrong. The friendship of Johnson and Savage is one of the most touching and beautiful things in literary history. If greater sufferings were needed than he experienced generally through life to expiate his faults, the circumstances of his death, in a jail at Bristol for debt, in 1743, may surely be deemed sufficient. As in one poet's history we have wandered by a melancholy path from St. Andrew's to Bristol, by that of another still more saddening, on account of the loftier nature concerned, we may return. Nine years after Savage's death in Bristol there was born in the same place one who, coming to London with the romantic notion that talents of a generally high order as a writer, and powers unsurpassed at the same age as a poet, should be sufficient to supply his moderate demands of food, clothing, and raiment; possessing at the same time too much pride to turn his muse into a lackey to dangle after patrons, found himself, after the most indefatigable exertions, literally starving. Suicide and the workhouse burying-ground of St. Andrew's complete his history, at the age of seventeen. The parish register of August 28, 1770, shows the following entry—"*William* Chatterton," the mistake, of course, regarding the name of a pauper being very excusable. The only thing that surprises us is the addition by a later hand, of the words "The Poet." Had not that fact better be forgotten at St. Andrew's?

With respect to the churches of St. Michael, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan, East, one of the most curious results of Wren's studies in combining the Italian and Gothic styles is exhibited in the history of the former, which had first a body erected in the Italian style to the fine old Gothic tower spared by the fire, and then, fifty years later, when the tower was pulled down, a reversal of the former process in the erection of a Gothic tower to the Italian body. Fabian was buried here. The tower of St. Dunstan's is an imitation of that of St. Nicholas at Newcastle, built in the fifteenth century, a circumstance that of course lessens the architect's merit in giving us so elegant and fairy-like a thing. Wren's biographer, Elwes, gives the following anecdote on the authority of an anonymous friend:—"When Sir Christopher Wren made the first attempt of building a steeple upon quadrangular columns in this country (St. Dunstan's in the East), he was convinced of the truth of his architectural principle; but as he had never before acted upon it, and as a failure would have been fatal to his reputation, and awful in its consequences to the neighbourhood of the edifice, he naturally felt intense anxiety when the superstructure was completed, in the removal of the supporters. The surrounding people shared largely in the solicitude. Sir Christopher himself went to London Bridge, and watched the proceedings through a lens. The ascent of a rocket proclaimed the stability of the steeple; and Sir Christopher himself would afterwards smile that he ever could, even for a moment, have doubted the truth of his mathematics."—J. J. Mr. Elwes says the first part of the story is evidently incorrect, and that Wren would hardly have attempted what he doubted; he then relates as evidence "on the contrary," that the architect being informed one night that a dreadful hurricane had damaged all the steeples in London, at once replied, "Not St. Dunstan's, I am quite sure." The last story, however, rather supports than contradicts the first; the speech of the one is but the smile of the other put into words; and both may be referred to

a similar origin, some—misunderstood—peculiarities in the mode of erection; it is to be observed also, that doubts during experiments and after, are very different things. The body of the church built by Wren has now gone, it having been re-built in harmony with the steeple, by Mr. Laing, in the years 1817 to 1821. At the east end, a large and beautiful window has been preserved, which is understood to have been an exact copy of one Wren discovered in the re-building. Among the events which have been recorded as preserving the features of old times and customs, better than any regular descriptions could do, is one of some interest connected with St. Dunstan's, thus given in 'Stow's Chronicle:'—"In the year 1417, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, a violent quarrel took place in this church between the ladies of the Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel, Knt., which involved the husbands and at length terminated in a general contest. Several persons were seriously wounded; and an unlucky fishmonger, named Thomas Petwarden, killed. The two great men, who chose a church for their field of battle, were seized, and committed to the Poultry Compter; and the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated them. On the 21st of April that prelate heard the particulars at St. Magnus Church, and, finding Lord Strange and his lady the aggressors, he cited them to appear before him, the Lord Mayor, and others, on the 1st of May, at St. Paul's, and there submit to penance, which was inflicted by compelling all their servants to march before the rector of St. Dunstan's in their shirts, followed by the Lord, bareheaded, and the Lady barefooted, and Kentwode, archdeacon of London, to the church of St. Dunstan, where, at the hallowing of it, Lady Strange was compelled to fill all the sacred vessels with water, and offer an ornament, value 10*l.*, and her husband a piece of silver worth 5*l.** What a contrast to this state of things is the bill now before parliament, where the Church steps forward to renounce the last few vestiges that remain to it of the power which caused such scenes to be exhibited in our streets and churches! Among the remaining buildings of the Basilical style may be mentioned St. Andrew Wardrobe, with its striking monument by Bacon to Romaine; St. Augustine, where the fraternity of the same name were accustomed, as Strype tells us, to meet on the eve of St. Austin, and in the morning at high mass, when every brother offered a penny, and afterwards was ready either to eat or to revel, as the master and wardens directed; St. Sepulchre's, with its exceedingly beautiful antique porch and its dreadful associations with the neighbouring prison; and, lastly, St. James, Westminster, where Wren has exhibited the most consummate union of beauty and fitness in the interior, and, as a kind of practical antithesis, left the exterior destitute of these or any other valuable qualities. The church was founded, chiefly through the agency of the Earl of St. Albans, as a chapel of ease to St. Martin's during the latter part of Charles's reign, but made parochial in the reign of Charles's successor, James. There are many features of the interior that will repay the visitor's attention, but more particularly the marble font, carved by Gibbons, an exquisite specimen of art. The support of the basin consists of the trunk of the tree of knowledge, with the branches and foliage of which it is partially covered, and by the side of the tree

* 'Londinum Redivivum' v. iii. p. 444.

are two of the most gracefully sculptured figures that can be well conceived, representing Eve offering to Adam the apple. In this church was buried the footman, bookseller, and poet, Dodsley.

In the last class of Wren's churches that we have to notice, the Domed, the genius of the architect shines out more clearly than in either of the others, as being works of greater pretension than the one class, and not, like the other (the Basilical), apt to suggest by its form thoughts of the still more beautiful, ancient style that they superseded. At the head of this division stands the far-famed St. Stephen's, Walbrook, into the interior of which no one can have ever entered for the first time without obtaining a higher opinion even of the architect of St. Paul's. Proportion, harmony, and repose are its pervading characteristics; and, with one exception—the walls left almost in their primitive nakedness—he seems to have felt the influence of his own beautiful work lead him into a greater degree of delicacy in all the subordinate features of decoration to harmonise therewith, than is usual with him. Hence the perfect effect produced. Hence the opinions of one of our most accomplished architectural critics, that all things considered its equal in its style is not to be found in Europe: hence the observation, "Had the materials and volume been so durable and extensive as those of St. Paul's Cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren had consummated a much more efficient monument to his well-earned fame, than that fabric affords."* The dimensions of St. Stephen's are only 82 feet 6 inches from east to west, within the walls, and 59 feet 6 inches from north to south, the ground plan forming therefore nearly a parallelogram. Of the incidental features of the church, the most remarkable is West's picture of the death of St. Stephen, which is placed against (thereby concealing) the central eastern window. The exterior, as usual, Wren has treated as though scarcely condescending to notice its existence; till the aspiring steeple attracts his regard, when he puts forth his strength, and makes it his own. St. Benet Fink, with its external walls in the form of a decagon, and worthy of notice if it be only for the ingenuity exhibited in the conquest over the difficulties attending a confined and irregular position, is another church of this class; as are also St. Swithin's, Cannon Street, with the oldest piece of metropolitan antiquity, the well-known London stone, let into its exterior walls, and St. Antholin's, or Anthony's; neither of which, however, require any more particular architectural notice. Near to the last-mentioned building, the Scottish commissioners were located during their residence in London just before the outbreak of the Civil War, and there was a passage from the house into the gallery of the church; the minister of which was a Puritan. "This benefit," says Clarendon, "was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief. . . . . To hear these sermons there was so great a conflux and resort by the citizens, out of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of curiosity, by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning of every Sunday to the shutting in of

* Britton and Pugin's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London.

the light the church was never empty; they (especially the women) who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning (they who could not hung upon or about the windows without, to be auditors or spectators) keeping the places till the afternoon exercises were finished." The noble historian, whilst covertly satirising the folly or credulity or "faction," that could alone in his opinion bring such assemblages together, tells us something that requires still greater faith or absurdity to believe, namely, that the service was flat and insipid: a cause unlikely to produce such effects; incredible, if we consider the fiery fanaticism which every where characterised the parties in question. But taste is often made the scapegoat of opinion. The Cavaliers, whose opinion Clarendon has here most probably perpetuated, would of course like the men as men very little, their business in London less (to negotiate a treaty with their monarch, backed by an irresistible army in the northern counties), their increasing intimacy with the English reformers, religious and political, least of all; for it was tolerably evident by this time that in the forthcoming struggle the Scotch would play an important part, and very possibly have the power in their hands to turn the scale decidedly in favour of king or people. Apart from the novelty (a most refreshing one to many) of seeing and sharing in a more simple mode of worship than had been permitted since Laud's ascendancy (of whose proceedings the consecration of Katharine Cree in our last number offers a striking example), this no doubt was the origin of such assemblages. To the English reformers it was all but a matter of life and death the part these men at St. Antholin's would take. Strafford's trial was pending, Laud had been just arrested, the tide of the revolution was rolling on, but as yet with a force which the King might possibly be able to contend with successfully; we may imagine, then, the importance of that army on the frontiers, of that declaration made by one of the commissioners, Baillie, respecting the negotiations, which, said he, "we will make long or short according as the necessities of our good friends in England require, for they are still in that fray, that if we and our army were gone they were yet undone." In the church of St. Mildred, Bread Street, which is small, without columns, but beautiful from the elegance of the arches which support the dome, and of the cornice of the latter, we meet with a later reminiscence of the Civil War in connexion with the memorial of Sir T. Crisp, which refers to the exertions of his father, Sir Nicholas Crisp, in the royal cause, involving, it is stated, losses exceeding in amount 100,000*l.*; "but this was repaired in some measure by King Charles II.:" a fact that should never be forgotten, since there are so very few of the kind in the history of the "merry monarch." The Sir Nicholas Crisp referred to was a wealthy merchant of London, who had been driven from thence by a parliamentary prosecution, and joined the King at Oxford. He is said to have been Charles' chief agent for the receipt of foreign succours, as well as the manager of no inconsiderable part of a similar business at home. Whilst the King was in the lines at Oxford, Crisp was most indefatigable in his vocation, a perfect Proteus in the shapes he assumed to elude the inquiries or interference of the parliamentarians: one day he was to be seen as a porter, with a basket of fish on his head, watching the arrival of vessels; the next, as a mounted butter-woman between her panniers, on the road to head-quarters. In 1643 he set on foot a

plot to secure a large body of secret adherents in the metropolis, ready at any time to start into sudden activity, by obtaining from the King a commission of array, which Crisp was to fill up with the proper names. The plan was, however, discovered by Parliament, about the same time that it discovered the poet Waller's, and the two not unnaturally became intimately blended together in the minds of the people. The only remaining churches that we shall notice are those of Mary Abchurch, and Mary at Hill. The former exhibits in the interior a large and handsome dome supported on a medallion cornice, and is adorned with paintings by Sir James Thornhill, according to Mr. Britton, whilst, in the Pictorial England, Isaac Fuller, one of the indigenous scholars of the Verrio school, is mentioned as the painter. The Corinthian altar-piece is decorated by some of the finest carvings of the finest of masters in the art, Gibbons, whose name we have had occasion to mention so frequently in connexion with the churches of London, that one cannot help wondering where he found time to execute his manifold commissions. The delicacy of the carvings of St. Mary Abchurch reminds one of the story of the pot of flowers carved by the same artist whilst living in Belle Sauvage court, "which shook surprisingly with the motion of the coaches that passed by." St. Mary at Hill we mention not so much for the sake of the architecture of the present structure, as for the opportunity of giving another illustration from the history of the former of the magnificence of the old churches of the metropolis. St. Mary's had no less than seven altars, each with its chantry priest regularly and permanently attached, and three brotherhoods, comprising of course a still larger number of religious. This gives us a pretty fair glimpse of the magnitude of the former establishment of St. Mary; the inventory of the apparel for the high altar, only, with the date 1485-6, gives us more than a glimpse of its splendour. It occupies great part of three quarto pages in Malcolm, and includes such items as altar cloths of russet cloth of gold; curtains of russet sarsenet, fringed with silk; a complete priest's "suit of red satin, fringed with gold," which comprised, it appears, three copes, two chasubles, two albs, two stoles, two "amytts," three fanons, and two girdles;* another suit, of white cloth of gold; a third, of red cloth of Lucchese gold; vestments of red satin, embroidered with lions of gold, and of black velvet, powdered with lambs, moons, and stars; canopies of blue cloth of bawdekin, with "birds of flour in gold," and of red silk with green branches and white flowers, powdered with swans of gold between the branches; copes, streamers, and mitres, for the boy-bishop and his followers "at Saint Nicholas tide." How inadequate, after all, are the most glowing descriptions of our romancists to convey to us a sufficient idea of the scenes that must have been presented in our ecclesiastical buildings four or five centuries ago!

The costs of erection of Wren's churches of course varied greatly in accordance with their great differences in plan and amount of decoration. Some were built for less than 2500*l.*, as those of St. Anne Aldersgate Street, St. Matthew Friday Street, and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey; many for about 5000*l.* or 6000*l.*,

* The amice was an under garment, over which was worn first the alb like a robe or surplice, then the girdle and stole; the fanon or maniple was a towel held by the priest during mass; the chasuble was a kind of smaller cope.

among which may be enumerated St. Bartholomew, St. Peter Cornhill, and St. Edmund the King; whilst three, St. Bride, Christ Church, and St. Lawrence Jewry, cost nearly 12,000*l.*, and one, Bow, above 15,400*l.* In contrast with these last four stands the most beautiful of all Wren's ecclesiastical structures, St. Stephen's Walbrook, which was erected for 7652*l.* 13*s.*; a significant proof how little the true architect's fame need depend upon the mere amount of funds at his disposal—upon the extent of space he has to cover—the quantity of brick or stone to pile.

Interior of St. Stephen's Walbrook.

[St. Mary's, Southwark.]

CXIII.—THE CHURCHES OF LONDON.

No. III.—Modern Churches.

If it were Wren's ambition to found a school of ecclesiastical architecture in England, as well as to distinguish himself practically as an architect, he was not only successful, but lived long enough to enjoy that success personally in witnessing the two most eminent of his successors follow in the path he had marked out. Despising the Gothic 'crinkle crankle' as much as Wren himself, and having as little feeling for the simple elegance of the Greek, Gibbs and Hawksmoor (the latter Wren's pupil), went to the same sources of inspiration as the architect of St. Paul's, namely, the works of the Italian artists, who revived the Roman school of architecture; but who in so doing, whilst affecting the severest strictness in following its rules, sadly overlooked its spirit. The desire for the magnificent which formed an essential part of the character of the Roman people, and which had led them to alter, to adapt, and to extend the architectural principles they had derived from Greece, and, in many points at least, with the most signal success, became, too frequently, an almost insane passion with their Italian descendants, to which all higher qualities were sacrificed, through which all perception was dimmed of the elements that had combined to the construction of the great works of antiquity, making them, at once and for ever, consummately grand and beautiful. With what zeal were the ancient writers studied whilst the

buildings from which they had drawn their precepts were left to moulder in unregarded oblivion, or examined only to support pre-conceived theories! With what precision was every feature of every order systematized, whilst the uses of the orders were left to individual taste or caprice! With what eloquence was the purity of the Doric and Tuscan, and Ionic and Corinthian, expatiated upon, whilst building after building was being erected, apparently but to show how far, and farther still corruption could be carried! Great differences prevailed, of course, between the architects of this class; some of them, whilst avoiding the worst features of debasement, were enabled through the originality of their minds to shed a glory over their productions, that made the eye at once less capable of, and less inclined to measure accurately the latent defects of the style: pre-eminent among these was Palladio in Italy; to their numbers also belong Inigo Jones and Wren in England, and perhaps, though in a much more limited degree, Wren's immediate successors, the architects before mentioned. The splendour of Palladio's reputation shows how popular the Italian-Roman style became among his countrymen, and its introduction into England by Jones, and more extensive diffusion as well as higher developement by Wren, was marked by an equally brilliant reception: as well it might be, when it gave us such works as the Banqueting House, St. Paul's, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, the majestic grandeur of the two first, and the strikingly harmonious combinations of the last, enhanced by their being seen through the most delusive and enchanting of all atmospheres — that of novelty. Well, two centuries have passed since the erection of the first of these buildings, and—the style has passed too. Of all the churches (to refer only to such works) built in London, during its prevalence, how few are there that now possess any higher claims to notice than those derived from their pointing the moral and adorning the tale of this somewhat remarkable phase in the history of English architecture.

Never was time more propitious for an artistical revolution than that which witnessed the growth of the style in question among us. With one stroke, as it were, of the parliamentary pen, fifty new churches were ordered to be built in consequence of the destruction caused by the fire; and when these were erected, and Wren had developed *his* views, fifty more were determined upon by the same authority, thereby presenting a similar opportunity for the development of the views of his successors. We refer to the Act passed in the 10th year of the reign of Queen Anne, having for one of its objects, to remedy the insufficiency of accommodation afforded by the churches of London and the vicinity; and for another, as we learn from the commission subsequently issued to regulate the necessary proceedings, the "redressing the inconvenience and growing mischiefs which resulted from the increase of Dissenters and Popery." The expense was to be defrayed by a small duty on coals brought into the port of London, for a certain period. We may here observe in passing, that the intentions of this Act, as regards the number of structures to be built, were but very imperfectly carried out. And now, as to the men who were to avail themselves of the magnificent field opened to their exertions. James Gibbs was born about 1674, and educated at Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. In his twentieth year he visited Holland, and entered into the service of an architect. In 1700, through the advice and

by the assistance of the Earl of Mar, his countryman and patron, he went to Italy, and studied for ten years. He then returned to England, to find the Earl of Mar in the ministry, at once able and willing to obtain employment for him from the Church Commissioners. The first stone of St. Mary's in the Strand was laid in 1714, the steeple finished in 1717, and the whole consecrated in 1723. As this—the first of Gibbs's ecclesiastical structures, has already been noticed in our pages,* and as he greatly improved upon it in his second, it will be sufficient here to describe the latter—St. Martin's in the Fields, the building on which Gibbs's fame chiefly rests—that fane, according to the poet Savage, who expressed only the general opinion of his time—

"Where God delights to dwell, and man to praise."

St. Martin's was finished in 1726 at an expense of 37,000*l.* The chief feature of the exterior, the portico, needs neither description nor eulogy, it is so universally known and admired. How much of that admiration has been owing to our want of familiarity with the Roman originals (the Corinthian order, the one here used, we need hardly observe, was one of the results of the adaptation by Rome

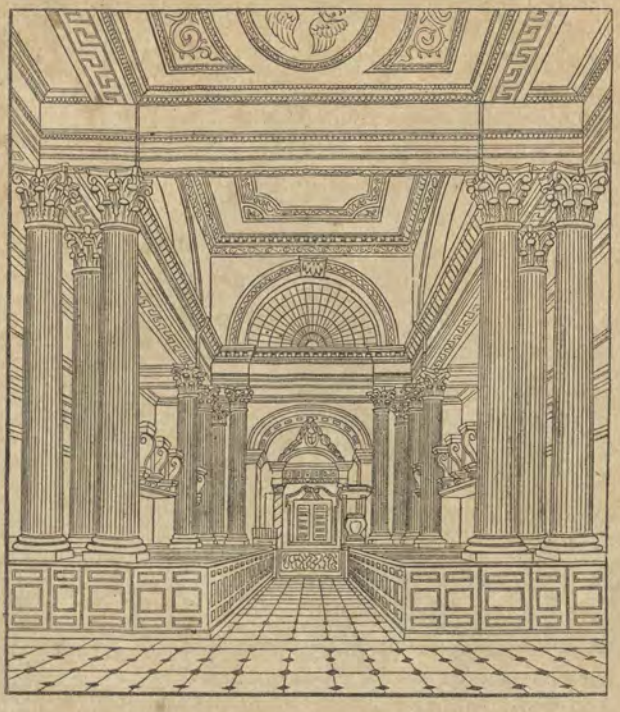
[St. Martin's Church.]

* 'The Strand,' No. XXXV. p. 156.

of the architecture of Greece), and how much to its intrinsic merits, is not however now so easy a question to decide as it once seemed. We have already learnt to feel the entire unfitness of its arched windows and doors, for the position they occupy; and still more, the discordance between the portico and the building to which it is attached. Could it be possible to devise windows either less beautiful in themselves, or more preposterously unfit for the exquisitely elegant columns and pilasters, so lavishly bestowed over the whole edifice, than those we see here, stretching along each side their double lines of ugliness? The steeple again, though exceedingly stately and elegant in its form, harmonises little better with the classical portico; and in the opinion of architects has another serious fault—instead of rising directly from the ground, it appears elevated above the roof. The interior presents an arched roof, supported by Corinthian columns, and in its general effect may deserve the commendation bestowed upon it, as "a perfect picture of architectural beauty,"* but if you examine the details with a more critical eye, you are reminded in every direction of Walpole's severer judgment, "In all is wanting that harmonious simplicity that speaks a genius." Columns are cut by galleries which appear to have helped the artist out of a difficulty by consenting to stand without support, the entablature is broken into bits, and the very profusion of decoration on the ceiling becomes an error, if you contrast it with the neighbouring parts that seem, in their comparative nakedness, to have been sacrificed in consequence. Although a very ancient foundation, and the parent of three or four others, St. Martin's has no particular features of interest in its earlier history; of the later, the most noticeable is the list of notorious or eminent persons buried within its precincts. The frail, but warm-hearted Nell Gwynn, is among the number, who left the ringers a sum of money for their weekly entertainment. In the vaults under the church lies Mrs. Centlivre, the dramatic writer, and in the churchyard Roubiliac, the great sculptor, who died in 1762, and whose funeral was attended by Hogarth and Reynolds. C. Dibdin was interred in the burial ground belonging to this church, at Camden Town; a man who, had he rendered a tithe of the services actually performed by him to the naval strength of his country, under the name of a captain instead of that of a writer, would have died a wealthy peer, but, as it was, drew his last breath in poverty.

Hawksmoor commenced operations about the same time as Gibbs, and with his best work, St. Mary Woolnoth, which was finished in 1719. The exterior exhibits both his faults and excellences: it has something of the heaviness which characterised him and his great associate in various structures (Vanbrugh), but has also the air of magnificence that belongs to both, with something like harmonious simplicity of decoration. The interior is sumptuously beautiful, though injured, as may be seen in our view, by the pews; the galleries also interfere with the classical simplicity and harmony of the plan. If the Italian-Roman school in England had advanced from works like this, instead of steadily retreating as if alarmed at its own success, we should have had possibly a very different fate to record in connection with it in these pages. But when Hawksmoor himself set the example, what else was to be expected of the herd who were to follow?

* Allan Cunningham.



[Interior of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street.]

His next church, St. Anne's, Limehouse, finished in 1824, presents all his worst qualities with scarcely any of his best; take away the indescribable circular porch, and the massive tower, with the equally indescribable collection of small obelisks placed by him upon the top, and the whole might be aptly designated by the word prison. The interior, on the contrary, is very splendid as regards the amount of decoration, but still worse in style from the confusion of the orders there used. If the architect had intended the minister occasionally to give his congregation a lesson on architecture, we could understand the propriety of the examples of composite columns, Ionic and Corinthian pillars, and Tuscan arches scattered about; as it is, we can but wonder that St. Anne's, Limehouse, and St. Mary Woolnoth, are by the same man. His next work, St. George's Church, was in the same neighbourhood, and, we suppose, suffered from the same influences, whether of locality or otherwise; of this we can only say that the most effective idea about it is the octagonal lantern on the top of the tower, which is surrounded by a series of square pillars, with round tops, presenting the exact appearance of so many cannons levelled against the sky. We must not forget to add one or two of the richest points about the erection of these buildings; so far from treating the commissions with neglect, as might be supposed from the unsatisfactory result, it appears that Hawksmoor was studiously imitating Vanbrugh in his designs for them; and better still, that according to Malcolm, St. George's is the product of the united genius of the *two* great men, Gibbs and Hawksmoor: the estimate, he says, was given in their names to the Commissioners. And what may it be sup-

posed was the amount actually expended (which considerably exceeded the estimate)? Why, 18,557*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*, or in rough terms, three thousand pounds more than the most expensive of Wren's churches. In St. George's, Bloomsbury, Hawksmoor made a material addition to his plans. Influenced probably by the admiration excited by Gibbs' portico to St. Martin's, he determined to have one for St. George's, and, as might have reasonably been expected, improved upon it in some points; it displays itself, for instance, better, from the height to which it is raised above the level of the street; though it is considered inferior in point of execution. But what shall be said of the heavy-looking body behind, or of the steeple, which one writer (Walpole) calls a masterpiece of absurdity, whilst others prefer it to any other in the metropolis, on the ground of its originality, picturesque form, and expressiveness? Neither the first quality nor the second can be denied; but if by expression is meant the expression of something finely appropriate, a brief uncoloured description seems to us the best answer to the assertion. Upon the tower, which *has* an expression of majestic simplicity, rises a range of unattached Corinthian pillars and pediments, extending round the four sides of the steeple, with a kind of double base, ornamented in the lower division with a round hole on each side, and a curious little projecting arch at each angle: above this stage commences a series of steps, gradually narrowing, so as to assume a pyramidal appearance, the lowest of which are ornamented at the corners by lions and unicorns guarding the royal arms (the former with his tail and heels frisking in the air), and which support at the apex, on a short column, a statue, in Roman costume, of George I. Now the only expression apparent here to our eye, is, that the steps do certainly answer in one way the not unnatural query of how the King got to so uncommon and unaccountable a position.

The other architects of the period in question, who rose into reputation or notice by their churches, are James, Archer, and Flitcroft. To the first we owe the aristocratic church of the most aristocratical of parishes, St. George's, Hanover Square, completed in 1724, or two years *before* St. Martin's; a circumstance of some importance, when we consider that its portico is considered to be only surpassed by that of the church referred to. As to the interior, not only are all the orders there, but more we fear than either an antique Roman or Greek would be willing to recognise. It is, indeed, but too evident, that, with all the architects we have mentioned, in all their works, St. Mary Woolnoth alone excepted, they have been excellent in the exact proportion in which they have been least original: their porticoes have chiefly made the fame of Gibbs, Hawksmoor, and James, which, at the best, we now learn from the highest authorities, are, in all their beauty, but imperfect imitations of their respective originals.* St. Luke's, Old Street, with its fluted obelisk for a spire, is another of James' works, erected in 1732. Archer's well-known production is St. John's church, Westminster, finished in 1728; and which, if it were possible to designate by any single phrase, it must be some such as—Architecture run mad. If one could imagine a collection of all the ordinary materials of a church in the last century, with an extraordinary profusion of decoration, of porticoes, and of towers, to have suddenly dropt down

* Mr. Gwilt, for instance, expressly says thus of St. Martin's, whilst acknowledging it to be the best we have.

from the skies, and, by some freak of Nature, to have fallen into a kind of order and harmony and fantastic grandeur,—the four towers at the angles, the porticoes at the ends and in the front,—it would give no very exaggerated idea of St. John's. Vanbrugh, says Pennant, had the discredit of the pile. There is something refreshing in turning from such a specimen of originality to the soberer form and unpretending style of St. Giles in the Fields, with its tall and graceful spire. It is curious that this edifice, which has given to Flitcroft his reputation, should be attributed, in the Report of the Church Commissioners to the House of Commons, to Hawksmoor, who, they say, expended 8605*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* upon it; but there is no doubt but Walpole, and the View, published in 1753, are correct in ascribing it to Flitcroft, who was probably employed by Gibbs, and not by the Commissioners. The interior has an arched ceiling, supported by Ionic pillars, and is more than usually chaste and beautiful. The 'Resurrection Gate,' as the entrance at one corner of the churchyard is called, from the representation of that event seen on its upper portion, is of older date than the church, having been executed about 1687. The old church, to which it was then an adjunct, had in former times many rich monuments; one, to Sir Roger L'Estrange, the well-known loyalist and writer, still remains. During the civil war Sir Roger had some narrow escapes: once he was condemned to be shot as a spy, but managed to get away from his place of confinement. Inconsistency in political writers is a spectacle we are not altogether unfamiliar with in our own times, but this worthy Knight has given us one of the oddest instances of the kind perhaps on record. After the Restoration he published a newspaper, called the 'Public Intelligencer,' in the very first number of which he thus explains his views of the nature of the agency he was setting on foot:—"I think," says he "it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch but a kind of colourable right and license to be meddling with their government;" *therefore* our acute logician hastens to give the multitude a fresh opportunity. A more distinguished sharer in the turbulent but sublime war of principles that has made the seventeenth century for ever memorable, Andrew Marvel, was also interred here—a man, in whose reputation the glory of the patriot has eclipsed the fine powers of the poet. St. Giles also preserves the ashes of a truly great poet, Chapman, the translator of Homer, as well as the author of an immense amount of original writings. One of the most curious things, perhaps, in the unwritten history of poets' opinions of each other, is Cowper's of Chapman. He had never seen the older poet's version till his own was far advanced, and, when he did see it, spoke of it with supreme contempt! This is entertaining enough now, when Chapman's version has become almost universally recognised as that which alone gives us the true spirit and flavour of the blind old bard. But what a world of masterly epithets (Pope took care to borrow or imitate some of the best), of exquisite lines and passages, are there in Chapman in addition! In that point, as well as in the other, Cowper's translation will not bear the comparison. Here is one line of the numberless lines that, once heard, there is no forgetting afterwards—

> "And when the Lady of the light, the rosy-fingered Morn
> Awoke," &c.

in which poetry and music are truly and indissolubly 'married.' Another of the illustrious has yet to be mentioned in connection with St. Giles, an artist whose works have raised him to the very highest pinnacle of European fame as a sculptor—a man whose life was but a counterpart of his works: each illustrating each. Flaxman was buried here on the 15th of December, 1826, his body accompanied to the grave by the President and Council of the Royal Academy. For once, an inscription speaks simple truth: we read here, "John Flaxman, R.A., P.S., whose mortal life was a constant preparation for a blessed immortality: his angelic spirit returned to the Divine Giver on the 7th of December, 1826, in the seventy-second year of his age." There is a peculiarly interesting circumstance connected with his death, told by Allan Cunningham, in his 'Lives of the British Sculptors,'* which we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing. He says, "The winter had set in, and, as he was never a very early mover, a stranger found him rising one morning when he called about nine o'clock. 'Sir,' said the visitant, presenting a book as he spoke, 'this work was sent to me by the author, an Italian artist, to present to you, and at the same time to apologise for its extraordinary dedication. In truth, sir, it was so generally believed throughout Italy that you were dead, that my friend determined to show the world how much he esteemed your genius, and having this book ready for publication, he has inscribed it 'Al Ombra di Flaxman.' No sooner was the book published than the story of your death was contradicted, and the author, affected by his mistake, which nevertheless he rejoices at, begs you will receive his work and his apology.' Flaxman smiled, and accepted the volume with unaffected modesty, and mentioned the circumstance, as curious, to his own family and some of his friends." This occurred on Saturday, the 2nd of December, when he was well and cheerful; the next day he was taken suddenly ill with cold, and on the 7th was dead. The ground on which St. Giles's stands was formerly occupied by a hospital, founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I., for lepers; and it was in front of this hospital that Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was so savagely burnt, during the reign of Henry V., his early friend. The phrase 'St. Giles's Bowl' will remind many of the custom that formerly prevailed here of giving every malefactor on his way to Tyburn a bowl of ale, as his last worldly draught.

As to the host of other churches that arose during the same or a little later period, it were useless to enter into any architectural details. Eternal imitations apparent through eternal attempts at originality are their chief characteristics where the architects had any ambition; where they had not, their churches sank even below contempt, built as they mostly were in a style requiring splendour of decoration and harmonious combinations of form as its essentially redeeming features: qualities that the masters in the school alone could give. So we shall merely notice such of them as present any other features of moment. In St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate Street, the architecture of which, and of an extensive similar class, seems to us best described as of the puffy cherubim with wings order (so favourite a species of decoration is that feature, and so completely does it harmonise, in its way, with all around), lies buried, with a monument preserved from the old church, Sir Peter Paul Pindar, the inhabitant of the neighbouring

* Page 359.

house in Bishopsgate Street, where we have still preserved a most rich and unique specimen of the ancient domestic architecture of the metropolis. Sir Peter was one of the wealthiest, and, it is pleasant to add, one of the most munificent-minded men of his time: his splendid benefactions to Old St. Paul's will, no doubt, be recollected by our readers. Many instances of the same spirit in lesser matters may be found in the books of the parish. One of the most amusing is the pasty (a yearly gift apparently) which he gave to the parishioners in 1634; we may judge of its size when we find that 19*s.* 7*d.* was paid for the mere "flour, butter, pepper, eggs, making, and baking." We may add, from the same books, another notice to those already given in our preceding articles, of the pleasant way in which parish affairs were formerly managed. In 1578, we find, "paid for frankincense and flowers, when the Chancellor sate with us," 11*s.* In the churchyard there is a tomb inscribed with Persian characters, of which Stow gives the following account: "August 10, 1626. In Petty France [a part of the cemetery unconsecrated], out of Christian burial, was buried Hodges Shaughsware, a Persian merchant, who with his son came over with the Persian ambassador, and was buried by his own son, who read certain prayers, and used other ceremonies, according to the custom of their own country, morning and evening, for a whole month after the burial; for whom is set up, at the charge of his son, a tomb of stone with certain Persian characters thereon: the exposition thus—This grave is made for Hodges Shaughsware, the chiefest servant to the King of Persia for the space of 20 years, who came from the King of Persia and died in his service. If any Persian cometh out of that country, let him read this and a prayer for him, the Lord receive his soul, for here lieth Maghmote Shaughsware, who was born in the town Novoy, in Persia."* There is something affecting in the allusion to a chance visitor from the far-distant country;—one of those touches of nature that make the wide world kin,—a desire on the part of the bereaved son to find some chance—even the remotest—that his father's ashes should be hallowed by human sympathy. In the churchyard of St. George, in the Borough, rebuilt 1731, lies Bishop Bonner, who died in the neighbouring prison of the Marshalsea in 1569, whither he was committed by Elizabeth for his refusal to take the oath of supremacy. An anecdote is told of him, at the period of his committal, which shows his temper in a more favourable light than his public conduct would lead us to anticipate. On his way to the prison, one called out "The Lord confound or else turn thy heart!" Bonner coolly replied, "The Lord send thee to keep thy breath to cool thy porridge." To another, who insulted him on his deprivation from the episcopal rank, he could even be witty. "Good morrow, Bishop *quondam*," was the attack: "Farewell, knave *semper*," was the reply. Shoreditch was rebuilt about 1731 by the elder Dance; St. Botolph's, Aldgate, originally given by the descendants of the thirteen knights forming the Knighten Guild to the Priory of Trinity, in 1741; St. Mary, Whitechapel, in 1764; and St. Alphage or Elphege, one of the churches that escaped the fire, in 1777. The porch of St. Alphage, with its sculptured heads and pointed arches, is, however, no production of the eighteenth century, but a remnant of the old Elsing Priory. Among the registers of this church we find a

* Stow, 'Survey,' ed. 1633, p. 173.

record of those that have certified they have been touched by his Majesty for the evil, an occupation that must have accorded but ill with the other modes adopted for the disposal of time by Charles II. But the number of persons thus operated upon is not the least extraordinary part of the affair; about forty in this one parish in the course of a few years: multiply this by any reasonable number that shall be thought sufficient to include all the other parishes of England in proportion to their size and distance, and the product is startling. No wonder that it became necessary to regulate such proceedings by public proclamation, or Charles would have found that, in his willingness to affect the saint, he would be leaving himself no time to practise the sinner. The following bears date May 18, 1664: "His sacred Majesty having declared it to be his royal will and purpose to continue the healing of his people for the evil during the month of May, and then give over till Michaelmas next, I am commanded to give notice thereof, that the people may not come up to the town in the interim and lose their labour." The foundation of this church, like that of the old church at Greenwich, was probably intended to mark the public feeling as to the memorable event that closed the personal history of St. Elphege. At the time Canterbury was besieged by the Danes under Thurkill, in 1011, he was archbishop, and distinguished himself by the courage with which he defended that city for twenty days against their assaults. Treachery, however, then opened the gates, and Elphege having been made prisoner was loaded with chains, and treated with the greatest severity in order to make him follow the example of his worthless sovereign Ethelred, and purchase an ignominious liberty by gold. Greenwich at that time formed the Danish head-quarters, whither the archbishop was conveyed. Here he was tempted by the offer of a lower rate of ransom; again and again was he urged to yield by every kind of threat and solicitation: "You press me in vain," was the noble Saxon's reply; "I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth, by robbing my poor countrymen to enrich their enemies." At last, the patience of the Danes was worn out: so one day (the 19th of April, 1012) they sent for him to a banquet, when their blood was inflamed by wine, and on his appearance saluted him with tumultuous cries of "Gold! gold! Bishop, give us gold, or thou shalt to-day become a public spectacle." Calm and unmoved, Elphege gazed on the circle of infuriate men, who hemmed him in, and who presently began to strike him with the flat sides of their battle-axes, and to fling at him the bones and horns of the oxen, that had been slain for the feast. And thus he would have been slowly murdered, but for one Thrum, a Danish soldier, who had been converted by Elphege, and who now in mercy smote him with the edge of his weapon, when he fell dead. A church was subsequently erected to his memory over the fatal spot, and another in London—probably at the same period—the church which led to this brief account of a very interesting historical passage.

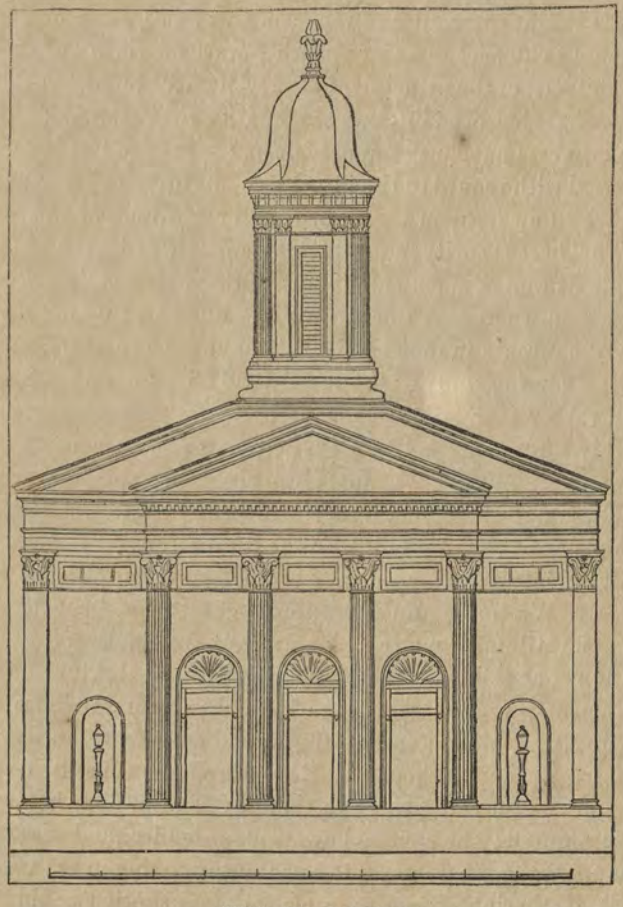
After the erection of such of the fifty churches as were erected, and the rebuilding, as we have just seen, of some of the older ones, there was a remarkable pause: during the long period extending from the commencement of the reign of George III. down almost to its close there were not (including St. Alphage and St. Mary, Whitechapel) six churches erected in the metropolis. In an architectural point of view this was fortunate. The Italian-Roman school had

been fairly put before the public, and there required time to come to a right understanding of its comparative merits with the Gothic, which it superseded here, and the purer Grecian and Roman schools, on which it had raised itself at home. The general character of the numerous new churches that now meet us on every side in the metropolis, the growth of the last twenty-five years, speaks emphatically that the decision has been unfavourable. It was again fortunate that after such a period the more eminent architects who assumed the responsible position of erecting buildings that, from their very character as well as from their metropolitan position, should always be the best the state of the art can furnish, did not attempt originality, till they had purified their own and the public tastes, by familiarity with the long misunderstood and misused works of antiquity. There can be nothing more certain in art of any kind, than that every permanent advance must be based on a thorough appreciation of the excellence that has gone before. Invaluable, therefore, were the variety of buildings erected in the early part of the present century, in which the Grecian orders, the Doric and Ionic, were introduced; though no doubt there was plenty of room for improvement in the mode of the introduction. It is in this light that the beautiful church of St. Pancras, New Road, appears with even greater interest than its exquisite columns and doors alone could give it. This was finished in 1822; the architects were Messrs. W. and H. Inwood, men who had evidently drunk deep at the undefiled well of Athenian architecture. Their building is an avowed imitation of the famous temple of Erechtheion at Athens, one of the most florid existing specimens of the Ionic order. Here we began to learn, for the first time, what absurdities had been committed under the shelter of great names. The doors in the portico were now found to be an essential beauty of the latter, instead of standing out in barbarous discrepancy with it: but then they were very different doors from those of St. Martin's in the Fields, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, being, at the time of their introduction, perfectly unique in England for beauty. We now found, too, that the Greeks had been able to erect a body to their fronts, not simply harmonising with, but so essentially forming a part of it, that it is only wonderful they should ever have been divided. And how perfectly beautiful that body is, with its windows, and sculptured band, and cornice, and rich antefixæ studding as with fret-work the line of roof, and so finely relieved against the sky! Other interesting features of the exterior are the two projecting porches at the eastern extremity of the north and south sides, also imitated from a building attached to one side only of the Athenian temple, and called the Pandrosium. This is supported by caryatidal female figures, an exceedingly striking and expressive architectural feature. The origin of the use of such figures is attributed, with great probability of correctness, to the custom that prevailed among the Athenian virgins, of carrying on their heads the sacred vessels used in their religious ceremonies. In the Pandrosium there were six figures, at St. Pancras there are but four on each range, and they form the chief exception to the general excellence of execution visible through all the details of the church. Here is a drawing of one of the original figures now forming a part of the invaluable treasures of the British Museum. Within each porch a large sarcophagus expresses its purpose —it is the entrance to the catacombs, which are very spacious. The steeple is imitated from another Grecian work, the Temple of Winds, at Athens, but

[Female Caryatid Figure from the Pandrosium.]

combines happily with the other parts of the exterior. Judging by analogy from the buildings of the last century, where it is really surprising to observe how seldom it was attempted to have the Within and the Without in harmony of richness and decoration, we should be little prepared for the interior of St. Pancras; but the all-pervading *feeling* of the truest artists (with one noticeable exception in later times, the Gothic) that the world ever saw, is so powerfully impressed on their buildings, that beauty prepares you for beauty, and you are never disappointed. The galleries of St. Pancras are, of course, the same as usual—however skilfully adapted to the building,—excrescences; but the exquisite form of those columns that support them, give the eye pleasanter occupation than to dwell on defects, and when we learn their history we are not surprised: they are taken from casts of the Elgin marbles. On the remaining features of interest in St. Pancras, the range of verd-antique columns with bases and capitals of white marble (from the temple of Minerva) over the communion-table, the ground-glass windows with their

richly-stained borders, the pulpit and reading-desk, constructed, as we are told, out of the celebrated Fairlop Oak, our space will not permit us to dwell. From the foregoing description our readers will be prepared to hear that the cost was considerable, namely, 76,679*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Of the later works in the same style of architecture, the little chapel of St. Mark, North Audley Street, finished in 1828, deserves especial commendation for its departure from the frigid commonplace imitations which most of these buildings exhibit. The chaste elegance of the still more recently erected building here shown, needs no eulogy. It is by Professor Hosking, of King's College.



[Trinity Chapel, Poplar.]

There is one point of view in which these revolutions of taste that mark the present and last two centuries, appear peculiarly striking. A nation, among its other priceless bequests to posterity, leaves a perfect system of architecture; that system is taken up by another great nation, men of the highest intellectual power adapt it to their national views and habits, and add a second system scarcely less essentially original in any practical meaning of the word, to the world's artistical wealth. Now, is it not strange that after all the skill, learning, enthusiasm and treasure expended in altering, adapting, or improving these two

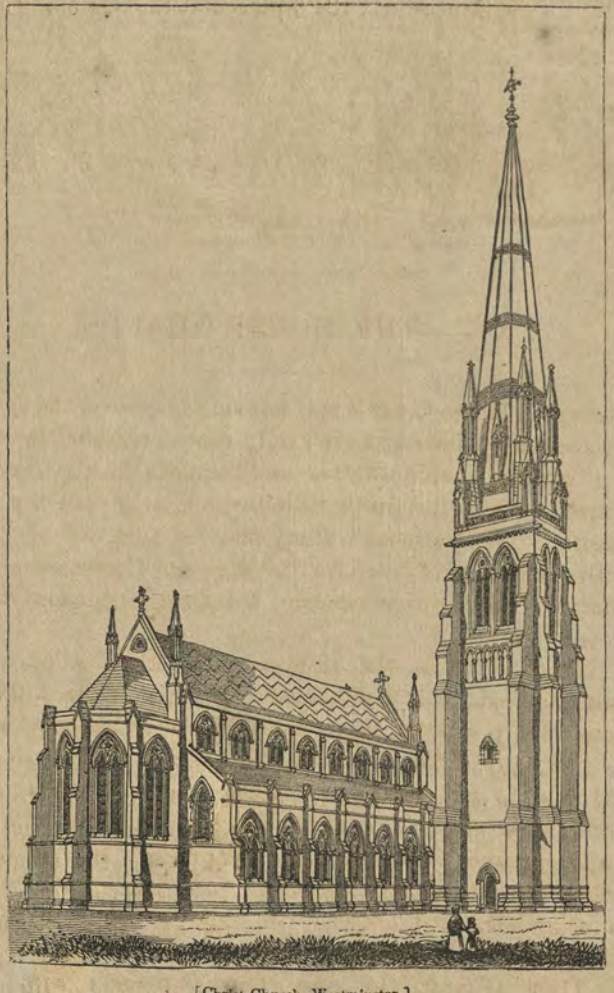
systems, since the revival of arts and learning, that now, in the nineteenth century, we are fain to go back (in that direction of the architectural compass) to those systems; nay, we seem not content to stop short with the Roman school, but, as if the very suspicion of adulteration was enough to repel us, go on to the ultimate point from which we started. And what but the same kind of movement is taking place still more energetically with the Gothic, which lay for the same period, under an infinitely deeper cloud? It was not simply misunderstood by professing admirers; on the contrary, there were scarcely any who thought it worthy of admiration. The re-action of this sentiment must be remembered, when we look at the many, and ambitious works that have been erected in this style of late years. But after all allowance on this score, some of these buildings present satisfactory evidences of an approach towards a right appreciation on the parts of their architects, of the principles of the wonderful buildings they have taken for their model. There has been but one truly dark age in England for architecture, and that is the period we have just emerged from :—emerged at least, if the experience of that period with regard to the improvements upon the Roman and Grecian styles, be not thrown away upon the improvers or adapters of this with regard to the pointed. The best security against this danger will be the general diffusion among the people as well as among architects, of that appreciation we have referred to. We have reason, therefore, to congratulate ourselves upon the circumstance that so many new churches in the Gothic style have been recently built, as offering increased facilities for the study of the latter, and still more, that in the principal of these, purity rather than originality has been the architect's grand aim. Let us but thoroughly understand and enjoy that or any other style, and we may then safely attempt to advance whenever the right men are prepared to lead the way. Foremost among the structures calculated to forward these views, stands that which was also earliest in point of time in the present revival of pointed architecture in the metropolis—we allude to the New Church at Stepney, erected about 1822 by Mr. Walters, in an exceedingly chaste and beautiful style. This was followed by the still more magnificent structure at Chelsea, St. Luke's, by Mr. Savage, with a tower at the west end 142 feet in height: this building was finished in 1824, or in the same year as that just object of universal ridicule, the church of All Souls, with its circular advanced tower, and cone spire, in Langham Place: a noticeable contrast. St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, consists of two portions, the buildings for residence, which are in the old English domestic style, and the chapel, which is pointed; the whole however harmonise, and at the same time express very happily the character of the pile as the home of a once religious community. St. Katherine's forms a remarkable exception to the rule for the dissolution of religious houses; a good fortune which it seems to have derived from its having been first founded by a Queen, Matilda, wife of Stephen, and then refounded by Elinor, widow of Henry III., who made it an especial appanage to the Queens of England. Philippa, wife of Edward, was also a great benefactress, as we are reminded by the excellent carvings of her head and the King's, still preserved with the ancient stalls they decorate, and the very curious old pulpit, in the chapel. There was formerly a Guild attached to St. Katherine s, dedicated to St. Barbara, of which great numbers of eminent persons were members; from Henry VIII. and his wife downwards. In the Hospital itself,

Verstegan, the author of the 'Restitution of Decayed Antiquities,' was born, and Raymond Lully wrote his *Testamentum Novissimum*. Many distinguished persons were also buried in the old church or precincts. The only monument that remains is the Duke of Exeter's, 1447, with the effigies of that nobleman and his two wives; an interesting specimen of ancient monumental sculpture. In connexion with this memorial Mr. Brayley mentions a very disgraceful circumstance that occurred in the pulling down of the old church of St. Katherine (for the erection of the docks to which it has given name); the tomb was opened and the remains dispersed; the head, it appears, passed into the possession of the dock-surveyor. The establishment now consists, we believe, of a master, three brothers, three sisters, ten bedeswomen, a registrar, high bailiff, &c. Several other modern Gothic buildings deserve especial mention, which our space compels us to pass by; of two of these we give engravings, namely, St. Peter's, Bankside, 1840, here shown, and St. Mary's, Southwark, 1842, placed at the beginning of our number.

[St. Peter's Church, Bankside.

St. Dunstan's in the West demands a few additional words, if it be only for its past fame. Who does not remember its clock, and the clubmen who struck the hours and quarters on the bell suspended between them, and the eternal crowd of gazers on the opposite side of the street, waiting for the moment of action? Yet not all their popularity saved them from being turned off with contumely at last; fortunately there was one man of taste to appreciate them, though that man were the late Marquis of Hertford, to whose villa in Regent's Park, we believe, they were removed. Old St. Dunstan's had a kind of literary reputation also; Mr. Brayley in his 'Londiniana,' gives us the title-pages of certain books, published about the beginning of the seventeenth century, as 'Epigrams by H. P,' 'News from Italy of a Second Moses,' the 'Blazon of Jealousy,' &c.,

which show that at least four different booksellers had shops in the churchyard, one of them "under the dial." The church was rebuilt about 1833, from the designs of Mr. Shaw, the architect of Christ's Hospital, who died, as we learn from a tablet over the entrance, on the 12th day after its completion. It must have been a satisfaction, even in the dying hour, to feel that such a work *was* completed. The tower, 130 feet high, is an exceedingly picturesque composition, and the interior is no less distinguished for its general elegance of style and richness of decoration. That the latest in point of time of the modern Gothic structures of London, which is in fact unfinished—we allude to Christ Church, Westminster—should also promise to be the most beautiful, may be received, we hope, as a sign of the progress we are making in the grandest of the arts in its grandest form.



[Christ Church, Westminster.]

[Principal Front of the Horse Guards.]

CXIV.—THE HORSE GUARDS.

WITHOUT flattery, the Horse Guards may be said to be one of the ugliest buildings in her Majesty's service. Barracks are rarely considered models of architectural beauty; and it is questionable whether any barracks in the three kingdoms—even the monstrosity which disfigures Edinburgh Castle—can equal in ugliness the Horse Guards. The National Gallery may be admitted to hold rivalry in this respect with the Offices of Secretary at War and Commander-in-Chief; but as it was built by a British Academician, for British Academicians, what else could be expected?

The Horse Guards—that is, the building so called in familiar conversation—was built about the middle of last century by Vardy, after a design by Kent. That was a time when people in this country appear to have had a vague notion that there was a thing called architecture which was admired by those who understood it; that Italian architecture, in particular, was highly esteemed; and that in Italian architecture there were pavilions and cupolas, basements, and what not. Such an age of ignorance and imbecility was precisely the one in which a bad copier of indifferent prints, like Kent, might pass himself off for an architect, and his copies for architectural designs. In justice to Vardy, it ought to be remarked that his mason-work is well enough. But as for the architectural pretensions of the Horse Guards, the moss-grown buttresses of the Treasury look like a Melrose Abbey beside it; the Admiralty (bating the screen) and the Pay

Office are mere houses, and pretend to be nothing more, so do not offend; and even the pseudo-Hellenism of the Board of Trade looks respectable beside it. How ashamed Whitehall must feel of its neighbours!

After all, the Horse Guards is but a shell: it is what is going on within it, and the anxious hopes and fears of which it is the centre, and the wonder-working orders that have in times past issued from it, that make us pause to regard it.

Not but that there are attractions here for the most unreflecting sight-seer. Those two seemly troopers on their powerful chargers, who, with burnished cuirass and carbine on knee, sit motionless as statues in the niches of the two overgrown sentry boxes for two hours on a stretch (they commence those sittings at ten A.M., and are relieved every two hours, until four P.M., when their sentry duties terminate for the day), are figures that can scarcely be passed without attracting a glance of admiration. And there is generally a numerous collection of blackguard boys, members of parliament, crossings-sweepers and out-of-office cabmen, occupants of stools in government offices, and orange-women—in short, of all the professional frequenters of this part of the town—collected to watch the rather striking ceremony of changing guard. The folding doors, in the rear of the stone sentry boxes aforesaid, are thrown open, two cuirassed and helmeted heroes, on sleek snorting steeds that might bear a man through a summer day's tourney or through a red field of battle without flagging, ride in, and, upon the philosophical principle that no two bodies can co-exist in the same space, push the living statues already there out in front, who, each describing a semicircle, meet and ride side by side through the central gate, and so back to their stables.

This Guard is part of the Queen's Guard, more especially so called from being mounted within the precincts of the palace. The movements of the Queen's Guard of the Household Brigade of Cavalry are regulated nominally by the "Gold Stick in Waiting" (that is to say, by one of the Colonels of the two regiments of Life Guards and of the "Blues"), but virtually by their Lieutenant Colonel, who is technically termed the "Silver Stick in Waiting," and who, as well as the Gold Stick, is relieved every alternate month. The movements of the Queen's Guard, belonging to the Household Infantry, are under the superintendence of the "Field Officer in Waiting," who is always on duty at the Horse Guards. He also is on duty for a month, and relieved by the next of equal rank in order on the roll, which commences with the Grenadiers.

The barracks in London where the Foot Guards are stationed are:—The Wellington Barracks, in the Bird-cage Walk; the Portman Street Barracks, in Portman Street; the St. George's Barracks, Trafalgar Square; St. John's Wood Barracks; Kensington Barracks (a small detachment); and a battalion in the Tower. The cavalry barracks are at Knightsbridge and the Regent's Park. All orders concerning all the Guards in London are given out by the field-officer on duty at the Horse Guards. For example, should any of them be wanted on an emergency, the Commander-in-Chief communicates with him, and he arranges what regiment is to supply the detachment required. Of course, he makes his election in the order of the *roster*.

The Guard commonly called the Queen's (or King's) Guard are—1st. One Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign at the Palace of St. James's, which

is considered a sort of head quarters. 2nd. One subaltern at Buckingham House. 3rd. One Captain and two Subalterns at the Tilt Yard—for that name, associated with the stately tourneys of the ages of Elizabeth and Henry VIII., still survives,—attached to the site of the Horse Guards. The officers in the Guards, it is well known, have rank in the army above what they hold in their regiments; but when on duty among themselves, the subalterns, that is, the Lieutenants and Ensigns, do all that appertains to those of the same nominal rank in regiments of the line. These three Guards supply the sentinels stationed at Buckingham and Storey's Gates, at the various Government Offices, at the entry from Spring Gardens into St. James's Park, at the Duke of York's Column, all round St. James's Palace, and about Buckingham House.

The guard at St. James's is the only one that mounts always with the Queen's colours. At all other guards—even guards of honour, unless it be for a crowned head—they mount with the colours of the regiment.

With the most showy and ceremonious mounting of a guard in England at St. James's Palace—with the less gorgeous but, perhaps, more imposing relief of the guard at the Horse Guards—with the close proximity of the Wellington and St. George's Barracks—with the marching and countermarching of the guards drawn from the cavalry barracks—with the marching of the infantry from the barracks above-named to drill or inspection in Hyde Park, the precincts of the Palace afford, of a forenoon, the most stirring military spectacle (apart from a regular review), to be seen in the kingdom. Within and around this region, the Guards—foot and horse—are the characteristic features of the scene, the real *genii loci*—and fine-looking fellows they are. As to their accoutrements, a uniform must be judged less as it tells upon the individual soldier than as it tells *en masse* upon a large body of men. But even upon individuals, the uniform of the Guards shows well. Somewhat ponderous and stiff they may be, but that bespeaks strength and discipline. The Blues too, in their enormous jack-boots, when seen sauntering along on foot, remind us in this of swans, or a kindred species of bird, that they are fine-looking creatures in their element, but helpless out of it. They contrast, however, most favourably with the fantastic frippery of hussars and lancer regiments. They are substantial and genuine English. One can imagine Marlborough and Ligonier viewing them complacently: they are in keeping with the athletic image of Shaw, who with his own arm slaughtered so many Frenchmen at Waterloo.

A soldier's is not an idle life, even in time of peace, whatever may be said to the contrary. His martial duties may appear trifling to those who know not the importance of keeping them a habit, but they consume much time and no little attention. Still, an officer in the Guards must, to a certain extent, be, while in London, a gay lounger. His position in society—the vicinities into which his duties carry him—keep him in close juxta-position with the gay world, and it is the easiest thing in nature, when he has but one spare moment, to drop into the dissipations of fashion for that brief space. Still, in the dead season, the town must seem a desert to him, and banishment to the Tower, a fate which he must be prepared to encounter at regular intervals, is tedium in the extreme. But he has his resources—the Guards' Club, and the dinners at St. James's and the Bank.

Into the former we presume not to penetrate: a gentleman's club-house is his home, where he is entitled to shut the door on all strangers and hint to those admitted—"*sub rosa*." The dinners may be said in a manner to be at John Bull's expense, and John thinks he has a right to know how his money is spent. He has no reason to complain on the present occasion.

The subaltern at Buckingham Palace, the Captain and two Subalterns at the Horse Guards, and the Field Officer, Captain, and Subaltern at the head guard, dine together at St. James's. The Adjutant of the regiment which gives the guard dines with them if he feel disposed, and the Lieutenant Colonel has the privilege of inviting three friends. Any day on which he does not avail himself of this privilege, he gives it up to the other officers. Not belonging to the Leg of Mutton, or to the Noctes Ambrosianæ, or to the Cervantes schools of literature, we could at any time much more easily eat a good dinner than describe it; the reader, therefore, must hold us excused. The Guards' dinners at St. James's are of ancient standing, and it is a shame that now-a-days, when military men have betaken themselves to writing like their neighbours, none of their traditions have been given to the public. It is a thousand pities Miss Burney was not a guardsman: the records of the mess would have furnished forth much more inspiring incidents than the Frau Schwellenberg's dinners to the Equerries, at which "dear little" Fanny presided as vice-bedchamber-woman. To Gilray are we indebted for the only peep into the *symposia* of the Guards at St. James's with which the public has been favoured; and until some member of the corps takes up the pen to show that his predecessors could talk, joke, and sing to the purpose, the corps must be contented to be judged by that caricature.

The dinner at the Bank—but first a word of the Tower, "whither, at certain seasons, all the" guards are conveyed to do penance for a time for their junkettings at the other end of the town. There is generally, as has already been remarked, a battalion on duty here. The officer locally in command is called the Governor, but his actual rank is that of Tower or Fort Major only. All orders applying to the Tower exclusively, or as a garrison, such as parade for divine service, &c., are given by the Fort Major; but all other orders, such as the actual mounting of the guard, the Bank piquet, &c., come from the Field Officer on duty at the Horse Guards. The guard at the Tower is, as at the Palace, an officer's guard, and so is the piquet at the Bank, to which we now proceed.

Dinner is provided by the Bank for the officer on guard there and two friends. A snug, plain, excellent dinner it is, brought daily from one of the best taverns in the neighbourhood. The store which the Guards set by this dinner—excellent though it be—speaks volumes for the ennui which broods over the period during which they are stationed at the Tower. Some time ago a regiment of the line was marched into the Tower, and the battalion of Guards withdrawn. All the other duties of the place were gladly and unreluctantly given up to the new-comers with the solitary exception of the inlying piquet at the Bank. The duty might have been given up, but to relinquish the dinner was impossible. And on this account, so long as the Tower remained denuded of the presence of the Guards, the Bank piquet, regularly detailed from the far West End, duly and daily threaded the crowded Strand, passed under

Temple Bar, jostled along Fleet Street, scrambled up Ludgate Hill, rounded St. Paul's, and over Cheapside, erst the scene of tournaments, charged home to the Bank of England. The cynosure of attraction to the weary sub on duty—the magnet which drew him to encounter this long and toilsome march, and worse, the incarceration of four-and-twenty mortal hours within the walls of the Bank, was not the ingots piled within these walls—his high spirit disdained them; not the bright eyes of City maid or dame—these must now be sought in the suburbs; it was the substantial savoury fare of the City—the genuine roast beef of Old England, and the City's ancient port, far surpassing the French cookery and French wines of St. James's.

But rich and substantial though the feast provided for the red-coated dragon (as Mause Headrigg might have termed him), who guarded the golden fruit of their Hesperides, by the merchant princes of the Bank of England, its merits were heightened in the estimation of the young guardsmen by the circumstances under which it was eaten. After a dreary banishment to the Tower for months—after the weariest period of that dull service, the dreary day, spent within the walls of the Bank—it is easy to conceive the relief felt by a young soldier as his moodiness relaxed and opened under the influence of good fare and good wine, and the chat of two favourite companions. Engagements that might have looked common-place elsewhere, and under other circumstances, were Elysium there and then. What a moment was that, when the hour of shutting the gates approaching, his visitors must leave him! The sweetest minute of the evening—he tasted it not in the bustle of leave taking, but, like all sweets approached to the mouth and withdrawn untasted, it lived for ever unchanged in remembrance. Such another moment is the five minutes before twelve at the St. James's dinner, when the butler enters, and with sly unconsciousness announces the hour, and the decanters are sent hastily round (no "black bottles" there), the glasses emptied and replenished, and a new supply ordered in—the last that can be issued from cellarage or butlery that night.

Amid the not unpleasing but somewhat monotonous hours of the life of an officer of the Guards on duty in London, these two dinners occupy a large space in his imagination. They are like the holidays to which a school-boy looks forward and backward; great part of his year is made up of them. He dates from their recurrence. Only one other dinner has ever held the same place in the estimation of Guardsmen—and its place was far higher. The Duke of York, when Commander-in-Chief, was frequently in the habit of dining at the Horse Guards on those days—and they were many—when he transacted business there. On such occasions it was his unvarying practice to invite the officer on guard to his table; and it has been our lot to hear a veteran who has seen much of life—from the gay quarters of London to the plague-stricken sands of Egypt—speak long afterwards of these dinners as among the most pleasing recollections of his life. The Duke of York was not, like his eldest brother, "the first gentleman in Europe"—he did not affect the society of wits, or shine himself in repartee—but he had a heart, and that was felt and acknowledged by every one who came into close connection with him. Spoiled he might be to some extent by his station—who would not? *Grossier* he might be in his tastes—it was the family failing. But he was kind to the last, and had a strong sense of justice. As a leader in the

field, though personally brave, he did not shine; but as Commander-in-Chief, as the organiser and upholder of an army in the Cabinet, England owes him a deep debt of gratitude. He was to the army what another Prince who bore the same title was, rather more than a century earlier, to the navy.

According to Fielding, Mrs. Bennet apologised to Amelia for inviting Serjeant Atkinson to take a cup of tea with her, by alleging that a serjeant in the Guards was a gentleman. The non-commissioned officers, and, we may say at the same time, the privates of these regiments retain the character to the present day. Bating his plundering and torturing propensities, Serjeant Bothwell, could he come alive again, would not find himself out of place among them. In former days, at Angelo's Rooms, we used to think the demeanour of the Household Cavalry quite as gentlemanly as some individuals of higher station, with whom they condescended to play at single-stick, and in the Fives Court the fancy Guardsmen were decidedly more gentlemanly than the pugilistic amateurs of rank. The British soldier of our days—and this remark is general, applicable to the whole army—is not a mere ignoramus. The regimental libraries have worked a wonderful change. We remember few more pleasant half-hours than one we spent in Mr. Constable's Miscellany warehouse in Edinburgh, listening to the comments of a committee of non-commissioned officers, from a regiment stationed at Piershill Barracks, who had come to town to choose some additions to their library. A higher and more uniform tone pervades the ranks now than used to be the case. It is a gross mistake to imagine the British soldier the mere machine some Gallicised writers have been pleased to represent him. There lurks a great deal of fallacy in what is said about the deterioration of the British soldier under "the cold shade of aristocracy." There are men by nature formed to take the direction, and others equally formed by nature to work out directions given to them. In the rudest state of society each class finds in time its proper place. Organised, civilised society is merely a condition in which the combination of two such different classes has long been recognised, and in which the persons qualified to belong to either drop into their places at once. A person born with capacity for command will, in ordinary circumstances, either enter the army as an officer, or, if he cannot accomplish this, choose some other profession. There is nothing necessarily low or mean in occupying the subordinate station. On the contrary, there are qualities required to enable a man to fill a subordinate station with perfect efficiency, which, from the rarity of their occurrence, in a high degree lend an extraordinary value to them when they do occur. It is much more easy to fill a regiment with passable ensigns, lieutenants, and captains, than with good efficient non-commissioned officers. This is felt by the best commanding officers, and such men are valued in proportion. Consciousness of their own worth, inspiring a just pride in belonging to their class, makes them a kind of natural aristocracy. The good soldier is not without a legitimate field of ambition, and the peculiar character of this field makes better soldiers than the vague dreaming prospect of becoming a Junot. Steele, in one of the best of his Tatlers, illustrates the high spirit and honourable ambition of the British serjeant? Farquhar's Kite (an irregular man of genius) was even then the exception, not the rule. The privates and non-commissioned officers of the Guards share this honest ambition with the regiments of the line, and, with all due deference to the latter, their

position as appendages to royalty gives them what Dr. O'Toole might call, the "top polish." Mrs. Bennet was right: a serjeant in the Guards is a gentleman, and she at least proved the sincerity of her opinion by taking the serjeant for a husband and becoming Mrs. Atkinson.

But some people will have it that the Guards, one and all, are mere pampered loungers. Did they show themselves such at Waterloo? The truth is, that soldiers, like race-horses and fighting-cocks, are the better for being high fed and well dressed, or curry-combed. There is no greater delusion than that constant hard work and privation strengthen men against hardships. There is a certain limited time, during which human powers of exertion and endurance can be taxed without breaking down; and the better condition a man is in at starting, the longer he will hold out. The *morale*, too, as Buonaparte used to say, is nine-tenths of the soldiers' strength; and the *morale* of ill-fed, over-toiled men is always bad. There is a buoyancy of spirit about those who rush straightway from good, even luxurious, quarters to the field, that effects even more than their brawny frames. "But Hannibal's army at Capua!" Fudge! The poor rascals were half rotten with toil and famine, and killed or sickened themselves by repletion. It was sheer good eating that carried the Guards rough-shod over Napoleon's crack Cuirassiers—red cloth and roast-beef, against steel cuirass and soupe maigre, carried the day. All Continental soldiers, who have ever measured bayonet or sabre with the British, know that it is impossible to withstand the charge of our well-fed men and horses. It has often made us laugh to hear our German military friends—brave, judicious men—arguing that English soldiers were too high-fed: it was impossible to keep either brute—the man or the beast—in hand. German troopers, and their steeds, were fed up to the right pitch—could be exercised among eggs without breaking one. They knew all the while that this martinet dexterity would be shivered in pieces the moment it came in contact with the ungovernable strength they affected to undervalue. This is the reason why, from the club-houses and saloons of St. James's, and from the Fives' Court and other places of more equivocal resort, men and officers of the Guards—men who had never seen a shot fired in anger—rushed straight to Waterloo and rode resistless over the tough veterans of a hundred fights. "Gallant Frenchmen," the heroes of old "Nulli Secundus" might have said, "not by us, but by our cook-shops, have ye been vanquished!"

Enough of this. But as the building we have now in hand is one of those of which "least said is soonest mended," we have preferred talking about its live stock. Its halls are occupied by persons who think themselves of more consequence, and might take it amiss if they were altogether passed over in silence. Here are the offices of the Commander-in-Chief, the Military Secretary, the Quarter-Master-General, and Secretary at War; in other words, here is the "local habitation" of those who wield the gallant army of Great Britain.

Some time ago—*à propos* of the Admiralty—we had occasion to point out the admirable systematic arrangements which lurked under its apparent want of system. Looking to the Horse Guards, we fear it must be admitted that the want of centralised authority is in the case of the army carried to an extreme. The army is an engine not yet so well understood and appreciated in England as the navy. It is younger by a good many years. The Guards of Charles II.

and James II., that is to say, the "Blues," no more deserve the name of an army than the "Ironsides" of Old Noll. We have regiments which date from before the Revolution, but no army. The army is not only of modern growth when compared with the navy, but it differs from that sturdy indigenous plant in being an acclimatised exotic. They were foreign monarchs—one Dutch and two Hanoverian kings—who made our army, and they made it after foreign models. Raw materials for an army of the best quality are, and always have been, abundant in this country, but these foreign artists were the first to work them up. And as, unfortunately for the art of war, this country has afforded few opportunities of experimental study since we had an army, most of our great soldiers have been obliged to practise on the Continent. The theory and practice of modern warfare has been developed by Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians. Our army is like our school of painting,—at this moment equal, if not superior, to any in Europe, but not of so natural a growth as in the continental states. Down to the beginning of the reign of George III., our great officers were as foreign as the cut of their uniforms. In short, the real British army is scarcely so old as its very modern head-quarters; for the Ligoniers and Marquis of Granbys, who dated their general-orders from Knightsbridge Barracks,* we look upon as Hanoverian officers. Abercromby, with whom soldiers now alive have shaken hands, was trained in this school; he studied law and the humanities at Leipzig, and tactics (experimentally) in the Seven Years' War. This has been the main cause of scattering the fragments of military management through so many different departments of state, and producing such a confusion and contest of authorities as we shall now attempt to illustrate. The King and Parliament were always scrambling for the management of the army, and with every new department added to make it more efficient, there was a toss up for which should have the control of it.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Master-General of the Ordnance have immediate and independent management of their respective portions of the armed force of the country. But, in addition to them, no less than six different departments of government have various duties committed to them connected with the administration of military affairs. These are:—1st, the Secretaries of State, more particularly the Secretaries for the Colonial and Home Departments; 2nd, the Secretary at War; 3rd, the Board of Ordnance; 4th, the Commissariat department of the Treasury; 5th, the Board of Audit; 6th, the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. We shall endeavour to point out as briefly as possible the peculiar functions of each of those classes of authorities, and the means by which so many heterogeneous and independent functionaries are brought to work together with something like harmony and effect.

The point of view from which we must set out, and which, in order to thread our way through this labyrinth, we must keep constantly in mind, is, that the army belongs to the King. Parliament gives it to him, or rather, it every year gives him the means of maintaining it for a year, but here the power and right of Parliament to interfere with the management of the army stops. The whole

* Not the barracks now known by that name, but the building at the opposite end of Knightsbridge, on the opposite side of the road, now effectually screened from public view by Mr. Dunn's Chinese exhibition on one side and a new church on the other.

power and control over the army is vested in the Crown—that is, more especially since the Revolution settlement of 1688—in the King's government, represented in the Cabinet by the Secretaries of State. It is scarcely necessary, except for the sake of distinctness, to remind the reader that there was originally only one Secretary of State; and that though convenience first introduced the custom of having one Secretary who confined his attention exclusively to foreign, and another who confined himself to home affairs—and although in 1758 a third Secretary, for the colonies, was appointed, to divide the labour and responsibility, yet still, most of the functions of Secretary of State may be, and occasionally are, exercised indifferently by any one of the three. In point of fact, however, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs never meddles with the war department—that is left to the Home and Colonial Secretaries. The military administration of the nation in all its political bearings is, in reality, vested in these two ministers. The Secretary of State for the Home Department has the control and management of all the militia and yeomanry, as well as the disposal of the troops of the line at home, and the Guards. According to the necessities of the service, he orders the army to be moved into a disturbed district; he conveys his orders through the Quarter-Master-General to the general officers who are immediately under his guidance; he informs them how they are to act in conjunction with the magistracy, not only in cases of disturbances, but under any cases that may arise. He directs, through the instrumentality of the Master-General of the Ordnance, forts to be built on the coast in time of war, or barracks in disturbed districts. The Secretary of State for the War department and Colonies has the command of the army abroad. In these weak piping times of peace he not only orders what proportion of troops shall be sent to each colony, but he approves of the appointment of the general officer who is to command them; in short, he has the control over the army for all purposes of State policy. He may order a fort or battery to be built in any colony in consequence of its disturbed or exposed state. The offices of these wielders of the destinies of armies must be sought not here, but in Downing Street.

The administration of the army under the Secretaries of State, or the Crown, whose representatives these ministers are, is entrusted to executive officers who are appointed to, and receive their orders directly from, the King or his Secretaries. The finance of the army is kept rigidly separated from its discipline and promotion: the financial arrangements are the business of the Secretary at War; the discipline and promotion, of the Commander-in-Chief as regards the Household Brigade, Cavalry and Line, and of the Master-General of the Ordnance. Two of these demi-gods of the army exercise their functions here.

The financial arrangements of the army, as a system, the exclusive control over the public money voted for military purposes, rests with the Secretary at War, who transacts business at the Horse Guards. The office was established in 1666. Mr. Locke, the First Secretary at War, appointed in that year, was an officer detached from the Secretary of State's office. The Secretary at War has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders from his Majesty direct. He prepares and submits the army estimates, and the annual mutiny bill to Parliament, and frames the articles of war. The expenditure of sums granted by Parliament for the exigencies of the army takes place by warrants on the Paymaster General,

signed by the Secretary at War. In every regiment there is a paymaster not appointed by, nor under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, but under the control of the Secretary at War. The accounts of the regimental paymasters, and of other officers charged with the payment of other branches of the service, are examined and audited in the War Office. The insertion of all military appointments and promotions in the 'Gazette' pass through the Secretary at War, because they involve a pecuniary outlay, and he is the channel for obtaining the authority of the Secretary of State for issues of arms by the Ordnance when required by the military authorities. In concert with the Commander-in-Chief, and with consent of the Treasury, he may from time to time make alterations in the rates of pay, half-pay, allowances and pensions. By ancient usage the Secretary at War, aided by the Judge-Advocate-General, is, in the House of Commons, the mouth-piece of the Government to sustain any attack that may be made on the Commander-in-Chief or his office.

The Commander-in-Chief has his office at the Horse Guards also. He, too, has access to the King, and may either receive orders direct from him or from the Secretary of State. He has always been held a simply executive, not a ministerial officer; for the officers of the army are extremely anxious to have nothing to do with the handling of money. The business of the Commander-in-Chief's office is dispatched by an Adjutant-General and a Quarter-Master-General, with their subordinate functionaries. Both of these officers are appointed by the King on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General has under him a Deputy Adjutant General, an Assistant and a Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, appointed also by the King, and a number of clerks, messengers, &c. appointed by himself. Everything relating to the effective or non-effective state of the troops; to formation, instruction and discipline; to the direction and inspection of the clothing and accoutrements of the army; to recruitments, leaves of absence; to the employment of officers of the staff; and to ordinary or extraordinary returns relative to other matters, falls under his department. All regulations and instructions to the army are published through this officer by direction of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General prepares monthly, for the King and Commander in Chief, returns of the troops stationed in Great Britain or Ireland, and of the home and foreign force. The principal duties of the Quarter-Master-General are, to prescribe routes and marches, to regulate the embarkation and disembarkation of troops, to provide quarters for them, to mark out ground proper for encampments, to execute military surveys, and to prepare plans and arrange dispositions for the defence of a territory, whether such defence is to be effected by the troops alone or by means of field-works. Attached to the office of Quarter-Master-General of the Forces is a board of topography, with a depôt of maps, plans, and a library containing the best military works that have been published in different countries. Every British army, when in the field, has a special Quarter-Master-General and staff, organised in exact analogy with that of the permanent officer at the Horse Guards.

We must now turn our steps towards Pall Mall, and visit the Ordnance Office, in order to prosecute our analysis of the composite organisation of the British army. The Master-General of the Ordnance stands in the same relation to the

King and Secretaries of State, in his department, as the Commander-in-Chief. Like that officer and the Secretary at War, he has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders direct from the King or his Secretaries of State. This is a very complicated department: it combines within itself both civil and military functions, which are not separated as in the army of the line, and has moreover taken on its hands since the peace a great number of other departments. This complexity is in a great measure unavoidable, for the Ordnance combines scientific with mere professional services. The Master-General, however, directs personally, and without the assistance of the Board, all those matters which, in the case of the rest of the army, come within the province of the Commander-in-Chief. All military appointments, all questions of discipline and orders relating to the employment of the force come under this description; and likewise the general direction and government of the Military Academy at Woolwich. The Master-General of the Ordnance has the title and powers of Colonel of what is called the "regiment" of Artillery—absurdly enough, for the body is increased in time of war to 24,000 men. An officer with the title of Deputy Adjutant General of Artillery, who is in no way dependent on the Adjutant General of the British forces, is at the head of the Artillery Staff. The Board of the Deputy Adjutant General of Artillery is at Woolwich; which may be considered as the head-quarters of this arm of the service. The Royal Artillery corps consists of the Brigade of Horse Artillery and of the Artillery serving on foot. The Rocket corps is attached to, and forms part of the Artillery; as also the Artificers, and the Royal Waggon Train. There was formerly a corps of Drivers: but the men are now always enlisted as "Gunners and Drivers," and made to do duty in both capacities. As the army of the line was developed under the auspices of the Dutch and Hanoverian Kings of England—squabbling all the while with a jealous and niggardly Parliament—from the few regiments of Guards maintained by the last Stuarts (or engrafted upon them, if the readers think the metaphor more just); so the Ordnance department has, in due course of time, been, after the same fashion, eked out from the old Artillery Companies of Queen Bess and other antique Sovereigns. Perhaps, however, the Worshipful Artillery Company of the City of London may claim to be the legitimate descendant and representative of the body commanded by the Earl of Essex in 1596. The first warrant fixing the constitution of the Ordnance is that of Charles II. (20th July, 1683), only five years previous to the Revolution.

The corps subject to the Ordnance are the "Regiment," already described, and the Engineers. The books of the Artillery show the number of battalions and companies in each battalion from the year 1710 to the present time. There are, we believe, no authentic documents to show how long the Royal Engineers have existed as a separate corps, or what was its original constitution; but from a warrant dated at "our Court of St. James's, the 3rd day of March, 1759," the origin of its present organisation may be inferred. The document runs thus:—"His Majesty this day took the said representation into his royal consideration, together with *the establishment of Engineers now subsisting*; and likewise the new establishment, proposing to increase the number of Engineers to sixty-one; and was pleased, with advice of his Privy Council, to approve of the said new establblishment, &c.

* * * * and instead of all former establishments of Engineers, which are to cease and be discontinued for the future." The Horse Brigade—commonly called the Horse Artillery, or Flying Artillery—only dates from 1793. The Artillery "Regiment" was composed, in 1710, of one battalion, divided into three companies: the officers were a Colonel Commandant, a Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, and a Major; for each company a Captain and a First and Second Lieutenant; six Lieutenant Fireworkers, an Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Bridgemaster. The names of all the officers since 1743 have been preserved, and notes of what became of most of them. The Engineers consisted, in 1759, of one Chief, two Directors, four Sub-Directors, twelve Engineers in Ordinary and twelve Extraordinary, fourteen Sub-Engineers, and sixteen Practitioners: the names of the Engineer officers since 1783. The privates were called Military Engineers till 1813; since that time they have been organised into a corps called Sappers and Miners. The whole of the Engineer department is under the Inspector-General of Fortifications. Both the civil and military engineering of the army is entrusted to this corps. The erection and maintenance of forts and barracks devolves upon them. There are 29 of the officers engaged in the survey of Great Britain and Ireland. Of 201 officers, 156 were, in 1836, employed in affairs which were partly of a military, partly of a civil character. The Engineers are, properly speaking, a regiment of officers; but attached to it are the companies of sappers and miners, with the pontoon train, its forges, waggons, &c., under a major of the Brigade of Engineers.

The Board of Ordnance, enumerated as the third of those which take part in managing the military affairs of this country, takes upon it those duties which are more especially termed *civil*. The Master-General attends its meetings only on rare and very particular occasions. All its proceedings, however, are regularly submitted in the form of minutes for his approval, and are subject to his control. His authority is supreme in all matters, both civil and military; and he, not the Board, is considered responsible for the manner in which the business of the department is managed. The three Board officers of the Ordnance are the Surveyor-General, the Clerk of the Ordnance (at Pall Mall), and the principal Storekeeper. Sometimes the whole of these officers—uniformly the Clerk—contrive to be in Parliament, and act as the mouth-pieces of this arm of the service. Upon the Clerk devolves the duty of preparing and carrying the Ordnance Estimates through Parliament. Each of these three officers has his own separate and distinct duties; but as all acts are done in the name and by the authority of the Board, all important questions are brought before it, and every member is expected to have a general knowledge of the business transacted in every separate division. The business of the Board comprehends, with regard to the Ordnance corps, the greater part of the business which, as relates to the rest of the army, is transacted in the War Office; for example, the examination of pay-lists and accounts, the decision of all claims by officers to pensions for wounds, to compensation for the loss of horses or baggage, to command-money, and to allowance for passages, or in lieu of lodgings and servants. But by far the greater part of the duties of the Board have reference to matters not merely concerning their own particular

branch of the military service, but the whole army, and even the navy. Arms, ammunition, and military stores of every description (including guns and carriages for the navy), are supplied by them to both services. Besides the clothing of the artillery and engineers, they furnish also that of part of the militia, of the police force in Ireland, and of some corps belonging to the army, and the great coats for all; they are likewise charged with the issue of various kinds of supplies, as of fuel, light, &c., both in Great Britain and abroad, and, with respect to the troops in Great Britain, of provision and forage. The construction and repair of fortifications, military works, and barracks, is another branch of the business of the department; which has also the duty, altogether unconnected with any thing of a military character, of furnishing various descriptions of stores for the use of the convict establishment in the penal colonies.

The Commissariat officers on foreign stations correspond directly with the Treasury, and receive from it all orders with reference to the mode in which the service is to be performed. Till 1834 (when the duty was transferred to the Ordnance) the charge of the issue of forage and provisions to the troops in Great Britain was retained by the Treasury. Since that time the Agent for Commissariat supplies has been suppressed, and the number of clerks on the Commissariat establishment reduced. The Commissariat is a peculiar and important service, requiring great ability and much experience. During the whole time consumed by the British army in advancing from the frontiers of Portugal to the Pyrenees, the Commissariat officers had to feed daily 80,000 men and 20,000 horses. The money raised by the Commissariat department in specie, in silver and gold, in Spain and Portugal during the Peninsular war, by bills on this country, amounted to somewhere about 36,000,000*l.* sterling; and probably 10,000,000*l.* more was sent from England, and as much from the Mediterranean and other quarters. The justice and wisdom of the paltry economy of throwing part of the duties of this department upon the Ordnance, whose functions were already sufficiently onerous and complicated, and upon a reduced Board of quill-driving Treasury clerks who had no experience outside of their office, may well be doubted. But there can be no doubt as to the gross injustice of throwing all the able and experienced Commissariat officers, trained in the arduous affairs of the Peninsula, upon half-pay, instead of remodelling the Commissariat department by placing some of them at the head of it. A system might thus have been organised by men who had been taught their business experimentally, in a school such as it is to be hoped no individuals may for many generations have a chance of entering. An opportunity has been let slip of perfecting this branch of the service which will be felt as soon as Britain is again dared to the field, for the gift of military financiering does not come by nature.

Since the abolition of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, the Commissioners of Audit, in addition to their former duty of auditing the accounts of a part of the expenditure of the Commissioners for the service of the army on every foreign station, have also acted as advisers to the Treasury in military business in general, and particularly in all that relates to the Commissariat. Properly speaking, the Commissariat and Audit Board are both branches of the Treasury. This may be the most proper place to notice that by the Act 5 and 6 of William IV. the separate offices of Paymaster of the Forces, Treasurer of Chelsea Hos-

pital, Treasurer of the Navy, and Treasurer of the Ordnance, are all consolidated into the one office of Paymaster General. This office is also immediately under the control of the Treasury.

Lastly, the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital are charged with the management of the internal affairs of the hospital, with the admission of in-pensioners, the placing of discharged soldiers on the out-pension, and the issuing of warrants for payment of their pensions. Their proceedings are governed by the patent by which they are appointed, the instructions consequent thereon prepared by the Secretary at War, by various Acts of Parliament regulating particular points, and by occasional instructions conveyed to them by the Treasury and by the Secretary at War.

Amid all this scattering of military business through a number of departments, it is clear that the authorities at the Horse Guards—the Secretary at War and the Commander-in-Chief—remain the nucleus, the heart of the military organisation of Great Britain. Independent though the Master of the Ordnance be, his arm is regarded but as an auxiliary, an adjunct to the army of the line. This manner of viewing it is carried to an extreme which occasions gross injustice to the corps of Artillery and Engineers. The best commanders of France—Napoleon himself—were bred in the Artillery. An English Artillery or Engineer officer cannot look forward to command in the field. "I look upon the Artillery," said Sir Augustus Fraser, in 1833, "to be a neglected service, and I know that it is so considered by the officers themselves. I look upon it that no corps that is solely advanced by seniorities and death-vacancies can come to perfection. When you have men of ability, the ability is locked up; when they have no ability they go on with the stream. The officers are all well educated, but to little purpose; and assuredly the state of the Artillery will force itself upon the country sooner or later. *I have been forty years in the Artillery, and have got to be a Colonel, and I could go down a hundred men in the regiment without coming to any man much younger than myself.*" What Sir Augustus thought would be doing justice to his corps appeared from his replies to three questions of the Commissioners on the civil administration of the army in 1833: "Officers of Artillery and Engineers are very seldom appointed to command garrisons or districts." "Putting them upon the staff has been discouraged." "I am sure that a door might be opened for Artillery officers to go into the army with great advantage to the service and themselves." The best heads and the best educated intellects in the service are prevented from rising to command—that is not wise.

But this is a digression. The Horse Guards is the centre of vitality of an army. This army consists of:—*Cavalry:* The first and second regiments of Life Guards, the royal regiment of the Horse Guards (blues), seven regiments of Dragoon Guards, three of Dragoons, nine of Light Dragoons, including Lancers and Hussars. In this enumeration the cavalry serving in India and the Cape corps of mounted riflemen are not included. *Infantry:* Three regiments of Guards, seventy-nine regiments of the line of one battalion each, the 60th (of the line) and the rifle brigade of two battalions each, two West India regiments, two companies of the royal staff corps, three Newfoundland and three royal veteran companies, the African corps, and the Ceylon regiment. To these fall to be added the Engineers and the Artillery, with the royal waggon-train, the arti-

ficers, the rocket corps, and the sappers and miners. The infantry and cavalry borne on the estimates of 1841 amounted to 80,738 officers and men, of whom 79,798 were effectives. The engineer corps amounted to 960 officers and men, and the artillery to 7051.

This is, after all, but the skeleton of the army—the dry bones—the framework which gives it form and cohesion. The quivering flesh and bounding blood which renders it an object beautiful to look upon—the living spirit which lends it life and energy—are diffused through thousands of manly bosoms scattered over the whole globe. Some are chafing in compulsory idleness among the country towns, or manufacturing capitals of the old island; some are doing duty amid the sharp gales of Canada, amid the sweltering tropical heat of the Antilles, or in the anomalous land of kangaroos and convicts. Some have just been bearing the standard of their country in triumph into the very bowels of "the central flowery land," while others have been sharing in the alternate defeats and triumphs of the mountain-land of the Afghans. Rather than remain inactive, some of the more ardent spirits have been exploring or taking part in the frays of Persia and Turkistan, and of the rather more barbarous Christian republics of South America. There is scarcely a region of the earth in our day that has not seen a real line captain—that rare animal which excited such a sensation when it made its unexpected appearance at Charlie's Hope, in the person of Dandy Dinmont's deliverer. And a talisman is placed within these shabby tasteless walls —right under that ineffable cupola—of power to arrest at once the wandering propensities of the most distant of those fearless spirits, and call him home as tame as the sportsman's pointer when ordered to heel, or to send him forth again fiercer than sleuth-hound lancing on his prey.

It is a strange thing, that military discipline, which fuses so many of a nation's fiercest and most wayward spirits as it were into one mind and one will! The armies of modern Europe have no parallel in any other age or region. Individual armies were formed by Alexander, by Baber, by Timur, and other conquerors; but they dissolved with the death of the master-spirit which called them together. But the armies of France, England, and Germany have an organic life independent of any individual: all of them are enduring as the civil institutions upon which they are engrafted. The army of France survived the dissolution of these institutions, and was all that was left to re-construct civil society after the Revolution. It is a fashion with those who have not thoroughly examined the matter, to speak lightly of an army's discipline and organisation, and to exalt what they call the irresistible enthusiasm of a people. It was not the people who repelled the Allied Sovereign, under the Duke of Brunswick from the French frontier, and carried the eagles of France in triumph over great part of Europe; it was not the people who struck down Napoleon in the red field of Leipzig. Popular enthusiasm gave a new stimulus to the army, but it was the traditional discipline and organisation inherited from Turenne, Montecuculi, Marlborough, Frederic the Great, and other masters of the art of war, which received the unformed materials of enthusiastic recruits, and in its hard press stamped them into heroes. An organised army upon modern principles can make soldiers of almost any materials; and the mightiest enthusiasm of individuals or nations is at best but

the heavy wave which must break on the rock-like structure of an army, and fall back in foam, carrying with it at most some shattered fragments.

A finer army, whether we regard its physical or moral qualities, never existed than our own at the present moment. Its services as a bulwark against aggression from without in time of war, or as an effective minister of the civil power in internal emergencies in time of peace, are invaluable. Higher scientific acquirements than exist among its "corps du génie" are not to be found; a more intelligent, moral, high-spirited, and lighthearted soldiery never made a monarch's heart high as she passed her eyes along their ranks. And where shall we look for such a wiry, wary master of his art to hold this beautiful but terrible power in hand as the present occupant of the Horse Guards?

[Park Front of the Horse Guards.]

[Dunton.]

CXV.—THE OLD LONDON BOOKSELLERS.

THOUGHT—Speech—Writing—Printing—these are, as it were, four successive developments of mind, each ascending in about the same degree beyond the other. Much as in Milton's similitude—

> "Thus from the root
> Springs lightly the green stalk [or talk]—from thence the *leaves*
> More airy—last the bright consummate flower."

Not, indeed, that any particular copy of a printed book, bound and lettered, much resembles a flower:—we must endeavour to conceive a printed book in the abstract, as Crambe did a Lord Mayor without horse, gown, and gold chain, or even stature, features, colour, hands, feet, or body. In this sense a printed book is really "the bright consummate flower" of thought.

Here, however, our business is not with either books or booksellers in the abstract, but with the latter in humble concrete, or in flesh and blood. Although books were written, and to a certain extent published too, by copies of them being made by transcribers, before the invention of printing, yet it may safely be assumed that it was not till after the introduction of that art that the sale of them became a regular trade in England. In the height to which even literary civilization had grown in the ancient world of Greece and Rome, there were shops for books probably in all the considerable towns; and in modern Europe, in the middle ages, Bibles, and also other books, were sold at the fairs in many of the principal cities of the Continent; but these were rather general than local marts; indeed, literature then, when books for the most part were written in Latin, the common tongue of the learned in all countries, was European, rather than national, everywhere; the manufacture or sale of books on a large scale could only be carried on at the great central points of attraction and confluence; England, being out of the way of common resort, could scarcely

maintain anything of the kind. The purchase of a book here seems to have been merely an occasional transaction, like the purchase of a house; and the few books that were produced with a view to being sold were mostly prepared in the monasteries, as well as probably purchased only by those establishments. Perhaps the first books that got to any extent into the hands of the people in England (and even their dispersion must have been but to a very limited extent) were the religious treatises of the reformer Wycliffe, and some of his followers, in the fourteenth century. But, still, there is no mention of book-shops in London, we believe, till long after this date. Fitz-Stephen, of course, has no notice of any in his Description, written in the latter part of the twelfth century, in which he celebrates with so much gusto the wine-shops, the cook-shops, the fish-shops, the poultry-shops, the horse-markets, &c., of "the most noble city;" and Dan John Lydgate's ballad of 'London, Lyckpenny,' which belongs to the fifteenth century, is equally silent as to the existence of any storehouses of food or furniture for the mind, while commemorating the activity and vociferation of the dealers in all other kinds of commodities.

Bookselling, no doubt, came in among us with printing; and, probably, our first printers were also our first booksellers. Memorable old William Caxton, who set up his press in the Almonry at Westminster, in the year 1474, not only himself sold the books he printed, but even wrote many of them: he was author, printer, and publisher, all in one. It was not long, however, before the merchandize in books, as in other commodities in extensive demand, came to be carried on by a class of persons distinct from both the intellectual and the mechanical manufacturers of the article.

The Stationers' Company was incorporated in 1557, in the reign of Philip and Mary, and comprehends stationers, booksellers, letter-founders, printers, and bookbinders. The booksellers, however, have always been by far the most numerous portion of the body, and also the most influential from other causes, as well as from their greater number. They are, from the nature of the case, the capitalists by whom the production of books is mainly promoted—the employers of the printers, and to some extent of the authors also—and, as they run the risks, so they enjoy the advantages, of that position. Accordingly, while nobody ever heard of any influence on literature being exerted by printers, the influence of booksellers on literature has at all times, and in all countries, been very considerable. We have the high authority of Horace for looking upon them as, in the department of poetry at least, one of the three supreme controlling powers:—

"Mediocribus esse poetis,
Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ"—

that is, as the words may be translated, Mediocrity in poetry is a thing not suffered by gods, by men, or by booksellers. The bookseller, indeed, it is intimated by the metonymy here used, judges by a rule or standard of criticism different from that referred to by the general public; he applies what may be called a *pocket*-rule to the matter; but it may be fairly questioned if any surer or better for ordinary occasions is to be found in Aristotle.

We have not much information about bookselling in London that is curious or interesting till we come to the middle of the seventeenth century. It was probably not till some time after this that book-shops (in the mo-

dern sense) began to rise in what is now the great centre of the trade—Paternoster Row, or The Row, as it is styled by way of eminence (and also perhaps to get rid of an inconveniently polysyllabic designation). They seem to have been only beginning to make their appearance when Strype produced his edition of Stow, in 1720. "This street," we are told by Strype, in his solemn fashion of speech, "before the Fire of London, was taken up by eminent mercers, silkmen, and lacemen; and their shops were so resorted unto by the nobility and gentry, in their coaches, that oft times the street was so stopped up that there was no passage for foot passengers. But since the said fire, those eminent tradesmen have settled themselves in several other parts, especially in Covent Garden, in Bedford Street, Henrietta Street, and King Street. And the inhabitants in this street are now a mixture of tradespeople, and chiefly tire-women, for the sale of commodes, top-knots, and the like dressings for the females. There are also many shops of mercers and silkmen; and at the upper end some stationers, and large warehouses for booksellers; well situated for learned and studious men's access thither; being more retired and private."

At the time of the Great Fire, and probably for long before, the principal booksellers' shops were in St. Paul's Churchyard. Hither Pepys was commonly wont to resort when he wanted either a new or an old book. Thus, on the 31st of November, 1660, he notes, "In Paul's Churchyard I bought the play of Henry the Fourth, and so went to the new theatre and saw it acted; but, my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe, did spoil it a little." Again, on the 10th of February, 1662, we find him recording as follows:—"To Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's 'England's Worthies,' the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and arms) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable." Poor Pepys! never was inordinate vanity in any man so snubbed and checked at every movement by a still more inveterate principle of honesty: it is like the convulsive jerking and counter-jerking of a Supple Jack.

A few years after this, however, the booksellers were for a time driven from this quarter by the effects of the great fire. "By Mr. Dugdale," writes Pepys, under date of September 26th, 1666, "I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Churchyard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000*l.*; some booksellers being wholly undone, and, among others, they say, my poor Kirton." And on the 5th of October he adds, "Mr. Kirton's kinsman, my bookseller, come in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* worse than nothing, from being worth 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* That the goods laid in the Churchyard fired through the windows those in St. Faith's church; and those, coming to the warehouses' doors, fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, which is alike pillared (which I knew not before); but, being not burned, they stood still. He do believe there is above 150,000*l.* of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone; not only them, but their warehouses at their Hall and under Christ-church, and elsewhere, being all burned. A great want thereof there will

be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglott and new Bible; which he believes will be presently worth 40*l.* a-piece." Walton's, or the London Polyglott, here mentioned, is in six folio volumes, the first of which had been published in 1654, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth in 1657. Evelyn also records the immense destruction of books by this terrible conflagration. In his 'Diary' he states that the magazines or stores of books belonging to the stationers, which had been deposited for safety in the vaulted church of St. Faith's under St. Paul's, continued to burn for a week.

The history of one of Pepys's purchases affords an instance of the extent to which the fire raised the price of certain books. "It is strange," he observes, on the 20th of March, 1667, "how Rycaut's Discourse of Turkey, which before the fire I was asked but 8*s.* for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20*s.*, and he demands 50*s.*, and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire." Accordingly he bought the book, which is now in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge. "Away to the Temple," he writes on the 8th of April, "to my new bookseller's; and there I did agree for Rycaut's late History of the Turkish Policy, which cost me 55*s.*, whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8*s.*, and bound and coloured as this is for 20*s.*; for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured all the figures, of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King, and Duke of York, and Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Arlington had four. The fifth was sold, and I have bought the sixth."

Pepys's new bookseller, as we see, was stationed in or near the Temple. Westminster Hall, the other more noisy temple of the laws, was also in those days a great place for the sale of books, and as such was frequently visited by Pepys. "To Westminster Hall," is one of his memoranda on the 26th of October, 1660, "and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queen, which I read at home to my wife; but it was so sillily writ that we did nothing but laugh at it." And if the book kept his wife and him laughing for a whole evening, what more or better would he have had for his money? They are rare tomes of which anything so commendatory can be said. Some doubt, it is true, may be raised by other entries if Pepys's sense of the ludicrous was the justest in the world. Possibly he found matter of laughter where nobody else would have seen anything of the kind, as it is certain that he would sometimes find none in what was the richest wit and humour to other people. "To the Wardrobe," he writes on the 26th of December, 1662: "hither come Mr. Battersby; and, we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2*s.* 6*d.* But, when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars that I am ashamed of it; and by and by, meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18*d.*" But this turned out to be a precipitate proceeding. To Pepys's infinite amazement, the "new book of drollery" continued to be the rage. "And so," he tells us, under date of the 6th of February thereafter, "to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and see whether I can find it or no." With this praiseworthy resolution (much

resembling that of the ingenious individual who, not knowing how to read, sought to cure that defect by procuring a proper pair of spectacles—one of the most touching examples of the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties) Pepys set to work; but we fear his success was not considerable. "To Paul's Churchyard," he writes in his account of his doings on the 28th of November in this same year, "and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but [by?] twice or three times' reading to bring myself to think it witty." He did buy the book, however, a few days after this. "To St. Paul's Churchyard, to my bookseller's," is his naïve and curious record on the 10th of December, "and could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakspeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthies, the Cabbala, or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, Delices de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and Hudibras, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies." So he seems to have laid out his money in this last instance in the way of duty, or of penance, rather than for either pleasure or use. No doubt, if he found any pleasure in Hudibras, it must have been, in his own phraseology, serious enough—entirely of the order of those very "calm pleasures" which the poet has coupled and by implication almost identified with "majestic pains." The only other mention we find of Butler's poem in the 'Diary' is in the entry dated 11th October, 1665, where, in a notice of an interview with Mr. Seamour, or Seymour, it is written, "I could not but think it odd that a parliament-man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we [me?], and my Lord Brouncker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote Hudibras, as being the book I doubt he hath read most." From his thus taking it as a sort of insult that a person should quote the book in his presence, we might almost suspect that his ineffectual endeavours to comprehend the wit of Hudibras had come to be a standing joke against Pepys.

On the rebuilding of the City after the fire, the booksellers, who had formerly carried on business in St. Paul's Churchyard, or such of them as were not reduced to absolute ruin, seem to have generally returned to their old quarters. Pepys's friend Kirton, however, appears never to have recovered from the losses he sustained by that catastrophe. In Pepys's latter days, when he was probably a larger collector than ever of rare books, the bookseller with whom he chiefly dealt appears to have been Mr. Robert Scott. Scott was the prince of London booksellers in his day. It was with him, too, Roger North tells us, that his brother Dr. John North dealt, in laying the foundation of his library. Scott's sister was North's grandmother's woman; "and, upon that acquaintance," says Roger, "he expected, and really had from him, useful information of books and the editions." —"This Mr. Scott," the graphic and cordial biographer goes on, "was, in his time, the greatest librarian in Europe; for, besides his stock in England, he had warehouses at Frankfort, Paris, and other places, and dealt by factors. After he was grown old, and much worn by multiplicity of business, he began to think of his

ease, and to leave off. Whereupon he contracted with one Mills, of St. Paul's Churchyard, near 10,000*l.* deep, and articled not to open his shop any more. But Mills, with his auctioneering, atlases, and projects, failed, whereby poor Scott lost above half his means. But he held to his contract of not opening his shop, and, when he was in London, for he had a country-house, passed most of his time at his house amongst the rest of his books; and his reading (for he was no mean scholar) was the chief entertainment of his time. He was not only an expert bookseller, but a very conscientious good man; and, when he threw up his trade, Europe had no small loss of him. Our doctor, at one lift, bought of him a whole set of Greek classics, in folio, of the best editions."

Scott kept shop in Little Britain, probably in the part of that zigzag street adjacent to Duck Lane, or, as it is now called, Duke Street, in Smithfield. This portion of Little Britain and the whole of Duck Lane, in the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, were mainly inhabited by booksellers and publishers. It was, Roger North tells us, "a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors; and men went thither as to a market." "This," he continues, "drew to the place a mighty trade; the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation. And the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversible men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse." Strype, in his edition of Stow, published in 1720, describes Little Britain as "well built, and much inhabited by booksellers, especially from the Pump to Duck Lane;"—"which," he adds, "is also taken up by booksellers for old books." Afterwards, he describes the part of Little Britain occupied by the booksellers as extending from St. Bartholomew Close southward towards the Pump, and so bending eastward to Aldersgate Street. The booksellers here, he says, "formerly were much resorted to by learned men for Greek and Latin books; but now the station of such booksellers is removed into Paternoster Row and Paul's Churchyard." Maitland, writing in 1756, tells us that the booksellers' part of Little Britain was then much deserted and had little trade; and Duck Lane he describes as "a place once noted for dealers in old books, but at present quite forsaken by all sorts of dealers."

When Benjamin Franklin and his friend James Ralph (who also became in after years a person of some note, making a considerable figure as a political writer in the latter part of the reign of George II., and having besides got himself immortalized in the 'Dunciad') came over together from Philadelphia to London in the end of the year 1724, they took a lodging in Little Britain at 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; "as much," says Franklin, "as we could then afford." He has commemorated one of the dealers in old books by whom the street was then inhabited. "While I lodged in Little Britain," he relates, "I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms (which I have now forgotten), I might take, read, and return any of his books: this I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could."

But by far the most curious and complete account that we have of the book-

sellers and bookselling business of London at the beginning of the eighteenth century is that given by the famous John Dunton in the extraordinary autobiographical performance which he entitles his 'Life and Errors.' Dunton, born in 1659, was the only son of the Rev. John Dunton, rector of Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, and as such the descendant of a line of clergymen, both his grandfather and great-grandfather having been ministers of Little Missenden, in Bucks. He was himself intended for the church, and with that view he was put to school and taught Latin, which he says gave him satisfaction enough, so that he attained to such a knowledge of the language as to be able to "speak it pretty well extempore;" "but," he continues, "the difficulties of the Greek quite broke all my resolutions; and, which was a greater disadvantage to me, I was wounded with a silent passion for a virgin in my father's house, that unhinged me all at once, though I never made a discovery of the flame, and for that reason it gave me the greater torment. This happened in my thirteenth year." The truth is, Dunton, with prodigious intellectual activity, or rather restlessness, never could persevere long enough with anything he undertook, study, task, business, or plan of life, to make much of it. So, finding him too mercurial for a scholar, his father determined to make a bookseller of him, and in his fifteenth year he was sent up to London, and apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, whom he describes as "the most eminent Presbyterian bookseller in the three kingdoms." Having passed through his apprenticeship, Dunton set up for himself as a bookseller and publisher about the year 1685. The picture he draws of literature and its followers in London at this date is not flattering, but it may be held to prove, at any rate, that the profession can hardly have degenerated. "Printing," he says (meaning what we should now call publishing), "was now the uppermost in my thoughts, and hackney authors began to ply me with specimens, as earnestly, and with as much passion and concern, as the watermen do passengers with oars and scullers. I had some acquaintance with this generation in my apprenticeship, and had never any warm affection for them; in regard I always thought their great concern lay more in how much a sheet than in any generous respect they bore to the commonwealth of learning; and, indeed, the learning itself of these gentlemen lies very often in as little room as their honesty, though they will pretend to have studied for six or seven years in the Bodleian Library, to have turned over the Fathers, and to have read and digested the whole compass both of human and ecclesiastic history;—when, alas! they have never been able to understand a single page of St. Cyprian, and cannot tell you whether the Fathers lived before or after Christ. And, as for their honesty, it is very remarkable: they will either persuade you to go upon another man's copy, or steal his thought, or to abridge his book, which should have got him bread for his lifetime. When you have engaged them upon some project or other, they will write you off three or four sheets perhaps; take up three or four pounds upon an urgent occasion; and you shall never hear of them more." Well, there may be some rapacity here, but there is considerable simplicity too; for surely the three or four pounds, even at the then value of money, could scarcely have been the full price of copy for as many sheets of letter-press. We doubt if a publisher ever now-a-days gets rid of an author upon such easy terms.

The most saleable of all publications at this date were sermons and other religious disquisitions. The first copy or manuscript Dunton ventured to print was a volume entitled, 'The Sufferings of Christ,' by the Rev. Mr. Doolittle. "This book," he says, "fully answered my end; for, exchanging it through the whole trade, it furnished my shop with all sorts of books saleable at that time." This lets us into a peculiarity in the manner in which the publishing business was then carried on:—when a publisher, being also, as was generally or universally the case, a retail and miscellaneous bookseller, brought out a work, he disposed of the copies among the trade mostly in the way of barter or exchange for other books. This practice, it is hardly necessary to say, has long gone out.

Dunton speedily followed this first venture by two or three other publications in the same line, all of which did well; and this extraordinary success in his first attempts gave him, he observes, "an ungovernable itch to be always intriguing that way." He now began to be plied with projects and proposals of marriage from various quarters. Mrs. Mary Sanders, the virgin who first unhinged him under the paternal roof, had by this time got entirely out of his head; the beautiful Rachel Seaton, the innocent Sarah Day of Ratcliffe, the religious Sarah Briscow of Uxbridge, had all had their turn; at last, being smitten at church by Elizabeth Annesley, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Annesley, a distinguished nonconformist preacher of those times, he married that lady. Another daughter of Dr. Annesley's, it may be noticed, married Mr. Samuel Wesley, the poet, and became by him the mother of John Wesley, the famous founder of Methodism. Annesley is said to have been a near relative of the Irish Annesleys, Earls of Anglesey—and the Wesleys, as is well known, were connected with another English family settled in Ireland, the Wellesleys, which has risen to much greater distinction. It is curious what strange diversities of station and character a genealogy will sometimes bring together.

The history of Dunton's various amours, connubial and Platonic, makes up a great part of his book; but of course, although many of his details are abundantly curious, we cannot enter upon that matter here. His first wife and he called one another Iris and Philaret, both before and after their marriage—and he would have us believe that they lived together in unequalled affection and harmony. But for all that Dunton never could remain long at home: he had been but a few years married when he set off for New England, and remained away for nearly a year; when he came back he found his affairs in such a state that he thought it prudent to make a tour in Holland and Germany, in order to be safe from his creditors;—one of his books is an account of a visit he made to Ireland;—he talks there of a projected expedition to Scotland; and we do not know how much farther he extended his rambles. He defends his practice in this respect, indeed, upon high grounds. "Who would have thought," he says, in his account of the Irish tour, "I could ever have left Eliza? for there was an 'even thread of endearment run through all we said or did.' I may truly say, for the fifteen years we lived together, there never passed an angry look; but, as kind as she was, I could not think of growing old in the confines of one city, and, therefore, in 1686, I embarked for America, Holland, and other parts. . . . To ramble is the best way to endear a wife, and to try her love, if she has any. . . It is true, for a wife to say, as Eliza did, 'My dear, I rejoice I am able to serve

thee, and, as long as I have it, it is all thine, and we had been still happy had we lost all but one another;' this, indeed, is very obliging, and shows she loves me in earnest. But still there is something in rambling beyond this; for this is no more, if her husband be sober, than 'richer for poorer' obliges her to; but for a spouse to say, 'Travel as far as you please, and stay as long you will, for absence shall never divide us,' is a higher flight abundantly, as it shows she can part with her very husband, ten times dearer to a good wife than her money, when it tends to his satisfaction." Acting upon these principles of philosophy, Dunton took his swing; and not only gratified himself with the sight of foreign parts, but, being a perfectly virtuous person, struck up Platonic friendships with all the agreeable women,—maids, wives, and widows,—he met with wherever he went. Meanwhile, he took care never to forget his wife at home; when he was in New England, he says, he sent Eliza sixty letters by one ship! He kept all he wrote during his stay, we suppose, and making them up into a parcel, sent them off at once. However, Eliza, or Iris, died in 1697; and the same year he married a Miss Sarah Nicholas, whom he calls Valeria, and with whom and whose relatives he by no means got on so harmoniously as he had done with his first matrimonial connexion. The truth appears to be that he was by this time a ruined man—and that his new marriage was rather a speculation in trade than anything else, his wife having some expectations which he wished to turn to account and was thwarted in his object by her friends. He had wasted a world of energy and ingenuity in a vast multiplicity of enterprises and projects, very few of which probably turned out remunerative. Dunton's first shop was at the corner of Prince's Street, near the Royal Exchange; from this, in 1688, on the day the Prince of Orange entered London, he transferred himself, and his sign of the Black Raven, to the Poultry Compter, where he remained for ten years. Whither he went after this does not appear. He published his 'Life and Errors,' in a little thick duodecimo, in 1705, when he had been twenty years in business—in the course of which time, he tells us, he had printed no fewer than 600 works. Of many of these he was the author, as well as the publisher—and he continued to write and print for nearly twenty years longer. The last ten years of his existence, however, seem to have passed in quiet and obscurity—not improbably in poverty and broken health—and all that is further known of him is that, having lost his second wife, from whom he had long been separated, in 1721, he gave up the battle of life in 1733, at the good old age of seventy-four.

The principal literary performance by which Dunton's memory is preserved, besides his 'Life and Errors,' is his 'Athenian Mercury,' originally published from 17th March, 1690, to 8th February, 1696, in weekly numbers, the best of which were afterwards collected and reprinted in three octavo volumes. It was projected by himself, and his principal or only associates in carrying it on were a Mr. Richard Sault, a Cambridge theologian, one of his hack authors, for whom he soon after published a singular production entitled 'The Second Spira,' which made a great deal of noise—his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Wesley—and the famous metaphysical divine, Dr. John Norris. The papers consist of casuistical and other disquisitions, in answer to queries upon all sorts of subjects, which are supposed to have been submitted to the conductors, and many of which probably were actually sent to them, although in other cases the puzzle as well as the

solution of it may have been the oracle's own. The scheme at least ensured unlimited variety of subject, and the writers had sufficient talent and superficial learning to give a temporary interest to their lucubrations, if not to put into them much of an enduring value.

Dunton himself was not without a touch of something that may be almost called genius. No doubt he was all along a little, or not a little, mad; both his writings and his history betray this throughout; and he was also a very imperfectly educated man. But, if we make due allowance for these defects, we shall find a merit far above mediocrity in much of what he has done. He may be shortly characterised as a sort of wild Defoe—a coarser mind cast in somewhat a like mould—a Defoe without the training, and also with but a scanty endowment of the natural capability of being so trained, but yet with a considerable portion of the same fertility and vital force, as well as of the same originality of intellectual character. If Defoe had died before producing any of his works of fiction—which he might very well have done and still left behind him a considerable literary name, seeing that the first of them, 'Robinson Crusoe,' did not appear till 1719, when he was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been distinguished as a political and miscellaneous writer—the comparison between him and Dunton would not have at all a fanciful or extravagant air.

In a tract, which he entitles 'Dunton's Creed, or Religio Bibliopolæ, in imitation of Dr. Brown's Religio Medici,' first published in 1694, under the name of Benjamin Bridgwater, an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, by whom it was in fact partly written, Dunton gives no very favourable account of the estimation in which the members of "the Trade" were held in that day. "Booksellers, in the gross," he says, "are taken for no better than a pack of knaves and atheists." He asserts, however, in opposition to this vulgar prejudice, that "among them there is a retail of men who are no strangers to religion and honesty." In his Life and Errors he undertakes "to draw the characters of the most eminent of that profession in the three kingdoms,"—and this is one of the most curious and interesting portions of his book. His review of his literary contemporaries comprehends also the authors for whom he published, the successive licencers of the press with whom he had to do, his printers, the stationers from whom he bought his paper, and even the binders he employed; but we must confine ourselves to a few gleanings from his notices of the booksellers.

A circumstance that is apt at first to excite some surprise is the apparent extent and activity of the publishing business in London at this date. The booksellers were very numerous—those of eminence perhaps more numerous than in the present day—and nearly all of them seem to have at least occasionally engaged in publishing, or printing, as it was called. The impressions, too, we apprehend, were in general at least as large as in more recent times; of some descriptions of publications certainly many more copies were thrown off than would now find a sale. The fact is, that from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century was the age of pamphlets; the century that has since elapsed has been the age of periodical publications and of newspapers. All controversy and discussion upon the events of the day, and upon the reigning questions both of politics and religion, was then carried on by occasional writers; even news was to a considerable extent communicated to the

public in pamphlets. The gradual transformation of this unregulated condition of things into the organized system that has taken its place was according to the common course of nature and the development of society; and it may be remarked that the same process is still going on. Publication seems to be falling more and more into the form of series and periodical issue; and who knows but the time may come when nearly all new works shall be brought out in that method?

The bookseller with whose name Dunton heads his list is Mr. Richard Chiswell, "who," says he, "well deserves the title of metropolitan bookseller of England, if not of all the world. His name at the bottom of a title-page does sufficiently recommend the book. He has not been known to print either a bad book, or on bad paper." Chiswell was the printer of the octavo edition of 'Tillotson's Sermons,' which proved a remarkably successful publication. A short account of him may be seen in Strype's 'Stow,' where we are told that he was born in 1639, and died in 1711. Strype, who states that he was one of the proprietors of his book, characterises him as "a man worthy of great praise." His shop was in St. Paul's Churchyard.

A name now better remembered is that of the wealthy Thomas Guy, the founder of the hospital. He lived in Lombard Street. "He is," says Dunton,

[Guy.]

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

"a man of strong reason, and can talk very much to the purpose upon any subject you will propose." Many of these notices of Dunton's, by the bye, bear out what is said by Roger North of the superior acquirements of the booksellers of that generation. Thus, Mr. John Lawrence, who, we are informed, "when Mr. Parkhurst dies will be the first Presbyterian bookseller in England," is declared to be "very much conversant in the sacred writings." Of Mr. Samuel Smith, bookseller to the Royal Society, it is stated that he "speaks French and Latin with a great deal of fluency and ease." Mr. Halsey was already distinguished, we are assured, for "his great ingenuity and knowledge of the learned lan-

guages," though still "in the bloom and beauty of his youth." Mr. Joseph Collier, who had been Dunton's fellow apprentice, is affirmed to have "a great deal of learning." Of Mr. Shrowsbury it is written, "He merits the name of universal bookseller, and is familiarly acquainted with all the books that are extant in any language." Others again are celebrated for their natural abilities. Mr. Robinson is described as "a man very ingenious and of quick parts." "Mr. Shermerdine," says our author, "is a man of very quick parts; I have heard him say he would forgive any man that could *catch* him." Mr. Tooke, near Temple Bar —"descended from the ingenious Tooke, that was formerly treasurer" (the same Tookes, we suppose, that claim Friar Tuck as of their family)—is set down as both "truly honest," and "a man of refined sense." Mr. Crook, whose shop was in the same quarter, the publisher of many of Hobbes's works, was dead when Dunton wrote his book, but "was a man of extraordinary sense," which he had the happiness of being able to express in words as manly and apposite as the sense included under them." Of Mr. Pero it is asserted that "for sense, wit, and good-humour, there are but few can equal, and none can exceed him." Mr. Child is commemorated for "abundance of wit, and nice reasoning, above most of his brethren." Of Mr. Benjamin Harris, of Gracechurch Street, it is recorded that "his conversation is general, but never impertinent, and his wit pliable to all inventions." Mr. Knapton, whose sign was the Crown, in Ludgate Street, close by St. Paul's Churchyard—the shop from which issued Tindal's translation of Rapin's 'History of England,' and many more of the most successful publications of the earlier part of the last century—is spoken of with warm laudation as "a very accomplished person . . . . made up with solid worth, brave and generous." Of Mr. Burroughs, in Little Britain, we have also a high character. "He," says Dunton, "is a very beautiful person, and his wit sparkles as well as his eyes. He has as much address, and as great a presence of mind as I ever met with. He is diverting company, and perhaps as well qualified to make an alderman as any bookseller in Little Britain." We see the very aldermen in that Augustan age were expected to be somewhat lively. The next who is introduced is Mr. Walwyn: "he," proceeds our encomiastic author, "is a person of great modesty and wit, and, if I may judge by his Poems, perhaps the most ingenious bard, of a bookseller, in London." Mr. Evets, at the Green Dragon, though not talkative, "has a sudden way of repartee, very witty and surprising." Mr. Swall, now out of business, "was the owner of a great deal of wit and learning." Mr. Fox, in Westminster Hall, "is a refined politician." Mr. Sprint, junior, "has a ready wit—is the handsomest man in the Stationers' Company—and may without compliment be called a very accomplished bookseller." Mr. John Harris, now dead, had a little body, "but what nature denied him in bulk and straightness, she gave him in wit and vigour." Mr. Herrick, again, who is "a tall, handsome man," "is well skilled in the doctrine of the Christian faith, and can discourse handsomely upon the most difficult article in religion." Others, finally, are prodigies of both genius and scholarship—as Mr. Samuel Buckley, who "is an excellent linguist, understands the Latin, French, Dutch, and Italian tongues, and is master of a great deal of wit."—"He prints," adds Dunton, "the 'Daily Courant' and 'Monthly Register,' which I hear he translates out of the foreign papers himself." Buckley, who ultimately became the printer of the

'London Gazette,' seems to have been an object of special admiration, or envy, to our author, and his merits and good fortune are expatiated upon at great length in various of his publications. He is known in the republic of letters as the learned printer, and, in fact, editor, of the London edition of De Thou's 'Latin History,' published in 1733, in seven volumes folio.

The London booksellers of this era would seem, then, to have formed quite a brilliant constellation of wits and literati. But we have not yet by any means acquired a complete notion of their fascinations. The following are a few more of Dunton's graphic touches:—Mr. Thomas Bennet is "a man very neat in his dress, and very much devoted to the church." Mr. William Hartley is "a very comely, personable man." Mr. Nicholas Boddington "has the satisfaction to belong to a very beautiful wife." Mr. Bosvile, at the Dial in Fleet Street, "is a very genteel person; and it is in Mr. Bosvile that all qualities meet that are essential to a good churchman or an accomplished bookseller." Mr. Richard Parker; "his body is in good case; his face red and plump; his eyes brisk and sparkling; of an humble look and behaviour; naturally witty; and fortunate in all he prints." Mr. Wellington, among other qualifications, "has a pretty knack at keeping his word." Mr. William Miller, deceased, "had the largest collection of stitched books [pamphlets] of any man in the world, and could furnish the clergy (at a dead lift) with a printed sermon on any text or occasion;" "his person was tall and slender; he had a graceful aspect (neither stern nor effeminate); his eyes were smiling and lively; his complexion was of an honey colour, and he breathed as if he had run a race; the figure and symmetry of his face exactly proportionable; he had a soft voice, and a very obliging tongue; he was very moderate in his eating, drinking, and sleeping; and was blest with a great memory." Mr. Gilliflower "loved his bottle and his friend with an equal affection." Mr. Philips "is a grave, modest bachelor, and it is said is married to a single life; which I wonder at, for doubtless nature meant him a conqueror over all hearts, when she gave him such sense and such piety: his living so long a bachelor shows his refined nature." Mr. Smith, near the Royal Exchange; "his fair soul is tenant to a lovely and well-proportioned body." Mr. Harding is "of a lovely proportion, extremely well made, as handsome a mien and as good an air as perhaps few of his neighbours exceed him." Mr. Thomas Simmons, formerly of Ludgate Street; "his conjugal virtues have deserved to be set as an example to the primitive age." Mr. Harrison, by the Royal Exchange; "his person is of the middle size; his hair inclines to a brown, but his care and concern for his family will soon change it into a white, at once the emblem of his innocence and his virtue." Mr. Jonathan Greenwood "is a rare example of conjugal love and chastity." Mr. Isaac Cleave, in Chancery Lane, "is a very chaste, modest man." Mr. Place, near Furnival's Inn; "his face is of a claret complexion, but himself is a very sober, pious man." Never, certainly, before or since, were all the graces, both of mind and body, so generally diffused among any class of men as among these old London booksellers.

The greatest bookseller that had been in England for many years, according to Dunton, was the late Mr. George Sawbridge. He left his four daughters portions of 10,000*l.* a-piece, and was succeeded in his business by his son of the same names. The two most famous characters in the list are Jacob Tonson and

Bernard Lintott, immortalized by the association of their names with the writings and wranglings of Dryden and Pope, and the other wits and literary celebrities of that age. But there is nothing in the notice of either that is of much interest. Lintott Dunton affirms to be a man of very good principles. Tonson, he says, "was bookseller to the famous Dryden, and is himself a very good judge of

[Tonson.]

persons and authors; and, as there is nobody more competently qualified to give their opinion of another, so there is none who does it with a more severe exactness or with less partiality; for, to do Mr. Tonson justice, he speaks his mind upon all occasions, and will flatter nobody."

One short paragraph is interesting as connecting the present time with the past, or at least a recent with a more distant age. Mr. Ballard "is," says Dunton, "a young bookseller in Little Britain; but is grown man in body now, but more in mind:—

> "His looks are in the mother's beauty dressed,
> And all the father has informed his breast."

This Mr. Ballard is said to have been the last survivor of the booksellers of Little Britain, and to have died in the same house in which he began trade at the age of upwards of a hundred. If he lived, indeed, till about the year 1795, as is asserted in Nightingale's 'London and Middlesex,' he must have been considerably more than a centenarian. But it is probable that there is a mistake of a few years in this date. It is not in 1729, as Nightingale supposes, but in 1705, that Dunton speaks of Mr. Ballard as a young man rising in business.

"Huge Lintott" and "Left-legged Jacob" are the only two of the four competitors in the immortal contests of the second book of the 'Dunciad' that are mentioned by Dunton; the other two, Osborne and Curll, were as yet unknown to fame. Thomas Osborne, whose shop was the same that had been occupied by Lintott, under the gateway of Gray's Inn, was, we believe, a respectable

enough man; he is celebrated as the purchaser of the printed books of the library of Harley Earl of Oxford, and the publisher of the Harleian Miscellany, and also of two folio volumes of scarce Voyages and Travels, reprinted from that collection. Pope charges him with having cut down the folio copies of his Iliad to the size of the subscription copies, which were in quarto, and sold them as subscription copies; but he was probably not guilty of any such misrepresentation; if he found that the public preferred the quarto to the folio size, he had a perfect right to cut down his books accordingly. The discomfiture, however, to which the revengeful poet dooms him for this ingenious manœuvre is, it must be admitted, inimitably happy and appropriate.

The notorious Edmund Curll kept shop in Rose Street, Covent Garden, having Pope's Head for his sign. As the castigation bestowed on him in the glorious satire is more severe and merciless than that dealt out to any of his comrades in suffering, so his offence, or offences rather, had been much the most atrocious. He appears to have first thrown himself into collision with Pope by publishing a duodecimo volume of early Letters written by the poet to his friend Henry Cromwell, Esq., which that gentleman had given to Mrs. Eliza Thomas, the "Curll's Corinna" of the Dunciad, and which she had sold to Curll. This was in 1727. Four more volumes followed, under the title of 'Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence,' the last of which appeared in 1736; but in these there were only two or three genuine letters of Pope's: the rest of their contents consisted partly of forgeries in his name, but mostly of matter, much of it grossly indecent, which, notwithstanding the title-page, it was not even pretended in the body of the book that he had anything to do with. Curll, whose name has become a synonyme for every thing most disreputable in the trade of defamation and obscenity, richly deserved all he met with at Pope's hands. The only pity is that he probably would not feel it—any more than he had felt his exposure in the pillory a few years before for one of his atrocious publications—upon which occasion it is said that, by getting printed papers dispersed among the people telling them that he stood there for vindicating the memory of Queen Anne, he not only saved himself from being pelted, but, when he was taken down, was carried off by the mob, as it were in triumph, to a neighbouring tavern.

The early part of the eighteenth century, we have said, was still an age of pamphleteering. This system was first effectually broken in upon by the ingenious and enterprising Edward Cave, who, conceiving the notion of substituting a single vehicle of information and discussion, to appear at regular intervals, for the numerous occasional papers which then constituted our ephemeral literature, brought out the first number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' on the 31st of January, 1731. The speculation was immediately and eminently successful; the Magazine soon dried up the occasional papers, as the formation of a deep drain or reservoir of water does all the minor springs in its neighbourhood; and its founder, a man of humble origin, little education, and nobody to help him forward in the world but himself, was made rich and famous, as he deserved to be, by his lucky project. The 'Gentleman's Magazine'—now well entitled to be styled the 'Old Gentleman's Magazine'—still perseveres in coming out every month, with a tenacity of life, and constancy to early habits, above all praise.

[Cave.]

Perhaps the next great revolution in the commercial system of our literature was that brought about by James Lackington, of the Temple of the Muses, in Finsbury Square, who may be called the father of cheap bookselling and cheap reprinting. Lackington, also, like Cave, of obscure parentage, and the architect of his own fortunes, has himself told us the story of his rise to greatness in a very remarkable performance, entitled Memoirs of the First Forty-five Years of his Life. But he belongs to the subject, not of the Old but of the Modern booksellers of London; for his book was first published at so late a date as 1791, and he lived till 1815. Though we cannot enter upon his doings and character, however, his effigies may fitly enough close our paper.

[Lackington.]

[Exeter Hall, from the Strand.]

CXVI.—EXETER HALL.

THE social principle applied in carrying out the designs of charity and benevolence is a remarkable feature of the present times. There are so many objects of this nature which it is quite clear no single-handed exertions could compass that the union of numbers to effect them must be regarded as an improvement of vast importance. It is this spirit of aggregation which has extended so widely the scope of philanthropic efforts, and given them a larger sphere of action. The entire world is grasped in the designs of modern philanthropy: the strength of individual charity has perhaps been weakened by the effort. In old times how splendid were its noble gifts and endowments. Though directed towards few objects, the benefit conferred was generally substantial and often of striking utility, evincing a liberal and thoughtful public spirit which we cannot think of without a deep sense of admiration. Many of the founders of our grammar-schools, who perhaps came to London from some remote part of the country in

early life, and raised themselves from indigence to wealth, marked their sense of the blessings they had enjoyed by endowing an institution for education in their native place, where boys were to be instructed "in learning and good manners;" or "in grammar and other good learning;" or "freely and carefully taught and instructed;" or "piously educated;" or instructed "in religion and good literature." The number of these nurseries for youth in every part of England are noble monuments of the wisdom and charity of our ancestors. The schools which early in June every year pour forth their thousands into St. Paul's belong to another era in the history of educational charities, and such of them as are endowed were mostly established during the last century, though two or three came into existence just at the close of the seventeenth century. The assemblage of the children took place for the first time in 1704, in St. Andrew's, Holborn, when 2000 were present; and subsequently they met at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. In 1782, 5000 of the children assembled for the first time at St. Paul's, where they have since annually been collected, and the effect of so large a number uniting their voices in the responses and the singing is highly impressive and affecting. That eccentric but powerful artist, Blake, was probably present at the anniversary of 1782, for in his singular little volume entitled 'Songs of Innocence,' he has the following lines on the occasion:—

"'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
The children walking two and two, in red and blue and green.
Grey-headed beadles walk'd before with wands as white as snow,
Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames' waters flow.

"O, what a multitude they seem'd, these flowers of London town,
Seated in companies they sit, with radiance all their own;
The hum of multitudes was there, but multitudes of lambs,
Thousands of little boys and girls raising their innocent hands.

"Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song,
Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven among;
Beneath them sit the aged men, wise guardians of the poor;
Then cherish pity lest you drive an angel from your door."

Proceed we, however, to the more complicated schemes of modern charity, or at least those of them which naturally suggest themselves in connexion with Exeter Hall; and something must we say also of the general influence which brings the place into importance as an actual and living part of our institutions, as, in these days, a sort of "fourth estate" of the realm.

St. Stephen's is not better known as the seat of legislation than Exeter Hall as the recognised temple of modern philanthropy. The associations connected with it are peculiarly characteristic of an age which, in many respects, is marked and distinct from all other eras in the history of the national manners, and which had scarcely exhibited any of its phases half a century ago. He who would rightly estimate the present power and influence of our various institutions, must be blind if he omit all consideration of the moral and religious feelings which are concentrated at Exeter Hall, and there find a voice which is heard from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. In order clearly to understand that the spirit which animates the frequenters of this place is distinctly a feature of the present age, we must go back to the period when Exeter Hall was not, before Freemasons'

Hall or the Crown and Anchor had resounded with the plaudits of the religious and benevolent, even before the "religious world" itself existed. We must retrace briefly the progress and the efflux of improvement in manners and habits, for at times the tide has advanced, and then again it has receded.

The supremacy of the Puritans, and their fervour of spirit, might, under more genial circumstances, have produced enlarged and comprehensive schemes of benevolence such as we now see; but, as it was, under the influence of political and religious fanaticism combined, zeal degenerated into bigotry, and warmth of devotion into a narrow ascetism. A more healthy tone would have succeeded this fever, no doubt, but the national feeling of merry England revolted against the puritanical system, and then succeeded by way of reaction the trifling and profligate temper of the Restoration. The thoughtless spirit both of the court and the country, at this period, were altogether incompatible with earnest moral efforts of any kind. The Revolution checked the light-heartedness of the nation, which had been already over-shadowed by the gloomy character of James II. In the reign of Anne a more zealous religious temper again prevailed. In 1692 societies were instituted for the reformation of manners, which dealt much in warrants, and placed too great a reliance on the constable. In 1688 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, now the most venerable institution of the kind, was established for the education and religious instruction of the poor in the principles of the Established Church. In June, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had been already some time in existence, was incorporated, its chief members being the prelates and dignitaries of the Established Church, and some of the most eminent persons in the State. In the third year, after it had received its Charter, the receipts amounted to 864*l.*; and the first printed list of subscribers, in 1718, contained 260 names. The British Colonies are to be understood as the "Foreign Parts," to which the Society confined its operations. The year before it was incorporated, the question of counteracting the political influence of the French Missionaries in Canada was much agitated, and partly from political motives, as well as from feelings of interest in their welfare, the Society's first efforts for the conversion of the heathen were made among the American Indians; but at a very early period the Society gave its support to the Danish Foreign Mission, which was commenced under Frederic IV., about 1705, and sent spiritual labourers to the Danish settlements in India. The reports of these missionaries were translated from the Danish, and for many years published annually in England, under the title of "A Brief Account of the Measures taken in Denmark for the Conversion of the Heathen." Nearly a century elapsed after the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel before any kindred institution arose in England. The existence of the two Societies above-mentioned, and of those for the reformation of manners, is a proof of a more zealous spirit having partially found its way into the Church, and also to some, though not perhaps to any great extent, into society generally. But it is unquestionable that the reigns of the First and Second Georges were characterised by an extraordinary degree of apathy in the Church, and amongst the higher classes, on religious, moral, and social questions. At length the zeal and energy of Wesley and Whitefield aroused the Church from its slumbers, and it began slowly to awaken to a sense of the duties required from

it, and from all who enjoyed wealth and influence; but not until the religious fervour of the poorer classes had been already powerfully excited by the system of Methodism, and they were ready to point indignantly at the Church as an obstacle rather than a guide. There needed yet a religious regenerator, whose voice would be listened to in high places, for there the moral insensibility was as dull as ever. At the period which just preceded the French Revolution, "the gay and busy world were almost ignorant of Christianity, amidst the lukewarmness and apathy which possessed the very watchmen of the faith."* Amongst the most conspicuous of those who endeavoured to regenerate the national spirit were Wilberforce and Hannah More. Wilberforce proposed to form an association, like its precursor in 1692, to resist the spread of open immorality. His plan was, in the first instance, to obtain a Royal proclamation against vice, and then to form an association for carrying it into effect. Writing to Mr. Hey, of Leeds, in May, 1787, he announces that in a few days he would hear of "a proclamation being issued for the discouragement of vice, of letters being written by the Secretaries of State to the Lords Lieutenant, expressing his Majesty's pleasure that they recommend it throughout their several counties, to be active in the execution of the laws against immoralities, and of a Society being formed in London for the purpose of carry into effect his Majesty's good and generous intentions . . . . The objects to which the Committee will direct their attention are the offences specified in the proclamation,—profanation of the Sabbath, swearing, drunkenness, licentious publications, unlicensed places of public amusement, the regulation of licensed places, &c." He mentions in this letter that he had received a formal invitation to cards, for Sunday evening, from a person high in the king's service. In June, Wilberforce was visiting the bishops in their respective dioceses, as he wished to communicate with them separately, "lest the scruples of a few might prevent the acquiescence of the rest." His sons state, in the biography of their father, that "the Society was soon in active and useful operation. The Duke of Montagu opened his house for its reception, and presided over its meetings,—a post which was filled after his death by the late Lord (Chancellor) Bathurst, who was followed by Bishop Porteus; and before its dissolution it had obtained many valuable Acts of Parliament, and greatly checked the spread of blasphemous and indecent publications." Its existence was, at all events, a proof that the apathy of former years was passing away. In 1788 Hannah More published 'Thoughts on the Manners of the Great,' with a view of inducing them to reflect on the levity of many of their pursuits. In fact this class began to be seriously annoyed at the invasion of their pleasures by the greater strictness which public opinion now demanded from them. In 1791 Hannah More again endeavoured to arouse attention by her 'Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World.' In 1796 she had commenced writing the first of the modern religious tracts. Bishop Porteus, writing to her in January, 1797, says, "The sublime and immortal publication, of the 'Cheap Repository,' I hear of from every quarter of the globe." Two millions of these tracts were disposed of in the first year. In 1797, Wilberforce published his 'Practical Christianity,' a work which had undoubtedly a great effect on the higher classes. Within half a year, five editions, of altogether

* 'Life of Wilberforce,' by his Sons.

7500 copies, were printed. This popularity is to be attributed partly to the author's intimate friendship with Mr. Pitt, and his connexion with the most distinguished men of the day, and partly also to the warmer and more earnest moral spirit which began to prevail. In 1798 attempts at legislative interference having been dropped, Wilberforce was active in inducing persons of the higher ranks to adopt a voluntary engagement to promote the observance of the Sabbath. Hannah More, writing from Bishop Porteus's, at Fulham, in 1797, says, "The 'Morning Chronicle,' and other *pious newspapers*, have laboured to throw such a stigma on the association for the better observance of the Sunday, that the timid great are steering off, and very few indeed have signed." The Bishop of Durham laid the declaration before George III.; but Wilberforce states in his 'Diary,' that the king "turned the conversation." Wilberforce himself waited upon the Speaker to induce him to give up his Sunday parliamentary dinners, but the first Commoner in the land grew angry, and took his interference as a personal insult. In 1799 a bill was brought into Parliament for the suppression of Sunday newspapers, which Pitt promised to support, but Dundas induced him to retract his pledge, on the plea that three out of the four Sunday newspapers supported the ministry; and after Sheridan's gibes at the measure it was thrown out on the second reading. Hannah More relates a more hopeful incident on the authority of Lady Cremorne, who told her that on coming down stairs on Sunday morning at eight o'clock, she found "Admiral C., another Admiral, and a General, with their Bibles, each separately, in different parts of the room, and so at times all the day." Then, in 1805, seven years afterwards, she writes from Fulham that the Bishop of London was making a stand against Sunday concerts. "He has," she says, "written an admirable letter, very strong and very pious, but temperate and well-mannered, to all the great ladies concerned in this un-Christian practice. They have in general behaved well, and promised amendment." Again writing from Fulham, in 1809, she says that the Bishop (Porteus) having heard of the institution of a club, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, which was to meet on a Sunday, he asked for an audience to entreat the Prince to fix on some other day. "Supported by two servants, and hardly able to move with their assistance, he got to the apartment of the Prince, and with agitated earnestness conjured him to fix on some other day for this meeting. The Prince received him most graciously, seemed much affected, said it was not a new institution, and that it was founded on charity, but that if the day could be changed to Saturday it should." A few months before, Perceval, the Prime Minister, had been induced to alter the day for Parliament meeting, which, as it was to have been Monday, would have involved the necessity of a great amount of Sunday travelling. Wilberforce drew his attention to this circumstance, and the Minister apologized for the inadvertency; and two days after he wrote to Wilberforce, stating that the meeting was postponed to Thursday, "to obviate the objections which you have suggested." In his 'Diary,' Wilberforce says, "The House put off nobly by Perceval, because of the Sunday travelling it would occasion." Sunday card-parties and Sunday concerts amongst the higher classes are now unheard of; as the more thoughtful views which this class entertain, as well as the general state of public opinion, have put an end to such a mode of spending any portion of the Sunday.

There are two subjects involving religious, moral, and political considerations, on which the stricter (and in so many things juster) spirit of the last fifty years has exercised a most important influence. The death-blow of slavery may be said to have proceeded from Exeter Hall; and the abolition of capital punishment, except for atrocious crimes, is the result of the same religious feeling. Seventy years ago Granville Sharpe proved slavery to be illegal in England. Sixty years ago Bishop Porteus preached against the Slave Trade. A quarter of a century elapsed, and in 1807, after arduous struggles, the trade is abolished. Another quarter of a century runs its course, and in 1833 an Act is passed for emancipating every slave in the British dominions. The agitation of this question for seventy years, the discussions to which it led of the rights of humanity and the principles of justice and Christianity, were singularly favourable to the development of the peculiar spirit which has its altars at Exeter Hall. For some years the struggle was chiefly confined to Parliament, aided by friends of abolition here and there. The public were spectators rather than actors, deeply interested ones no doubt, but not assembling in "conventions" and great "abolition meetings," to concentrate public opinion in its utmost strength, as they have done since the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823. It was in 1792 that many of the friends of abolition determined to abstain from the consumption of West India produce, so long as it was raised by slaves. "We use East Indian sugar entirely," writes Mr. Babington to Mr. Wilberforce, "and so do full two-thirds of the friends of abolition in Leicester." Mr. W. Smith says to Wilberforce, "Please to take notice that I have left off sugar completely and entirely for some time past, and shall certainly persevere in my resolution, though I am not yet at all reconciled to the deprivation of the most favourite gratification of my palate." Associations were rapidly formed to stop the consumption of West India produce, and Wilberforce, it appears, was at first disposed to recommend this course, but he afterwards decided "that it should be suspended until, if necessary, it might be adopted with effect by general concurrence." The struggle excited a bitterness of feeling amongst some of the West Indian body which fifty years ago showed itself in ways calculated to astonish those who are accustomed to the more tolerant spirit of the present day. "The box in which our petition is enclosed," says a Glasgow correspondent to Mr. Wilberforce, "has been directed to another, that its contents may be unsuspected." Residents in Liverpool, of the same rank in life as Dr. Currie, asked of Mr. Wilberforce, "If you write, be pleased to direct without franking it." The biographers of Wilberforce state that the anti-slavery correspondence was in many instances conducted "in unsigned letters, sent under the covers of unsuspected persons." In a letter which did not at all allude to West Indian matters, and was therefore openly transmitted to Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Currie adds this postscript, "Trusting this letter to our post-office with your address, I shall be anxious to hear of its safe arrival." Besides the selfishness of traders there were other obstacles to be encountered, and the strength of the parliamentary opposition may be judged of from the fact that in 1804 four of the royal family came down to the House of Lords to vote against the abolition of the Slave Trade: it had, however, been carried in the Commons.

The amelioration of our sanguinary criminal laws encountered difficulties

almost as great as those which retarded the abolition of the Slave Trade. It is but justice to state that in 1750 a committee of the House of Commons on the laws relating to felonies reported "that it was reasonable to exchange the punishment of death for some other reasonable punishment;" and a Bill founded on this resolution passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The question rested here for above half a century, until, in 1808, Sir Samuel Romilly brought forward his first motion for the reform of the criminal laws, and an Act was passed for abolishing the punishment of death for pocket-picking (stealing privately from the person to the value of five shillings). In 1810 Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to abolish capital punishment for the crime of stealing privately in a shop to the amount of five shillings was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 31 to 11. In the majority were not fewer than seven prelates, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Dampier, Bishop of Ely, Luxmore, Bishop of Hereford, Sparke, the new Bishop of Chester, and Porter, an Irish bishop. It was alleged as a reason for not going further that the crime of pocket-picking had alarmingly increased since the capital punishment for it had been abolished; but it was forgotten that the increased number of convictions was rather a proof of the success of the former measure, for the previous inordinate severity of the law prevented those who had been robbed from prosecuting, and crime was encouraged by impunity. In 1813 the Bill to repeal the Shoplifting Act was again thrown out in the Lords, and two royal dukes and five bishops were in the majority, with the Lord Chancellor and the ministers. In 1816, although the measure had several times passed the Commons, it was still pending; and on Romilly bringing it forward this year, he stated that a boy of only ten years of age had been convicted at the Old Bailey under the Act, and was then lying under sentence of death in Newgate; and he drew attention to the fact, because, some time before, the Recorder of London had declared from the bench that it was the determination of the Prince Regent, in consequence of the number of boys who had been lately detected in committing felonies, to make an example of the next offender of this description. A few months afterwards a boy of sixteen was actually hung at Newgate for highway robbery. The Bill was again rejected. In February, 1818, it was again brought in by its author, who alluded to the ill success of excessive severity in repressing forgery; for though the Crown seldom pardoned, the offence was rapidly increasing. Sir Samuel Romilly died in the autumn of the same year, and the progress of enlightened opinion has enabled others to carry out his benevolent views, while time has proved that they were not less benevolent than practically successful in securing the object at which he aimed. In 1819, 20, 21, 22, there were 426 persons executed in England and Wales, and in the four years ending with 1841, only 36. Persons being less reluctant to prosecute, the number of convictions has increased from 58 to 72 out of every 100 offenders. The proportion of atrocious offences has been gradually diminishing, and those against property committed without violence have increased from 73 per cent. in 1834 to 79 per cent. in 1841. These facts show that, on some important questions, there is not only the enthusiasm of warm and generous tempers in the Exeter Hall spirit, but at times excellent sense and sound philosophy. The State Lotteries fell before the same power. Lastly, the

cruel practices connected with the employment of climbing boys in sweeping chimneys have been abolished.

It must be confessed that a dilettanti spirit of enthusiasm and benevolence, which disregards the attainment of practical objects by plain means, is sometimes rather too prominent at Exeter Hall, though it is true that the influential leaders here are generally at the same time conspicuous for their activity in promoting good works generally; but this is scarcely sufficient to redeem the mass from the charge of an insensibility to evils less remote than those which, in many instances, exclusively bring their sympathies into full play. Carried away by the grandeur of the object they propose to accomplish, they are led to applaud ill-considered and impracticable modes of attaining it. This is very creditable perhaps to their feelings, warmed into excitement by declamatory appeals under which the imagination becomes too powerful for the reason and intelligence of the listeners. Thus the famous Niger expedition, with its model farms and apparatus and schemes for civilizing Africa, finds favour at Exeter Hall, while the safe and practical plan set on foot by the government for promoting the emigration of the natives of Africa to the British Colonies in the West, and who, after acquiring a higher civilization, and valuable knowledge of the arts of life, would return to Africa to disseminate in that barbaric land the seeds of improvement;—this is a measure, though protected by every necessary check which can be thought of, which is loudly denounced. From Exeter Hall the view of remote evils is more distinct than of those which lie everywhere around us. The eye pierces, as well as it can, into the obscure horizon, but does not behold the objects at hand which stand broadly in the full daylight, because its gaze, though embracing the furthest limits of the globe, is not directed downward as well. This characteristic has led a nervous and powerful writer into one of his striking apostrophes:—"O Anti-Slavery Convention," he exclaims, "loud-sounding, long-eared Exeter Hall! But in thee too is a kind of instinct towards justice, and I will complain of nothing. Only black Quashee over the seas being once sufficiently attended to, wilt not thou perhaps open thy dull sodden eyes to the hunger-stricken, pallid, *yellow*-coloured 'free labourers' in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, and all other shires? These yellow-coloured for the present absorb all my sympathies: if I had twenty millions, with model farms and Niger expeditions, it is to these that I would give them. Quashee has already victuals, clothing; Quashee is not dying of such despair as the yellow-coloured pale man's. Quashee, it must be owned, is hitherto a kind of blockhead. The Haiti Duke of Marmalade, educated now for almost half a century, seems to have next to no sense in him. Why, in one of those Lancashire weavers, dying of hunger, there is more thought and heart, a greater arithmetical amount of misery and desperation, than in whole gangs of Quashees. It must be owned, thy eyes are of the sodden sort; and with thy emancipations, and thy twenty-millionings, and long-eared clamourings, thou, like Robespierre with his pasteboard *Etre Suprême*, threatenest to become a bore to us, '*Avec ton Etre Suprême tu commences m'embêter!*'"* Thus much it may be remarked in defence of Exeter Hall,—that as the consideration of domestic evils can rarely be separated from questions to which a political character, whether rightly or wrongly, is given, it may be that most of those who, in moral and religious questions, dis-

* Mr. Carlyle's 'Past and Present.'

play such strong and fervid feelings, fear nevertheless to plunge into the agitated waters of politics, and content themselves with exertions of a private nature.

We have, however, paused too long on the threshold, and will now notice Exeter Hall itself. In 1829 the Strand was deformed by an ill-shaped clumsy building called Exeter 'Change, of which an account has already been given.* The wild beasts at Exeter 'Change were lions of the town quite as much as those of the Tower. The menagerie was removed in 1832. "Passing one day," says Mr. Leigh Hunt, "by Exeter 'Change, we beheld a sight strange enough to witness in a great thoroughfare—a fine horse startled, and pawing the ground, at the roar of lions and tigers. It was at the time probably when the beasts were being fed." When it was determined to pull down the old 'Change and widen the street, several persons of influence in the religious world proposed a scheme for building a large edifice, which should contain rooms of different sizes, to be appropriated exclusively to the uses of religious and benevolent societies, especially for their anniversary meetings, with committee-rooms and offices for several societies whose apartments were at that time crowded in houses taken for the purpose, as is the case at present with several scientific bodies, who might take a hint on the subject, and erect a large building for their joint accommodation. Exeter Hall was completed in 1831. It attracts little attention from the passenger, as the frontage is very narrow, and the exterior simply consists of a lofty portico formed of two handsome Corinthian pillars, with a flight of steps from the street to the Hall door. But when any great meeting is assembled, or is about to break up, there is no mistaking the place. The building stretches backward and extends to the right and left a considerable space. The Strand entrance leads to a wide passage, which at the extremity branches off into transverse passages. Two flights of steps, which meet above, lead to the great Hall, ninety feet broad, one hundred and thirty-eight long, and forty-eight high. It will hold four thousand persons, and, with scarcely any discomfort, a much larger number. The ranges of one half the seats rise in an amphitheatrical form, and the platform, at one end, is raised about six feet, and will accommodate five hundred persons. The "chair" in the front is not unlike that of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. The speakers, near the front, are accommodated with chairs, behind which rise rows of benches. Two flights of steps extend from the front row to the entrances at the back. Eight or nine years ago the capacity of the great Hall was enlarged by the erection of a gallery at the end opposite the platform, and two or three years afterwards the curve of the platform on each side was extended into galleries reaching a considerable distance into the middle of the room along the walls. When the Hall is quite filled the sight is grand and striking. An habitual attendant at Exeter Hall, in his 'Recollections,' has described the (to him) familiar aspect of the place on these occasions:—"The finest view is from the deep recesses behind the platform. Below you lies the platform, slanting downwards, and extending into a crescent shape, with its crowds sitting or standing; beyond them is the large flat surface of the area, its close benches all filled, and the avenues among them occupied by chairs or by persons who are fain to stand for want of sitting-room. Behind this are the raised seats, gradually appearing one behind another, and occupying a space equal to half the size of the whole room; all again fully

* No. XXXVI., vol. ii., p. 174.

crowded, and the descending steps among the benches filled by the standing multitude. Over their heads, the whole scene is crowned by the back gallery, at a height of many feet. Those who wish to realise the idea of 'a sea of heads' should take this view of Exeter Hall on some popular occasion. When such an assembly rises, for prayer or praise, at the beginning or end of a meeting, the sight is still more stupendous, and the degree of sound they are able to produce, in the way of cheering or singing, is almost incredible. There have been occasions when that vast room has rung with the voices of those assembled within its walls; and a second peal of cheers succeeding, before the echos of the first have died away, the noise altogether has been of a nature that few persons could hear unmoved." Underneath the great Hall is a smaller one, with a gallery and platform adapted to the size of the apartment, but it has no raised seats. There are sometimes meetings in both halls at the same time, and the acclamations of the larger audience reverberating in the smaller hall, a speaker unaccustomed to the place perhaps pauses until the plaudits have died away, thinking they proceeded from the audience he was addressing. From April to the end of May about thirty different societies hold their anniversary meetings at Exeter Hall, either in the larger or smaller hall, the latter of which will hold about a thousand persons; and there is one still smaller which will hold about a fourth of this number. On great occasions the street entrance is often crowded for some time before the doors are opened, which is usually about two hours before the chair is taken. Instances have occurred in which persons have been waiting for the opening of the doors from the early hour of seven in the morning. To fill up the vacant time, books and newspapers are resorted to, and even needle-work is taken out; but in general, if the visitor arrive an hour before the chair is taken, there will be no difficulty in obtaining room. The number of tickets issued is always greater than the Hall will contain, as those experienced in such matters are able to form a tolerably correct estimate of the number who, from various circumstances, will not be able to attend. A singular instance of mistaken reckoning on this point occurred on Thursday, the 1st of June, 1843, when the largest meeting assembled which had ever been known at Exeter Hall. The weather had been for some time so unfavourable that about ten thousand tickets were issued, under the idea that a full meeting would not be obtained without making an unusually large allowance for the absence of those whose attendance would be prevented by the weather; but the object of the meeting was felt to be so important that the muster was two or three times as great as was anticipated, and though the smaller hall received the overflowings of the larger one, there were still two or three thousand persons who could not gain admittance after the doors were opened at eight o'clock in the morning. Many of these assembled at Great Queen Street Chapel, which was filled by about fifteen hundred persons. The object of the meeting is interesting as an illustration of the Exeter Hall spirit, being for the purpose of promoting Christian union among the different religious bodies in this country. On the platform were to be seen clergymen of the Established Church and ministers of all the dissenting communities of Christians. A report was read in which the desire was expressed that the meeting should "forget their distinctive opinions in the contemplation of their common Christianity as a sufficient ground of fraternal regard and confidence." The document went on to say that "no practical object is connected

with this meeting. It has been felt to be necessary, first, to raise the tone of Christian feeling and communion, by confining attention to the object already stated; and by exercises of a hallowed nature, adapted to promote it, in the hope that our combining together in any great movement, either for the defence or propagation of the common faith, might thus be rendered more practical, and more likely to be of a sound and lasting character." The enthusiasm which prevails at meetings of this kind, and at the "May meetings" generally, would surprise most persons. A large proportion of those present are females of that portion of the middle classes who are in easy circumstances, who are shut out by their views, opinions, and habits from many of the common sources of emotion. At Exeter Hall, their sympathies are powerfully exercised; the range of subjects in which they are most conversant are dwelt upon with exciting interest; the imagination is awakened, and distant objects are viewed in an enchanted light. Considering the topics of declamation which abound at Exeter Hall, many of them truly grand in their scope and character, it is not at all wonderful that their discussion should inflame the mind and kindle the religious and moral feelings of the hearers. In scenes like those witnessed at Exeter Hall, there is, as Wilberforce remarks, "a moral sublimity which, if duly estimated, would be worthy of the tongues of angels." The artist finds in such scenes a great subject for the pencil. It is sufficient to refer to Haydon's Picture of the Great Meeting of Delegates for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World, held in June, 1840, under the presidency of the venerable Clarkson. The artist left his painting-room unwillingly, in the belief that the scene would be one of a very common-place character. The account of his visit is graphic and striking, and we give an extract from it as being calculated to familiarize the reader with the general spirit of a great religious meeting. "In a few minutes an unaffected man got up, and informed the meeting that Thomas Clarkson would attend shortly: he begged no tumultuous applause would greet his entrance, as his infirmities were great, and he was too nervous to bear, without risk of injury to his health, any such expressions of their good feeling towards him. The Friend who addressed them was Joseph Sturge, a man whose whole life has been devoted to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy. In a few minutes, the aged Clarkson came in, grey and bent, leaning on Joseph Sturge for support, and approached with feeble and tottering steps the middle of the convention. I had never seen him before, nor had most of the foreigners present; and the anxiety to look on him, betrayed by all, was exceedingly unaffected and sincere. Immediately behind Thomas Clarkson were his daughter-in-law, the widow of his son, and his little grandson. Aided by Joseph Sturge and his daughter, Clarkson mounted to the chair, sat down in it as if to rest, and then, in a tender, feeble voice, appealed to the assembly for a few minutes' meditation before he opened the convention. The venerable old man put his hand simply to his forehead, as if in prayer, and the whole assembly followed his example; for a minute there was the most intense silence I ever felt. Having inwardly uttered a short prayer, he was again helped up; and bending forward, leaning on the table, he spoke to the great assembly as a patriarch standing near the grave, or as a kind father who felt an interest for his children. Every word he uttered was from his heart—he spoke tenderly, tremulously; and, in alluding to Wilberforce, acknowledged, just as an aged man would acknowledge,

his decay of memory in forgetting many other dear friends whom he could not then recollect. After solemnly urging the members to persevere to the last, till slavery was extinct, lifting his arm and pointing to heaven (his face quivering with emotion), he ended by saying, 'May the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men—may He, in His abundant mercy, guide your councils and give His blessing upon your labours.' There was a pause of a moment, and then, without an interchange of thought or even of look, the whole of this vast meeting, men and women, said, in a tone of subdued and deep feeling, 'Amen! Amen!' To the reader not present it is scarcely possible to convey without affectation the effect on the imagination of one who, like myself, had never attended benevolent meetings, had no notion of such deep sincerity in any body of men, or of the awful and unaffected piety of the class I had been brought amongst..... I have seen the most afflicting tragedies, imitative and real; but never did I witness, in life or in the drama, so deep, so touching, so pathetic an effect produced on any great assembly as by the few, unaffected, unsophisticated, natural, and honest words of this aged and agitated person. The women wept—the men shook off their tears, unable to prevent their flowing; for myself, I was so affected and so astonished, that it was many minutes before I recovered, sufficiently to perceive the moment of interest I had longed for had come to pass—and this was the moment I immediately chose for the picture." This Anti-Slavery Convention was succeeded by the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at which the late Duke of Sussex presided. Clarkson was present, also Monsieur Guizot and Mrs. Fry, and many persons whose services in the Anti-Slavery cause are known in every part of the world. Amongst the speakers were an American judge, an English missionary, a French philanthropist, and a man of colour. In the following year Prince Albert made his first appearance at any public meeting in England. The great hall was filled two hours before the proceedings commenced, and the platform was crowded by some of the most distinguished men in England. The meeting was that of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and the Civilization of Africa.

The speakers at the "May meetings" comprise a few of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; at the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible Society anniversaries, some of the bishops; at the meetings of other denominations, the leading men in each. Persons of provincial celebrity make their *debût* before a London audience; and the variety and peculiarities of the speakers are a sufficiently tempting theme to the critical among the fair sex. In one year Wilberforce attended ten of these meetings in as many days, and spoke twelve times. To a man of strong philanthropic feelings, and of sufficient consideration to attract the public eye, especially also if he be a fluent speaker, and have the business habits which constitute a good "committee-man," the various religious and benevolent institutions in London open a very active field of exertion and usefulness. The Exeter Hall class of societies so entirely depend upon the principle of aggregation, that to gain influence in the direction of their operations and affairs necessarily presumes the existence in some degree of qualifications which in another popular body leads to the highest distinctions. But however eminent and influential any of the well-known speakers and leaders at Exeter Hall may be, their fame is circumscribed and limited to a world of its own, unless they happen to

have achieved importance in some other sphere; and out of their own region they would be unknown if the newspapers did not make the public familiar with their names; though a large territory, no doubt it is, in which they find enthusiastic admirers, and wherein they are appreciated. Then again, to the world at large, Exeter Hall is only regarded as a single arena, whereas it is one field with many encampments of distinct tribes; or, as a writer lately remarked, "The manner in which they club and congregate, and yet keep apart in distinct groups, reminds one of the rival orders in the Church of Rome. Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Monks, Friars, and Canons-regular—all had their independent organization; all were rivals, though zealous members and supporters of one Church. And Wesleyan, Church, Baptist Missionary Societies—all maintain a certain degree of reserve towards each other; all are jealous of the claims of rival sects; and yet are all attracted by a common sense of religious earnestness. The independent and often mutually repelling bodies who congregate in Exeter Hall are one in spirit, with all their differences. Without a pervading organization, they are a Church." *

The first three days of May in the present year (1843) were each the anniversaries of one of the great religious societies. On the 1st, the Wesleyan Missionary Society held its meeting, which was addressed by a converted American Indian in his native costume. The income of the Society for the preceding year was 98,252*l.*, and the Report stated that it supports 265 principal mission stations. On the following day the meeting of the Church Missionary Society took place. The income for 1842-3 was 115,000*l.* The next day was the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the most Catholic of all the religious societies. On the 12th of March, 1804, when a committee met to complete the organization of the new institution, a motion was made to appoint the Rev. Joseph Hughes to the office of secretary, but was opposed by the Rev. J. Owen, who urged the impolicy of constituting a dissenting minister the secretary of an institution which was to unite the whole body of Christians. This led to an arrangement, the principle of which was at once so judicious and liberal that it has constituted one of the chief corner-stones of the Society's stability and success. Three secretaries were appointed—a clergyman, a dissenting minister, and a foreign secretary, in order that the foreign churches might be represented in the Society. Thus, as Mr. Owen, the historian of the Bible Society, remarks, "The progress of an hour carried the committee on, from the hasty suggestions of a short-sighted attachment to the wise determination of a liberal policy." At the same time, the future proportion of churchmen, dissenters, and foreigners in the governing body was distinctly defined. It consists of six foreigners resident in or near the metropolis, fifteen churchmen, and fifteen dissenters, the whole of the thirty-six being laymen. The first meeting of the Society was held on the 2nd of May, 1804, when Lord Teignmouth was appointed president, and on the following day four of the bishops sent in their names as subscribers. The Bible Society has 2870 affiliated societies in this country, of which 101 were formed in 1842. In 1810, six years after the establishment of the Parent Society, there were but eleven branch Societies in existence, and the annual income was only 18,543*l.* Ten years afterwards, in 1820, the income amounted to 123,547*l.* The Bible So-

* 'Spectator.'

ciety has issued about fifteen million copies of the Scriptures, and it has caused them to be translated, either wholly or in part, into the languages "of every nation under heaven." The Baptist Missionary Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1842, by the collection of a fund called the Jubilee Fund, which amounted to 32,500*l.*, and the ordinary receipts for 1842-3 were 21,198*l.*, making a total of upwards of 53,000*l.* raised by a comparatively small and not wealthy body. The Baptist Missionary Society was the first which sprung up in England after an interval of nearly a century from the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was succeeded in 1795 by the London Missionary, which also holds its anniversaries at Exeter Hall. At the last meeting, May 11th, the income of this Society for the past year was stated to be 78,450*l.*, and its expenditure 85,442*l.* Altogether a sum of about 400,000*l.* a-year is annually collected for missions, and as a very large amount is obtained in small sums, the number of contributors must be prodigious. In 1822, the income of the Church, Wesleyan, and London Missionary Societies was 98,000*l.*; but it is now triple this amount. Besides the Missionary Societies, there are kindred institutions, whose object is to supply the want of religious instruction at home. The Baptist Home Missionary Society has an income of above 5000*l.*, and the Home Missionary Society of above 9000*l.* The Church Pastoral Aid Society (income 19,000*l.*), and the Clerical Aid Society (income 7818*l.*), both in connexion with the Established Church, are designed to provide more adequately for the religious wants of the people in populous districts. The Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews has an income of 25,000*l.* a-year. The Bible Society circulates the Scriptures alone, but there are other Societies which undertake the distribution of works of a religious and moral nature. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with an annual income of about 100,000*l.*, circulates nearly four million publications in the course of the year, of which about three millions are tracts. The Religious Tract Society, established in 1798, has an income of above 50,000*l.*, of which less than 6000*l.* is derived from voluntary contributions, the remainder being the produce of sales of publications, which comprise every variety, from a hand-bill and "broadside" for cottage walls to a commentary on the Bible. In 1842-3 the number of publications issued exceeded sixteen millions, and above two hundred new ones were added to the Society's list. Since the formation of the Society, 377,000,000 publications have been circulated in ninety different languages. There is one series of tracts adapted for sale by hawkers, in which improvements have been successively made at various intervals during the last forty years as the popular taste advanced; and as some notice of this change will probably be interesting to many readers, we give it in the form of a note.* The Sunday School Union, established in 1802, has an income of nearly 9000*l.* a year from

* Soon after the formation of the Society, small publications usually sold by itinerant vendors were found, for the most part, immoral and disgusting in their contents; the best among them were absurd and puerile. In 1805, the attention of the Committee was especially directed to these publications, when it was deemed expedient to supply a better article at a lower price to the vendors. The Committee were obliged, in the first instance, to prepare tracts with striking titles, and in some degree inferior in their contents, to prevent too great a discrepancy from those they were designed to supplant. The titles of some of them fully evince this:—'The Fortune Teller's Conjuring Cap,' 'The Wonderful Cure of General Naaman,' 'The Stingy Farmer's Dream,' 'Tom Toper's Tale over his Jug of Ale,' 'Rhyming Dick and the Strolling Player,' all indicate that it was necessary to catch at

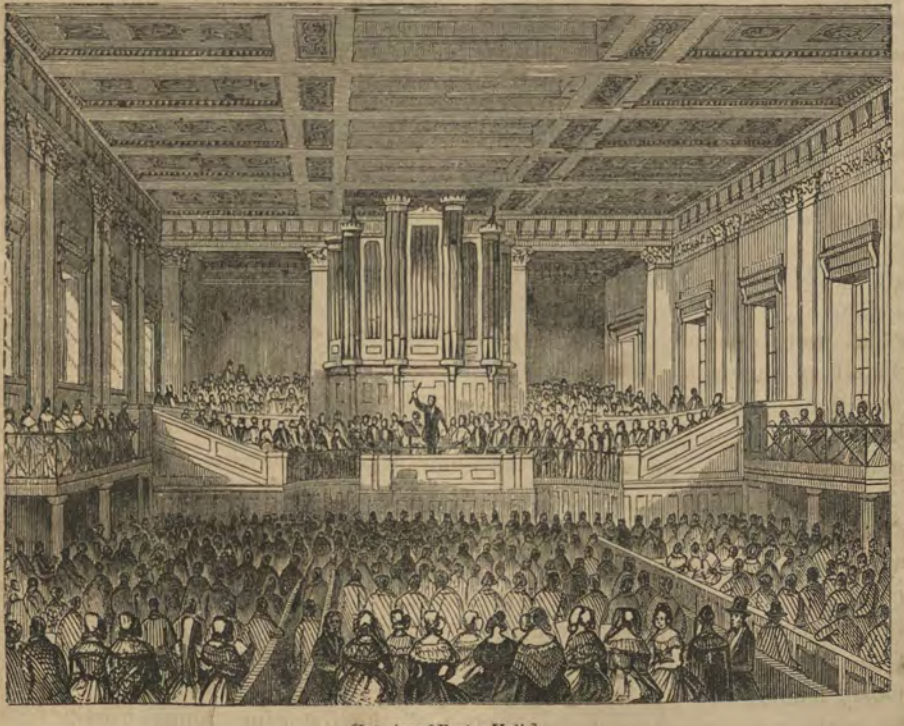
the sale of publications. The City Mission and District Visiting Societies are recently established institutions, for the purpose of relieving the spiritual and temporal necessities of the poor in London. The London City Mission has an income of 6700*l.* à year; and during the year preceding the last report, 364,369 visits were made amongst the poor, in a population exceeding two millions, within eight miles of St. Paul's. We here place before the reader a summary of the Receipts and Expenditure of Religious and Benevolent Societies for 1841-2, taken from the 'Christian Almanac' for 1843:—

	£.		£.
African Civilization Society	3,692	Hibernian	7,050
Aged Pilgrim's Friend	1,600	Home and Colonial Infant School (1841)	1,905
Anti-Slavery*	2,840	Home Missionary	9,402
Baptist Missionary	22,727	Irish	4,136
Baptist Home Missionary	5,153	Irish Evangelical, about	2,000
Baptist Irish	2,300	Jews, for Propagation of Christianity among the	24,699
Baptist Colonial Missionary	507	——— Operative Converts' Institution	799
Bible Translation (Baptist)	1,600	London City Mission	5,534
British and Foreign Bible*	95,095	London Missionary	80,874
British and Foreign Sailors'	2,500	Lord's Day Observance	513
British and Foreign School	7,080	Moravian Missionary	10,651
British and Foreign Temperance*	1,100	National School, annual subscriptions, about	6,000
British Reformation*	1,508	Naval and Military Bible*	2,809
Christian Knowledge*	90,476	New British and Foreign Temperance*	2,137
Christian Instruction	1,428	Newfoundland School	3,470
Church Missionary	93,592	Peace*	768
Church of Scotland Missions	4,577	Prayer Book and Homily*	2,496
——— Jewish Mission	5,839	Protestant Association	1,376
——— Colonial	4,160	Religious Tract*	56,014
——— Education Scheme	5,684	Sailors' Home	2,811
——— Church Extension	3,403	Scottish United Secession Mission Fund	4,196
——— Ditto Supplementary Fund	1,240	Sunday School Union*	10,241
Church Pastoral Aid	18,900	Suppression of Intemperance	908
Clerical Aid	7,818	Trinitarian Bible*	2,201
Colonial Church	1,700	Wesleyan Missionary	101,618
Colonial Missionary	2,200		
District Visiting	250		
Foreign Aid	1,935		
Gospel Propagation	66,213		

very uninformed minds; there were, however, many of a better description. By degrees, the worst of the profane and vicious publications were supplanted. The supply from the Society, of Hawkers' Tracts, fairly met them in the general market, and was generally preferred wherever education had extended; but it was plain that, had not a superior article been supplied, the old wretched tracts would still have been forced upon the Sunday school scholars, and others who were acquiring the ability to read. And in the year 1818, the public cry was changed; it was then generally said, this series must be improved. This was done; several of the old tracts were discontinued; and many others were introduced much superior.—*Abridged from the Christian Spectator for July*, 1839.

* The total of the receipts of the Societies thus marked includes sales of publications.

The Hanover Square rooms are occasionally used for the meetings of religious societies, but the place is not so favourable as Exeter Hall to the enthusiasm of an audience, at least any warmth of feeling which is excited is expressed far less lustily, if with more decorum. Freemasons' Hall, a very fine room for the purpose, is also still used by religious bodies; but there is an increasing disposition to assemble at Exeter Hall, which combines every convenience necessary, and is in a good situation with regard to other parts of the town. Our view of the interior of the great hall represents the great exhibition of Mr. Hullah's system of popular singing, when 2000 pupils combined their voices in the performances. Concerts not unfrequently take place at Exeter Hall, besides being the place where Mr. Hullah's musical classes and the drawing classes (both under the Committee of Privy Council on Education) assemble for instruction.



[Interior of Exeter Hall.]

[The Carnivora Terrace, now in course of erection.]

CXVII.—THE GARDENS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

If one were desired to name the most delightful lounge in the metropolis, difficult as the task of selection might seem to be amidst so many attractive spots, the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park must, we think, be the chosen place. Equally suited to the young and the old, the solitary and the gregarious, the cheerful and the melancholy, the ignorant and the learned, all are here sure of enjoyment at least, and it will be strange indeed if instruction, in some shape or other, does not follow. Pacing its broad terrace-walks, or winding about among its leafy passages; here idly pausing to glance at some newly-blown flower, there (where the unoccupied seat wooes us) at some picturesque combination of tall waving trees, reflected with all their restless lights and shadows in the clear waters of the little lake at their feet, like a second green world below; leaning now against the parapet of the bridge over the tunnel to gaze on the comparatively comprehensive view of the demesne thence obtained, with the mounts, and dells, and islands, and lawns, and parterres, and rustic habitations so harmoniously intermingled; and, now, descending to the stern-looking depths beneath, where, with the carriages of fashionable London rolling incessantly over your head at the distance of but a few feet, you may imagine, without any great exertion of the fancy, that you have accidentally wandered into the remote subterranean habitation of some hermit, who, in this gloom, finds his eyes more naturally turn their glance inwards to the contemplation of his own nature, to whom this deep silence is dear, since it enables him the better to hear the voice of his own heart;—thus or similarly occupied, we might saunter through the

Gardens without missing or desiring any other sources of interest. But the beautiful place has its own proper inhabitants: turn that corner, and you are *tête-à-tête* with a tall dromedary; cross that velvet lawn, with its richly blooming beds of flowers, and you are suddenly arrested by a couching lioness; here you open the door of a pretty-looking piece of Swiss architecture, and are in a kind of domestic "wilderness of monkeys;" there, as you are trying to make out what forms there are in the cages on one side of a dark passage, a tap on the shoulder makes you suddenly turn in alarm towards the other, where you perceive dimly some vast moving bulk, to find the outlines of which your eyes rise higher and higher, till at last an elephant's gigantic frame becomes visible, his trunk near enough to take you up, so that he may more conveniently see who *you* are, should he be so minded: it is not till we are out of that narrow passage, and secure from any more such surprises, that we can satisfy ourselves that a friendly shake of the hand, in elephant-fashion, was most probably all that was desired, unless indeed we chose to add thereto any little delicacies from the adjoining refectory—trifling but satisfactory proofs of our friendship, which the elephant, in his cordial good-nature, never takes amiss. But the number and variety of these inhabitants!—there really seems no end to them. A visiter who, after spending some hours here, sauntering hither and thither, just as curiosity or impulse guided, should discover a good half of the collection, would deserve every praise for his industry and tact. Still more surprising, rightly considered, than even the number and variety of the families that compose this strangest of villages, are the differences as to the quarters of the globe from whence they have respectively come. Listen but to the characteristic sounds that rise from time to time: the low growl of the bears from the eternal snows of the Polar regions; the hoarse screams and piercing cries of the tropical birds, whose plumage speaks them the children of the sun; the magnificent bay of the Spanish bloodhound;—but, in short, the whole world has been ransacked to people these few acres of soil, where the magic of skill and enterprise has overcome all difficulties—reconciled conflicting seasons, and tempers, and habits—formed, from the most heterogeneous of materials, one of the most thriving, and orderly, and happiest of communities. How admirably man can govern everything but himself!

At the very entrance-gates of the Gardens, we meet with an amusing illustration of the oddities, to say the least of them, that characterise the dealings of men with each other, even here. Admission to the Gardens, it may be necessary to inform our country readers, is obtained by the presentation of a ticket (admitting any number), signed by a fellow of the Society, and on payment of a shilling for each person. Two young genteel-looking females have been waiting for some time, looking with a peculiar air of curiosity in the faces of those who enter; at last, seeing a party of ladies and gentlemen stop for the same purpose—one of them modestly steps up and begs permission to enter as part of their company. Surprise appears on the face of the lady addressed, but another steps forward, remarking, "O, yes! it is a common request;" and the whole enter; the money-taker at the lodge, who could hardly avoid seeing what passed, making no comment. Musing upon this, and remembering our own mode of obtaining a ticket—that is, by simply asking for it at a neighbouring tavern—one must be in a serious

mood to be able to avoid a hearty laugh as we read the announcement carefully set up over the gates, requesting, on the part of the Society, that the fellows would not give tickets except to persons with whom they were acquainted! The effect therefore of this very sensible arrangement is, that uninformed, or peculiarly scrupulous persons, have frequently to put themselves to inconvenience to obtain introductions to fellows of the Society, whilst those of a more doubtful character, the very persons whom it might be supposed the Society wished to keep out, have only to put on their hat, see that they have got a shilling in their pockets, and, if they don't choose to trouble the tavern-keeper, trust with perfect confidence to the passing in, under cover of some other person or party's ticket at the gate. If any of the attendants of the animals were to exhibit eccentricities of this character in their treatment of them, we wonder how long they would remain the Society's servants? We are in, however, and more agreeable subjects for thought await us. A broad terrace walk extends from the little rustic lodges at the entrance, in a straight line onwards, bordered by flowers, shrubs, and trees on each side, and which is now continued at the same level for some distance, over the lower ground, by a handsome viaduct, which, when completed, and all its roomy cages beneath occupied, will form the most striking feature of the Gardens. Here the carnivorous animals,—the lions, tigers, leopards, &c. are to be located, instead of, as at present, in the Repository, in a distant part of the grounds; and it is considered by having a large space for exercise and for the admission of fresh air, set apart for each animal, with a small sleeping place behind, that artificial warmth may be dispensed with, to the advantage of the animal's health: hence the size of the cages shown in our engraving. Branching to the right of the terrace-walk, immediately on our entering, we find a winding path among lofty bushes and trees, presently opening on our left, and presenting a fine view over the Park, in the foreground of which the beautiful zebra, known as Burchell's, is seen grazing among other novel-looking inhabitants for an English pasture ground; and continuing along the same path, on our right, appears a series of tall broad aviaries, containing some of those splendid domestic birds of the farm-yards of Peru and Mexico, the curassows; and which, in a wild state, are so common in the woods of Guiana that a hungry traveller looks upon them as a certain resource when ordinary provisions fail, for their flesh is white and excellent, and their disposition so accommodating that they will remain perfectly quiet on their perches in the trees whilst he helps himself to his mind and appetite. It may not be generally known that these birds may be bred with as much ease in England as our own poultry. Returning to the terrace, we may remark by the way, that the accurate 'List of the Animals,' sold in the Gardens, occupies no less than twenty-eight closely printed octavo pages; and therefore, that in our notice of the Gardens, we can aim only to give a kind of general view of their contents, pausing here and there over such details only as seem to us of peculiar interest and moment. At the point of junction of the terrace walk and the Carnivora Terrace on the right, in a deep square pit, are those two amusing climbers, the cinnamon bears, male and female. They are idle this afternoon, and not even a cake will tempt them to mount the tall pole. Their prenomen is derived from their handsome brown coats, in which, as well as

in locality and in greater ferocity in their natural state, they differ from the American black bears, of which species they are considered to be a variety: specimens of the latter are also to be found in the Gardens. It is these last-mentioned animals whose furs constitute so important a portion of the business of the Hudson's Bay Company. They are caught chiefly in their winter retreats, places scooped out by themselves beneath fallen trees, where they retire as the snow-storms begin to fall, and are soon as snugly enveloped as any bear can desire. Unfortunately, however, the sagacious hunter has a mode of discovering them even here: their breath makes a small opening in the snow, round which the hoar-frost gathers: the hunter sees that, and his prey is secure. Descending by a circuitous path on the left of the terrace, commanding a charming little bit of scenery, with a lawn and pond in the foreground at the bottom, we find a large octagonal cage, splendid with macaws, in all their red and yellow and red and blue plumage; and who, by their most un-bird-like tumult, seem desirous to show that there is some truth in the philosopher's idea of a kind of compensating principle in nature: it seems we must not expect the songs of the nightingale, the lark, or the blackbird from such magnificently arranged exteriors, or that the last-named birds, whilst enchanting our ears, should at the same time dazzle our eyes. The path, now running between the macaws' cage and the llama-house opposite, conducts us to the lawn rich with purple beech, and with its sparkling little piece of water, dotted over with aquatic birds—among which black swans are conspicuous—and with little raised nests or boxes. In the centre a fountain

"Shakes its loosening silver in the sun."

A beautiful and very familiar species of Coreopsis geese, from New Holland, deservedly attract much attention. They are numerous, and have been all bred from a single pair. These might be naturalised in our farm-yards, and their flesh is said, by some travellers, to be more delicate than that of the English bird. The following drawing was made from a pair hatched in the Gardens.

[Coreopsis Geese.]

Whistling ducks, sheldrakes, and garganey teal, are here also to be found. The llama house has its large court-yard behind, and both are on a scale befitting personages of such importance. At present we see a pair of dromedaries are taking the air in the latter, and putting their heads over the palings to make acquaintance with us, and who could refuse anything to such gentle and expressive looks? Finely has the dromedary been called the Ship of the Desert, not simply from his being the grand agent of commerce and travel over the vast seas of sand, but from his very appearance; that long curving neck, and loftily-borne, outstretched head, might have been the origin of the prow of an ancient galley. As they here slowly move to and fro, one would hardly suppose they are the animals so famous for their speed as well as power; whose fleetness, indeed, has passed into a proverb, in a country distinguished at the same time for the finest horses in the world. "When thou shalt meet a heirie," say the Arabs, referring to the dromedary, "and say to the rider, 'Salem Aleik,' ere he shall have answered thee 'Aleik Salem,' he will be afar off, and nearly out of sight, for his swiftness is like the wind." In the centre of a piece of pasture-ground, adjoining the llama precincts, is a curious little open hut, with projecting eaves, raised upon large masses of rock. A horned sheep, the mouflon, is confined in it; an animal so little like its parents (for it is supposed to be originally but the descendant of some of the common sheep that had escaped from human dominion), as to require to be strongly chained up, where he can do no harm with that tremendous *butt* of his, which is so powerful as to break down the strongest ordinary fences. To the right of the llama house, is a court-yard surrounding the base of the viaduct at this end, and lined with cages. Here is the Siberian bear, with a broad white band round its neck, and its small sharp-pointed nose, forming a marked contrast with its gigantic round body and head. Here, too, are the wolves, the original, according to our best naturalists, of all the varieties of dog. One of the most interesting, though of course by no means the most conclusive evidence to be given of this, is its capability of an attachment to man, as strong as that of the dog. These Gardens furnish one very striking illustration, where a she-wolf some years ago actually killed all her young, in the warmth of her zeal, in bringing them to the front of the cage, and rubbing them against the bars, to receive the caresses of those persons she knew, among whom Mr. Bell, the naturalist, from whom the account is derived, was an especial favourite. Among its descendants of the dog kind, if descendants they be, two of the most interesting are to be found in close approximation to the wolves—the Esquimaux dog, and the Cuba bloodhound, whose deep, yet loud bay, we have before referred to. This clean limbed, handsome-looking animal, with his light fawn-coloured skin, suggests but little in his appearance, of the terror his very name yet excites, under certain circumstances; and which led to the introduction of a great number of them, during the Maroon war in Jamaica in the last century, to which their very presence put an entire stop, the Maroons being too much alarmed to continue the contest. The ordinary use to which these dogs are put by the Spaniards is to drive the wild bullocks from the more inaccessible parts of the country, to spots convenient for the hunters, who slaughter them for the sake of the hide. They thus obtain the skill and habits desired for the more terrible

purposes which they occasionally subserve under the care of their masters, the Chasseurs, as they are called; such are the pursuit of murderers and felons, whom it is said they will not harm, unless resistance be offered. Having stopped the fugitive, they crouch near him, and by barking occasionally, guide the Chasseurs to the spot; should the miserable wretch but stir, there is a most ferocious growl by way of warning. In Dallas' 'History of the Maroons,' an anecdote is given of the extent of their accomplishments in this way, which seems truly marvellous. A ship, attached to a fleet under convoy to England, was manned chiefly by Spanish sailors, who, as they passed Cuba, took the opportunity of running the vessel on shore, when they murdered the officers, and other Englishmen on board, and carried off all the available plunder into the mountains of the interior. The place was wild and unfrequented, and they fully expected to elude all pursuit. The moment, however, the news reached the Havanna, a detachment of twelve Chasseurs, with their dogs, was sent off. The result was that in a few days the whole of the murderers were brought in and executed, not a man having been injured by the dogs in the capture.

[Chasseur and Cuba Bloodhounds.]

Near these dogs, are a miscellaneous collection of American and Indian foxes, racoons, the American black bear, and the brown bear, so well known to visiters for its amusing antics. It is a bear of excellent sense at the same time. As we approach its cage, it reminds us of a very proper preliminary by thrusting its

nose between the bars, and opening its jaws as wide as possible; but our stock of delicacies is exhausted, so, having waited a reasonable time, without any result, it moves away with an air of philosophic indifference, and gets rid of any little disappointment it may feel, by a short walk. We are not much accustomed to look on these animals with any feeling of respect or gratitude for their services to man, yet ask the Kamtchatkan what he thinks of the brown bear; or rather ask him what he does with it, and you will know well enough how he must estimate it. He will tell you he not only eats the flesh, but with a relish; that he makes its skin serve for bed, bedding, hat, gloves, and overalls; that its stretched intestines serve him at once for glass to his windows, and masks to his face, protecting it from the sun's glare in the spring; lastly, that the very shoulder blades become useful in the cutting of grass. This is the same bear which was, at one time, common in our own country, where however we have found no other use for it than such as the bear gardens could furnish, or those itinerating bear-leaders so often seen even but a few years ago in our streets, who, taking advantage of the peculiar formation of the sole of the animal's foot, taught it to dance for exhibition. Several temporary cages and buildings of enclosure are scattered about this part of the grounds, in which are gnu antelopes, Mexican and other deer (among which the beautiful roebuck delights the eye by its feminine grace and delicacy), sloth bears and Malayan sun-bears, the last, the veriest epicures, perhaps, of the menagerie. In their wild state, the tender young shoots of the cocoa nut tree, and honey, form their chief enjoyments, but when domesticated, nothing less than the choicest luxuries of the table will suffice. Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of the Gardens, had one, which he kept in the nursery with his children, and occasionally admitted to his table, where he partook of the finest wines and fruit. Sir Stamford says, the only times he knew him out of temper was when there was no champagne forthcoming. In the same building with the bears are some beautifully spotted Asiatic leopards, and several of those subjects alike of ancient and modern fable, the hyænas, both spotted and striped, from Africa. Some of the old stories have a touch of poetry about them; according to one, the hyæna was accustomed to imitate the language of men, in order to attract wandering shepherds, whom it then devoured. As to modern notions, one of the females here gives a sufficient proof of their incorrectness: it is, in the words of the catalogue, "remarkably tame." After all, it is not unworthy of notice, that the popular faith in marvels generally has some foundation, even if that foundation and the superstructure do not particularly harmonize. The true account of the hyæna, by one who had studied the animal well in all its habits, would need no adventitious aid to give it interest. The real stories told of it are most appalling; especially those relating to its love of human flesh, as in the case of children, whom it can manage to carry off without difficulty. "To show clearly," says Mr. Steedman, in his 'Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa,' "the preference of the wolf (Spotted Hyæna) for human flesh, it will be necessary to notice, that when the Mambookies build their houses, which are in form like bee-hives, and tolerably large, often eighteen or twenty feet in diameter, the floor is raised at the higher or back part of the house, until within three or four feet of the front, where it suddenly terminates,

leaving an area from thence to the wall, in which every night the calves are tied to protect them from the storms or wild beasts. Now it would be natural to suppose, that should the wolf enter, he would seize the first object for his prey, especially as the natives always lie with the fire at their feet; but notwithstanding this, the constant practice of this animal has been, in every instance, to pass by the calves in the area, and even by the fire, and to take the children from under the mother's kaross, and this in such a gentle and cautious manner, that the poor parent has been unconscious of the loss, until the cries of her poor little innocent have reached her from without when a close prisoner in the jaws of the monster."

At some distance beyond the termination of the viaduct, and in the same line, a piece of water attracts attention, even more by its own beauty than by the variety of its aquatic inhabitants. Small but luxuriantly-wooded islands are scattered about the centre, the banks are thickly fringed with reeds, and bordered by elegantly-flowering shrubs, suitable to the kind of scenery indicated; and altogether it is impossible to imagine a much happier existence than these waddling, and swimming, and diving rogues here enjoy—these Brent, and Canadian, and Chinese, and Egyptian, and laughing geese—these tufted, and cross-bred pintail, and penguin ducks—these teal, and shovellers, and pochards. In his way, too, the polar bear, in the neighbourhood of the pond, is luxuriantly lodged; he has got his comfortable den, and his pool of water, where he may swim about, and fancy he is once more breasting the seas of the polar regions, swimming his thirty or forty miles at a time, as they have been seen in Barrow's Straits. It is true a seal now and then would perhaps make him more comfortable, of which animal he is the great tormentor; but *Can't-be* is the most persuasive of practical philosophers, and seldom fails in teaching resignation. The monkey-poles, close by, are as yet unoccupied, through the coldness of the season, so we pass on to the condor's cage. This bird's real size, which is among the largest of the vulture family, measuring occasionally no less than fourteen feet from tip to tip of wing, when outspread, is perfectly insignificant compared to its old repute, when it was esteemed to be the veritable roc of the 'Arabian Nights.' And that there was such a bird who could doubt, after seeing or reading of that famous "claw of the bird roc, who, as authors report, is able to trusse an elephant," which was in the famous museum of the Tradescants? there was no resisting the claw. Fortunately, however, the roc still keeps in his mysterious solitude, and the condor proves to be a very different bird; which is also fortunate, for as there is scarcely any killing him, but that, such as he is, he must remain till he pleases in his own good time to die, there is no saying what would become of the world had a race of immortal rocs taken possession of it. As an instance of this remarkable tenacity of life in the condor, we remember that Humboldt describes some Indians strangling one with a lasso, who afterwards hung it upon a tree, and pulled it forcibly by the feet for some time. They then took it down, removed the lasso, and the condor got up and walked about as though nothing particular had happened.

But what is this great pile of rock-work, almost big enough for a human habitation, covered with foliage, and surrounded by its own little but deep lake

of water? The tenant must be of sadly vagrant habits to desire to leave such a complete little estate, yet the wire-work over the whole seems to indicate as much. That is the otter's home, one of the great centres of attraction in the Gardens at the animal's dinner-time, when live fish are thrown into the water, which he catches with astonishing skill and rapidity. The means at his disposal for this purpose have been thus beautifully described: "How silently is the water entered! The eyes are so placed that, whether the animal is swimming below its prey, behind it, above it, or beside it, their situation, or, at most, the least motion of the head and neck, brings it within the sphere of the pursuer's vision. The whole framework of the animal—its short fin-like legs, oary feet, and rudder of a tail—enable it to make the swiftest turns, nay, almost bounds, in the water, according as the rapidity of its agile prey demands a sudden downward dive, an upward spring, or a side snap. The short fur, which is close and fine, keeps the body at a proper temperature, and the longer and outer hairs, directed backwards, enable it to glide through the water, when propelled horizontally by its webbed feet beneath the surface, noiselessly and speedily. Easy and elegant in its motions, there are few objects more attractive in menageries than the pond, especially if it be kept clean and supplied with clear water, wherein the otter is seen to hunt its living prey;"* as is the case in the interesting little spot before us. An enclosure eastward of the otter's cage contains two weazel-headed armadillos, from South America, where the carcases of the wild buffaloes, slaughtered as before mentioned, form a never-ending feast for these little gluttons, who go on eating and eating, and fattening and fattening, till their plump condition attracts the eyes of the human inhabitants of the district, who then, placing them on the fire in their shell, make the (for them) most delicious of all roasts.

We have now reached a kind of central spot of the portion of the gardens that lies on this side of the Park-road, and a charming little place it is, with walks branching off in different directions, each between its own high green and blooming banks, with lawns, and beds of flowers in the centre, a pretty-looking and elegantly furnished-building for refreshment on one side, the monkey-house on another, the otter and other cages, just mentioned, on a third. The monkey-house has a wired enclosure, extending all along one side, for their out-door enjoyments in the summer; but as, it appears, we are not to have any of that almost forgotten season, in this year of 1843, we must step into the house, if we wish to pay our respects to these most amusing of organised beings. For our part, we do not understand how it is physicians are so often puzzled by cases of hypochondria: why do they not send their patients here? Look at that beau, examining his nails with as much attention as if to have a fine hand were the end and aim of monkey existence. Another, after a series of gambols, for your especial benefit, apparently, as a stranger, stops suddenly, and cocks his eye, and tail circling over his head, at you with the most irresistible effect. This little fellow here appears to be puzzled to know what we are doing with our note-book and pencil, so mounts quietly up the wires, till he can look down upon the paper. As to their

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Otter.

gambols, a school broke up for the holidays seems but a faint imitation. Their power of locomotion is familiar to every one, but really, the amazing distance to which some of these monkeys can throw themselves (for that word expresses but the character of many of these movements), scarcely appears less wonderful for the fiftieth than for the first time. Among the other striking features of the monkey-house, that our space alone admits of our noticing, is the sonorous bark of one of the baboons, the human-like character of that cluster of faces of the bonnet monkeys, and the exceeding grace and prettiness of the diminutive marmozets. A variety of objects must here be passed summarily over, such as the ponds for the American teal, ducks, &c.; the beaver enclosure, not yet occupied by beavers, or we must have paused there; the building containing the family of birds, in which the destructive power has been developed to its highest extent, the vultures and eagles,—some of the latter, as the Brazilian Caracara eagles, remarkably beautiful; the parrot-house, containing the finest living collection in the world of the most beautiful of all birds, macaws, cockatoos, parrakeets, which combine with the loveliest of known tints, great docility, imitative power, and attachment to those who are kind to them, in a state of domesticity, and where, in cages, are specimens of the terrible tiger boa, and of the siren, a kind of serpent, with short arms, hands, and feet; and the aviary for small birds, a handsome-looking semicircular piece of architecture, where among weaver birds, and Paradise grackles, and rice-birds, and mocking-birds, a brilliant scarlet ibis especially attracts the eye. We now cross the bridge over the mouth of the tunnel, from which the following view is taken, and then pass on to the owls' cages, where, at this moment, three are sitting in one compartment, side by side, so grave,

[View of the Gardens from the Bridge.]

solemn, and judge-like, as to provoke the remembrance of the old jest of their likeness to a bench of magistrates; thence to the dove-cote; and to the cattle-sheds, where with a Sing-sing antelope, and a paco, is kept a bison, a formidable looking animal, seen thus solitary and in captivity, but which must be indeed terrible when beheld almost covering, with their immense numbers, the savannahs of the remoter districts of North America, or as when Lewis and Clarke watched them, crossing a river in such multitudes that although the river was a mile broad, the herd stretched, as thick as they could swim together, from side to side. In the eagle aviary, among other specimens of the genera, are golden eagles, and white-headed sea eagles; from the former of which the young Indian warrior has been accustomed to obtain he plume which he so much prizes, that instances have been known of his exchanging a valuable horse for the tail feathers of a single bird, whilst, from the latter, the United States have borrowed their national emblem. Franklin has a delightful passage on the habits of this bird, and its unfitness for the honour done to it. He says, "For my part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country. He is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly. You may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labours of the fishing-hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest, for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice, he is never in good case, but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward: the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all *king-birds* from our country, though exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call *Chevaliers d'Industrie;*" and also, for that order, undreamt of by the philosopher and patriot and honest man, from whose writings we have transcribed the foregoing passage (fortunately for his peace of mind), and as yet unnamed in scientific books, though too generally known, by this time, the world over, as the *repudiators*. Near the aviary is another pond for geese, where the wild swans should not be passed without notice, not simply as natives of Great Britain which have occupied in past times so much Royal attention, but as the species which has in all probability given rise to the beautiful fable, so celebrated by our poets, of its dying amid the sounds of its own music. And here, again, it seems there is the slightest possible groundwork for the idea; its note, which resembles the word hoop uttered several times in succession, is said not to be unmusical heard from above, as the birds sweep along in their wedge-shaped array. The last of the objects on this side of the park-road, that we shall notice, are the emus, kept in an enclosure just behind the terrace-walk, toward which we have been circuitously returning. These are among the wonders of the animal creation—creatures with wings, that cannot fly, birds with the habits and strength of limb of quadrupeds. The emus, for instance, kick out like a horse, and the blow is strong enough to break a limb. The family of emus includes also the ostrich, of which an individual specimen has just arrived in the Gardens, the cassowary, and the dodo, once thought to be fabulous,

but now pretty well proved to have existed, though, it is to be feared, existing no longer.

Having passed through the tunnel, by which the grounds on the opposite sides of the park-road are connected, we reach the secluded-looking spot, completely embosomed in lofty trees, and with steep banks sloping down towards the waters of the Regent's Canal, where the repository is situated in which carnivorous animals are at present kept during the erection of the terrace already mentioned. On their removal, the present structure, with a new one now building by its side, will contain the Museum, which is rich in materials illustrative of the general objects of the Society. In the Repository we find additional specimens of the leopards, whose tastes, when opportunity is given for their development, seem to be in harmony with their appearance. A lady, Mrs. Bowdich, now Mrs. Lee, won the heart of one of these animals by lavender water, which it was so extravagantly fond of, as to be trained into the habitual sheathing of its claws, by the mere punishment of the loss of this luxury when it did not. Here, too, are pumas, or panthers, often erroneously called lions, as in the case of the late Mr. Kean's favourite animal, which was a puma, and a very interesting specimen, as showing the erroneousness of the received opinion that the puma was irreclaimable. No dog could be tamer or more docile than Mr. Kean's Tom, which it will be remembered was the gift of Lord Byron. Ocelots, cheetahs, or hunting leopards, with lions and tigers, are to be found also in the Repository. Models of strength, and of that beauty at least which results from extraordinary fitness of means for an end, as one gazes long and earnestly upon these latter named animals, which have from the earliest ages engaged so much of the world's attention, we can partly understand the almost miraculous feats attributed to them. Leaps of twenty feet or so are mere bagatelles with both the lion and the tiger; man is like a plaything in their grasp; the powerful Indian buffalo can be carried off by them without difficulty. No wonder, then, that the sound of their roar in their native forests inspires terror in the bravest man, as well as in the most timid beast. Perhaps the most curious proof of the alarm excited by these animals is the existence of a little community, whose residence and entire mode of life is specially arranged for the avoidance of their attacks. When two travellers, Messrs. Schoon and M'Luckie, penetrated into a certain portion of the interior of South Africa, in 1829, they found a large tree containing seventeen huts of a conical form, built in three tiers on the branches, which were supported by poles, the lowest tier about nine feet above the ground. It appeared they were the dormitories of natives, who had built them there in consequence of the great increase of the lions in the district, after an incursion of a neighbouring tribe, when many thousand persons were slain. The ascent was by means of notches in the poles, the huts were regularly thatched, and would hold two persons conveniently. During the heat of the day, the space beneath the tree afforded a very pleasant shade for the owners to sit in. Several deserted villages, built in the same way, were also seen by the travellers. Yet who, as they look upon the noble creature before us, as we see him at this moment, answering with a kind of proud gentleness the fondling of the lioness, would suppose this to be the animal so much dreaded? He may not deserve the character for magnani-

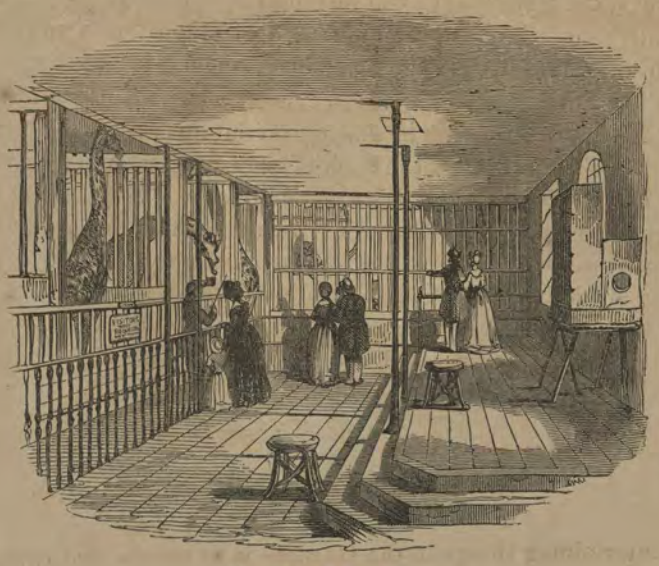
mity he has enjoyed; but he certainly looks "every inch a king" of the animal tribes.

Near the Repository is a long range of kennels, for a most complete and valuable collection of dogs, who are at present enjoying the air at the length of their tethers in front. Here are the watch-dogs from Thibet, the Grecian greyhound, the Persian sheep-dog, Spanish bloodhounds, a dog from the Celestial Empire, a Spanish mastiff, the famous dog of Mount St. Bernard (of which so many romantic stories are told, in relation to its services to travellers and others lost in the snows of those Alpine regions), Australian and Newfoundland dogs, &c. Our way now lies through a long and narrow leafy avenue, the extremity of which is lost in the distant foliage, and from which we turn off to the ostrich-house, where at present are kept a pair of nyl-ghaus, the largest and most magnificent of antelopes, and whose strength is commensurate with their appearance. Their temper, unfortunately, is none of the best, and woe to that animal who, meeting them in their own dense Indian forests, shall be the object of their wrath, as they bend their fore-knees, and advance in that position to the spot from whence they make their tremendous spring. The wapiti deer (the ass of his family, both in stupidity and voice, which is not unlike the bray) is still grander in his appearance than the nyl-ghau antelope, his common height being four feet and a half at the shoulder, or a foot higher than the common stag. This deer is kept in the building, with a dark passage running through the centre, before incidentally alluded to, which lies still farther westward (the direction we have been pursuing), with other deer, the elephant, the Brahmin bull and cows (most interesting animals), and a Cape buffalo, which, unlike the lion, carries, as it were, written upon his visage and entire appearance, a most suggestive history of ferocity and irresistible violence. That solid mass of horn covering his forehead, like a broad band rising toward the centre into a kind of double hemispherical shape, must make his head impregnable, a perfect battering-ram, whenever it shall please him so to use it. And many are the stories told by Thunberg, Bruce, and other travellers, showing that the buffalo has not the smallest indisposition to do so with or without provocation. The elephant-house is the next object of attraction, in which we find the stupendous Indian elephant, and that comparatively rare animal in England, the one-horned, or Indian rhinoceros —the original, no doubt, of the popular unicorn. The horn of the animal here is merely a bony protuberance over his nose, in consequence of his habit of rubbing it against the sides of the cage; in other respects it is one of the largest and finest animals of the kind ever exhibited in England. The horn is shown in its natural state in the following engraving. A curious trait of this animal—a portion, no doubt, of those natural instincts given to it for its defence in its ordinary state of life—is its liability to excitement from hearing any unusual noise. When in the yard at the back, the sound of the roller on an adjoining walk has made it rush towards the fence in that direction with great violence, and rear itself up. Considering its alleged hostility to the elephant, the juxtaposition here is curious; and has led, through accident, to a very striking disproof of the notion. One day the rhinoceros got into the elephant's apartment, and so far from quarrelling, the two seem to have made a sudden and eternal friendship. One

[Rhinoceros, from the specimen in the Gardens.]

of the most entertaining things in the Gardens is to see the two enjoying a bathe in their pond in the spacious court-yard behind, or to see, what we ourselves missed on our visit, but has been described by others, how quiet the rhinoceros will stand whilst his great friend scrubs his back with his trunk, and occasionally gratifies himself by a sly pull at his tail, to make the rhinoceros turn his head, if his attention be taken off by visitors.

We are now approaching the extremity of the Gardens, where, completely embosomed in the green wood, are various buildings scattered about, as that for the peccary sties, where are two of the most interesting of the swine family—the famous wild boar of our royal and noble hunters, for killing which a Saxon lost his eyes, under the rule of the Conqueror—and the collared peccary, from South America—really a beautiful little pig, with slender delicate legs and feet, intelligent aspect, and particularly clean appearance. Here also are the houses of the superintendent and head keeper; the former having one of its rooms devoted to the reception of a varietyof small tender quadrupeds, as the flying opossum, the brown coati-mundi, the golden agouti, porcupine, Indian tiger-cat, jerboas, &c. &c. And, lastly, a remarkably lofty building appears before us, with an enclosed yard on the left, where the trees, fenced to a most unusual height, and with a projecting guard at the top of each fence, seems to imply we have got among some creatures from the scene of Swift's geographical discoveries—that mysterious land of Brobdignag, which not all British skill, and capital, and enterprise, have yet been able to find the way to. And when we do get within the building, and behold the scene shown in our engraving, when we perceive it is the giraffe-house and park that we have been gazing on, it is difficult to resist the impression, that these most beautiful and delicate, but, to the very eyes that behold them, almost incredibly tall creatures cannot belong to any part of our planet with which we have been hitherto familiar. There are now four here; two adult males and one female, and one young one born in the Gardens, and enjoying, we are happy to say, excellent health. The female also is again with

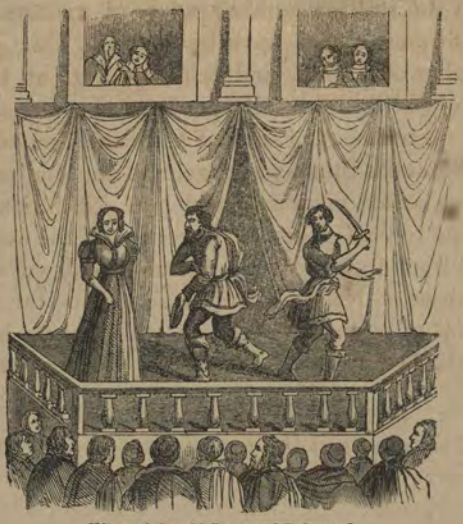


[The Giraffe House.]

young. In the same house with the giraffes is an animal that more than divides with them the attention and curiosity of visitors; this is the female ourang-outan, which, as the Society's Report for the present year informs us, has now lived nearly three years and a half in the Gardens, or nearly twice as long as any individual of the species was ever known to live in Europe before. Lady Jane, as she is here called, is altogether of a higher grade than her kindred of the monkey tribe. She does not condescend much to gambols; but ask her to do anything sensible, as, for instance, to sit down and take a comfortable cup of tea, and she will do it with the most amusing gravity and precision. But tea-drinking with her is altogether a solemn and ceremonious, albeit daily, proceeding; so she first submits herself to her keeper, to have a befitting dress for the occasion put on, and then places her table, lays the cloth, sits down, and sips the tea from the cup and saucer, holding a kind of conversation with the keeper at the same time. The peculiar low noise with which she intimates her assent to his notions, when she approves of them, is more than entertaining; it really seems to suggest so much of what she would say, had not speech been denied. The affectionateness of her disposition is very touching. As the keeper leans over her, she will put up her long arm, and clasp him round the neck, as though she really felt all his attentions and kindness. We have yet much to learn as to the true mental powers and characteristics of such animals, and as to their relation with our own.

It will be seen from the foregoing account, that the available funds of the Society must have been of no ordinary amount. From the financial accounts now before us, it appears that the expenditure on the Gardens from 1825, the year of commencement, up to the end of 1840, was in general terms 188,000*l*. This immense sum has been derived chiefly from two sources, in very nearly equal pro-

portions, namely, the payments of the members or fellows (each 5*l.* for admission and 3*l.* annually), and the shilling admission fees of visitors. In the year 1842, the receipts from the former source have been 4542*l.* 13*s.*, and from the latter, 4021*l.* 13*s.* The number of fellows, and fellows elect, at the present time, is 2478, or 412 less than 1839. The falling off in this respect is attributed, no doubt correctly, to the retirement of such of the earlier members as cared simply for the place as a fashionable Sunday lounge, and the similar decline in the number of visitors, to those casual influences, which all exhibitions are liable to. The removal of the Museum to the Gardens, the erection of the new Carnivora Terrace, and the proposed addition of an excellent military band, will no doubt do much to remedy both these causes of decline. But at all events, the Society can now rely upon a certain amount of permanent support, which we are happy to say is amply sufficient to keep these beautiful and interesting Gardens in all their present reputation and value.



[View of the old Stage and Balcony.]

CXVIII.—THE THEATRES OF LONDON.

SCARCELY less surprising than the greatness of the drama of the Elizabethan era, is the suddenness of its growth, and the extraordinary contrast presented by it to all that had gone before: growth, indeed, seems hardly a fitting word to characterise so instantaneous and important and complete a change. Up to the year 1580, and probably a little later, not a single dramatic writer or a single dramatic piece had appeared, the names of which now excite any interest beyond that of their position as links between the old moral plays and the modern drama; fifteen years elapse, and behold!—Munday, Chettle, Kyd, Lodge, Greene, Lyly, Nash, and Peele, are familiar names; Marlowe has written 'Tamburlaine,' 'Dr. Faustus,' 'The Jew of Malta,' and 'Edward II.;' above all, Shakspere has given to the world nearly one half of his entire works. The fact is established, in the opinion of the writer of this article, in the recent pictorial edition of his works, that Shakspere, instead of being, as we have hitherto generally supposed, a follower in point of time of the Peeles and Greenes and Marlowes, and therefore deriving no inconsiderable advantage from their works and example, was really strictly contemporary with them. It has been shown in the work referred to, that whilst we know of the existence, in 1598, of at least sixteen of Shakspere's plays, some of these, of high excellence, must have been produced considerably before 1591, when Spenser, in the 'Tears of the Muses,' laments the temporary withdrawal of some one who had

> "the comic stage,
> With season'd wit, and goodly pleasure, graced,"

and describes the writer thus unmistakeably, as

" the man whom Nature self had made
To mock herself, and Truth to imitate
With kindly counter, under mimic shade:
Our *pleasant Willy*, ah, is dead of late," &c.

Lastly, it is now known, through Mr. Collier's researches, that Shakspere, so early as 1589, was a shareholder in the Blackfriars Theatre, with a fourth of the other sharers below him on the proprietors' list. Now there is nothing in Shakspere's subsequent career as an actor to lead us to suppose he could have obtained such a position as this at the age of twenty-five from the exercise of his talents that way; yet look at him as a writer, and the matter is at once explained. But then there is that odd idea of the older commentators, that every body rather than he began to write early. Few persons would suppose, from merely reading their speculations, that whilst the three writers we have mentioned were all about Shakspere's own age, the greatest of them, Marlowe, is supposed to have been a year younger;* and secondly, that after all, there is every reason to suppose they had done very little at the period when it is all but certain that Shakspere had done much: by 1589 Marlowe had written 'Tamburlaine the Great,' and probably the 'Massacre of Paris,' and Peele and Greene *may* have each produced one or two pieces for the stage, as they are supposed to have connected themselves with it a year or two before; but this is pretty well all that can be said for the precedence of these early contemporaries of Shakspere, and proves, in connexion with what has been previously advanced, to our mind, something very like the reverse. On the whole, then, it will be seen that Dryden knew perfectly well what he was about when he said, Shakspere "created the stage among us."

Up to the period we have referred to, 1595, it was still, however, but the basis of the wonderful structure of the English national drama that had been laid; for the completion of the work we must look a few years further on,—to a time when Shakspere had closed his career, and when a host of other writers had arisen, imbued generally, though of course in a lower degree, with the same lofty spirit, and kindred talents. Many of these, indeed, for their own permanent popularity had better have appeared at any other time: a Shakspere only could have overshadowed them. Considering how little these writers are now generally read in comparison with their extraordinary excellence, one cannot but remark how different would be the fate of almost any one of them, could his lot have been cast in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century. What should not we think of a Ben Jonson, or a pair of Beaumonts and Fletchers, or a Massinger now? What might not be the effect of their writings on the present fortunes of the national theatres? Yet even these are but removed by the faintest possible lines of demarcation of rank from Ford, whom Lamb calls of "the first order of poets;" or Webster, with that "wild, solemn, preternatural cast of grief which bewilders us in the 'Duchess of Malfy'" of which the same critic speaks; or George Chapman, with his "full heightened style," as his brother poet Webster calls it; or Heywood, the "prose Shakspere;" or Dekker, or Rowley, or Middleton, or Daniel, or Shirley,—but there is no end to the list, and it is almost as idle to attempt now to familiarise them separately to the public, as to point out the stars of the milky way. Let us now turn our attention to an instructive com-

* He was born, according to Malone, in 1565.

mentary upon all this amazing variety and height of intellectual power, the state of the theatres in London in which that power was exhibited.

Although the earliest public Theatres seem to have been established during the continuance of a pertinacious struggle between the players and play-lovers on the one side, and the civic power on the other (who held the stage and everything connected with it in especial dislike), they had become very numerous by the time the great writers we have mentioned were prepared to raise them into their true importance and value. For their success in this struggle, the players were evidently indebted to the court favour they enjoyed, which, in 1583, was signalised by Elizabeth's choosing, from among the different companies accustomed to perform before her, twelve of the best actors, and forming them into a company, under her own especial patronage. The chief London theatres at that period were these:—The Theatre, especially so called, in Shoreditch, and the Curtain close by; Paris Garden, Bankside, chiefly used as a Bear

[The Paris Garden Theatre, Southwark.]

Garden, but also for the performance of plays, as Dekker, in his satire upon Jonson, makes the latter say he had played Zulziman there; the Blackfriars, Whitefriars, Salisbury Court, Rose, Hope, Swan, Newington, Red Bull, and Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane. Various places of minor importance were also dignified by the name of Theatre, as the Inn Yard of the 'Bel Savage,' remarkable, according to Prynne, "for the visible apparition of the Devil upon the stage," on one occasion, during Elizabeth's reign. We learn what was the number of actors at the same time in the metropolis, from a letter to Secretary Walsingham, in 1586, which, after referring to the different companies, as the Queen's, Lord Leicester's, Lord Oxford's, Lord Nottingham's, and other noblemen's then performing, states the number of players as not less than two hundred. Of these theatres, the Blackfriars is the one that most deeply interests us: it was there, in all probability, Shakspere made his first appearance both as

actor and writer; it was there, certainly, that he established his reputation. The Blackfriars (and, it is supposed, others also of those we have mentioned, as the Curtain) were erected immediately after—and in consequence of the entire expulsion of players from the limits of the City by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in 1575; who, however, gained little more by the movement than the exhibition of a kind of successful contempt of their authority, in the erection of such houses as the Theatre in the Blackfriars, under their very noses, but, owing to the old monastic privileges, beyond their jurisdiction. Two companies, it appears, had the right of playing at this house, the one that Shakspere belonged to (the Lord Chamberlain's) and that of the Children of the Chapel, afterwards (on James's accession) known as the Children of her Majesty's Revels, who played regular pieces the same as their older rivals; as, for instance, Ben Jonson's 'Case is Altered' in 1599, and his 'Cynthia's Revels' in 1600. The proprietor of the Blackfriars, in fee, was Richard Burbage; and he probably let the theatre to the Children of the Revels, in the summer season, whilst he and his brother shareholders acted at the Globe. The noticeable passage in 'Hamlet' refers to them, and to the neglect experienced by the players at some particular period, through the overweening admiration of the public for these tiny representatives of the drama; who, it should seem, also, had been accustomed to injure the regular theatres by more direct modes of attack. "There is, sir," says Rosencrantz, "an aiery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for 't: these are now the fashion; and so berattle the common stages (so they call them), that many, wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither." And in the kindly and thoughtful spirit of Hamlet's reply there is evidence that the complaint may have been made in no selfish spirit:—"Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing?" he asks. "Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players (as it is like most, if their means are no better), their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?" The Blackfriars was one of those theatres distinguished by the title of private, and which were entirely roofed over, instead of, as in those which were public, merely the stage portion; which had a pit instead of a mere enclosed yard; in which performances took place by candle light; and where the visitors, being altogether of a higher class, enjoyed especial accommodations; among which, the right to sit on the stage during the progress of the play was the feature most peculiar to the time. In the public theatres this last-mentioned custom also prevailed; influential persons no doubt being permitted to do so without comment, and impudent ones taking permission in order to show their impudence, or to display their new dresses to the audience in all their bravery. The stools used by such persons were hired at sixpence each. The Blackfriars was probably pulled down soon after the permanent close of the Theatres, during the Commonwealth, by the Puritans; the locality is still marked by the name Playhouse Yard, near Apothecaries' Hall.

The other Theatre which Shakspere has bound so closely up with his own history, and to which, therefore, a similar kind of interest is attached, was the Globe, erected about 1593; and, it is highly probable, in consequence of the growing prosperity of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, who desired a roomier house, a more public field for exertion. This was the largest and best of the

theatres yet raised; as is clear from the care of Alleyn and Henslowe, in the erection of the Fortune, soon after, on a still larger scale, to imitate all its arrangements, excepting the shape. Yet what the Globe was, Shakspere himself has told us in the preliminary chorus to 'Henry the Fifth:'—

> "Pardon, gentles all,
> The flat unraised spirit, that hath dared
> On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
> So great an object: Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
> Within this *wooden* O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

What then?

> "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts,"

is the bidding of the poet; and he spoke to an audience who could do even better than that, who could forget them altogether, in their apprehension of the spiritual grandeur and magnificence that *was* then with them in the cockpit.

[The Globe Theatre, Bankside.]

There is something, it must be owned, occasionally amusing as well as delightful in the simplicity of the old stage: in Greene's 'Pinner of Wakefield' two parties are quarrelling, and one of them says, "Come, sir, will you come to the town's end, now?" in order to fight. "Aye, sir, come," answers the other; and both then, we presume, move a few feet across the stage to another part, but evidently that is all, for in the next line the same speaker continues, "Now we are at the town's end—what shall we say now?" But if the audiences of the sixteenth century were by no means critical about the appliances of the drama, the case was very different as to the drama itself. Jonson gives us a pleasant peep into the interior of a theatre of the time on the first night of a new piece: "But the sport is at a new play to observe the sway and variety of opinion that passeth it. A man shall have such a confused mixture of judgment poured out in the throng there, as ridiculous as laughter itself. One says he likes not the writing, another likes not the plot, another not the playing; and sometimes a fellow that comes not there past once in five years, at a Parliament time or so, will be as deep mixed in censuring as the best, and swear by God's foot he would never stir his

foot to see a hundred such as that is." * Then, as now, it seems, managers, in bringing out new pieces, were not insensible to the advantages of accompanying them with novel or greatly improved theatrical effects. It was possibly one of these that led to the catastrophe at the Globe Theatre in 1613, on an important occasion of this kind, when there was no doubt an unusually brilliant audience assembled. Jonson was among them, as we learn from his 'Execration of Vulcan' for his doings in the affair; which are thus described by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to his nephew, dated the 29th of June: "Now, to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at present with what hath happened this week at the Bank-side. The King's players had a new play, called 'All is True,' representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII., which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and garters, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like; sufficient, in truth, within a while, to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped did light on the thatch, where, being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming, within less than an hour, the whole house to the very grounds. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw and a few forsaken cloaks; only one man had his breeches set on fire, that perhaps had broiled him, if he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale." This play, there is little doubt, was Shakspere's 'Henry VIII.,' having perhaps 'All is True' for a first title; for not only does the prologue contain various passages illustrative of the idea the author desired to impress of the *truth* of the story, but another recorder of the event, Thomas Lorkin, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering, expressly calls it 'Henry VIII.'; and, lastly, we read in the original stage directions of Shakspere's play, Act I., Scene 4, "*drums and trumpets, chambers discharged,*" under the precise circumstances described by Sir Henry Wotton. The Globe was rebuilt next year, when Taylor, the water-poet, noticing it, says—

> "—where before it had a thatched hide
> Now to a stately theatre is turn'd."

Like the Blackfriars, it was most probably pulled down during the Commonwealth.

The Fortune Theatre, built about 1599, proved truly a fortune to its chief owner, Alleyn, the actor and founder of Dulwich College. Here the Lord Admiral's servants performed. From the indenture between Alleyn and Henslowe, his co-partner, on the one side, and the builder, Street, on the other, we learn that the house had three tiers, consisting of boxes, rooms, and galleries; that there were "two-penny rooms," and "gentlemen's;" that the width of the stage was forty-three feet, and the depth thirty-nine and a half, including, however, we should presume, the 'tiring house at the back. In connexion with these particulars, the view of the old stage we have given, with that important and most useful portion of it, the balcony, copied from an engraving in the title-page of 'Roxana,' a

* 'Case is Altered,' Act ii. Sc. 4.

Latin play, by William Alabaster, 1632, may not be unacceptable. The balcony appears to have been so managed, that when not in use by the players, it might be occupied by some of the audience. We see at a glance in this design, the means by which many of the old stage directions were fulfilled, as "Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window." In the balcony, too, would sit the Court in 'Hamlet' during the performance of the play, and in similar cases of a play within a play. It has been supposed that the names of the theatres were borrowed from their respective signs, or, at least, that they had signs exhibited without of the nature indicated by their titles. This was certainly the case as regards Alleyn's theatre, as Heywood speaks of—

"—the picture of dame Fortune
Before the Fortune playhouse."

[The Fortune Theatre, Golden Lane, Barbican, as it appeared 1790.]

There was, however, a much more useful and characteristic sign of the theatres. As the time of performance approaches, about three in the afternoon, "each playhouse advanceth his flags in the air, whither quickly, at the waving thereof, are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children."* To the particulars already incidentally given, we may now add a few others. And first as to actors, many of whom, we need hardly remind our readers, were poets also, like their great exemplar, Shakspere; and were generally, there is every reason to believe, worthy of the dramas they represented. The chief men of note, besides Shakspere himself, whose names have been preserved in connexion with his plays, were Burbage, the original Richard the Third; Heminge and Condell, Shakspere's friends and literary executors, who, "without ambition either of self-profit or fame—only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakspere," published the first edition of his collected works; Taylor, the original Hamlet; Kemp; Sly; Lowin; Field, &c. Actors

* William Parkes' 'Curtain Drawn of the World, 1612.

of this rank generally participated in the profits of the company to which they belonged, as whole sharers, three-quarter sharers, or half-sharers; whilst the remaining performers were either hired at regular weekly salaries (six shillings seems to have been an ordinary rate of payment), or were apprenticed to particular members of the company. The emoluments of the sharers were, no doubt, considerable, as, in addition to their ordinary public business, they were frequently called upon to play before the Court, for which the usual payment, at one time, was ten pounds; and at the mansions of the nobility on extraordinary cases of state, at christenings, and at marriages. The price of admission seems to have varied not only at the different theatres, but at different times in the same theatre. Ben Jonson has told us in an amusing passage what they were in 1614, when his 'Bartholomew Fair' was acted at the Hope. In the Induction he says, "It shall be lawful for any man to judge his six-pennyworth, his twelve-pennyworth, so to his eighteenpence, two shillings, half-a-crown, to the value of his place, provided always his place get not above his wit." But Dekker speaks of your groundling and gallery commoner buying his sport for a penny; and other writers also of the "penny bench theatres," referring most likely to theatres of a lower grade than any we have enumerated. Of moveable painted scenes, the theatres of the Shaksperian era were not entirely deficient; but in the earliest period we had "Thebes written in great letters on an old door," when the audience were desired to understand the scene lay in that place, and which Sir Philip Sidney ridicules. Hence the briefest, but most significant of stage directions in 'Selimus, Emperor of the Turks,' published in 1594, where, when the hero is conveying his father's dead body in solemn state to the Temple of Mahomet, all parties are quietly told to "*suppose the Temple of Mahomet.*" A great many difficulties might be got rid of by this principle, which, however, was not stretched too far. Our forefathers were not required to suppose the descent of the cauldron in 'Macbeth,' as there were trap-doors; nay, upon occasion, still more difficult feats of ingenuity were accomplished. In the directions to Greene's 'Alphonsus' we read, "after you have sounded thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she is down, say;" again, in another part, "Exit Venus. *Or*, if you can conveniently, let a chair come down from the top of the stage, and draw her up."

But in dresses and properties the stage of the Shaksperian era seems to have been rich enough to compare with the stage of the present day; nay, it is probable, that in comparison with the size of its theatres, and the number of its actors, it surpassed ours in the splendour and value of the wardrobe. In Henslowe's 'Inventory,' we find, among other and still more expensive items of dress, one of a "Robe for to go invisible," which, with a gown, cost 3*l.* 10*s.* of the money of the sixteenth century. The daylight performances, it is to be observed, would make it indispensable to have articles of a better quality than now. As to properties, though they had not attained the completeness of Covent Garden in these matters, where the property-man tells us he has almost everything in creation—from the fly to the whale—under his charge; yet it will be seen in the following mock heroic account of an adventure in the theatre, by R. Brome, in 'The Antipodes,' 1640, that their possessions were far from contemptible. Bye-play is speaking of Peregrine:—

" He has got into our tiring-house amongst us,
And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties,
Our statues and our images of gods,
Our planets and our constellations,
Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,
Our helmets, shields, and vizors, hair, and beards,
Our pasteboard marchpanes and our wooden pies.
Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle,
Or temple hung and pil'd with monuments
Of uncouth and of various aspects,
I dive not to his thoughts: wonder he did
Awhile, it seem'd, but yet undaunted stood;
When on the sudden, with thrice knightly force
And thrice thrice puissant arm, he snatcheth down
The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,
Kills monster after monster, takes the puppets
Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops, tumbles all
Our jigamobobs and trinkets to the wall.
Spying at last the crown and royal robes
I' th' upper wardrobe, next to which by chance
The devil's vizors hung, and their flame-painted
Skin-coats, these he remov'd with greater fury,
And (having cut the infernal ugly faces
All into mammocks) with a reverend hand,
He takes the imperial diadem, and crowns
Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest."

When these lines were written, enemies of a more real kind were preparing for an onslaught into the strongholds of the profession; the players were to gather soon for the support of a "crown and royal robes," which should be no mimic toys of the 'tiring-room, but the symbols of a mighty power round which, both in attack and defence, armies of Englishmen would congregate, and where they would find what one of their number had in another sense desired—

" A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!"

In 1642 appeared an ordinance of the Long Parliament, commanding the cessation of plays, on the ground that "public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity." For a time the ordinance was obeyed, though of course a cruel one to the actors, whose means of existence were annihilated; but gradually theatres opened again, first in one quarter and then in another, and by 1647 the ordinance seems to have been almost forgotten. A second then appeared, dealing in a more summary mode with all offenders, directing the governing powers and magistracy of London and adjoining counties to enter houses where performances were taking place, arrest the players, and commit them for trial at the next sessions, there to be "punished as rogues according to law." Even this being found insufficient, the Lords and Commons met and debated the matter warmly, and at last an Act was passed on the 11th of February, 1648, which, after denouncing stage-plays, interludes, and common plays as "the occasion of many and sundry great vices and disorders, tending to the high provocation of God's wrath and displeasure, which lies heavy upon this

kingdom," ordained the demolition of all stage galleries, seats and boxes used for performances, and the punishment of convicted players with open and public whipping for the first offence, and with still severer penalties for a second. No wonder we hear of so many of the players joining the ranks of the Cavaliers during the Civil War, where, it may be added, they are understood to have honourably distinguished themselves. Some few actors, however, appear to have kept together, and acted occasionally in private at the residences of noblemen and others in the vicinity of London without interruption: Holland House was one of these places. Under Cromwell there was still greater toleration, as Sir William D'Avenant gave "entertainments of declamation and music, after the manner of the ancients, at Rutland House, Charter House Square," in 1656, and in 1658 re-opened the Cockpit in Drury Lane, where he performed without molestation until the Restoration. A new era then opened for the drama.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the restored English theatre was its extraordinary facility for extracting the evil out of everything it touched. The Elizabethan drama was not forgotten—far from it; there is scarcely a grossness in those old writers which the new ones did not now imitate and greatly improve upon; they only forgot the truth and vividness of character and life that accompanied them—their high sentiment, their noble passions, their wonderful ever-gushing fount of poetry. So again with the French drama, which they so much admired: they borrowed from it an air of conventional stiffness and formality which did not sit altogether ungracefully on a truly great poet like Corneille, whose spirit was cast in the antique mould; but that air they mistook for him. Lastly, when they began to turn their eyes homewards, and inquire what materials for an English play English society might afford, nothing can be more perfect than the tact with which, in their comedies for instance, they avoided whatever was solid, or permanent, or productive of true genial humour and universal wit. Their wit, for no one can deny the brilliancy of their repartee, was conventional. One has only to ask where we should look for the greatest amount of conjoined frivolity, and profligacy, and sensuality, during the reign which was as a perfect hotbed to these vices, and there we shall find the greatest dramatic writers of the latter part of the seventeenth century, from Dryden and Wycherley to Congreve and Vanbrugh. They have had their reward. One or two solitary plays (the 'Provoked Husband') of all the dramatic writings of these men, who were so well calculated by nature to support the reputation of a national drama, alone, we believe, remains upon the stage. But in the precise proportion that they are neglected now, were they read, and acted, and enjoyed then. Universal popularity among playgoers was theirs—unbounded the royal admiration and approval of their works. Theatres filled—in opposition to the puritan spirit it became a proof of loyalty to attend them—managers smiled, there was no stirring in society but they met the echoes of their own wit. D'Avenant was the first to profit by so cheering a state of things, both as manager and author, and was certainly well fitted for his position. His residence in France had brought his tastes into a state of proper harmony with those of his sovereign; and the personal favours he enjoyed with Charles II. offered peculiar opportunities for the diffusion of those tastes. He obtained a licence (the origin of the existing Covent Garden patent right, as the licence granted at the same period to Killigrew is of that of Drury Lane) and built a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1662, where.

instead of the old half-lighted houses, wax-candles shed a brilliant blaze around, moveable painted scenes were introduced—music, operas, and an orchestra. But these novelties were as nothing compared to that of the appearance of actresses on the stage, as a part of the regular company; a feature so amazingly relished by Charles and his courtiers (and, indeed, it had its peculiar advantages for them, as we learn from the list of their female favourites) that certain pieces—we need not describe them—were occasionally played by females alone. It is pleasant to turn for a moment from these reminiscences to some of a purer character. Shakspere's plays, or at least so much of them as met the approval of D'Avenant, were played in a style of high excellence. Many of the actors were men of the old school, the remnants of the former companies; and one of them, Betterton, has, from all we can learn, never been surpassed in the performance of some of the grandest of the Shaksperian creations. And he has been fortunate in having had critics at once capable of appreciating his excellence, and enabling posterity to appreciate it too. 'Hamlet' was one of D'Avenant's early revivals, and the story goes that the manager taught Betterton how Taylor, whom he remembered, had acted the part from Shakspere's own instructions; but such acting as that described by Cibber in a well-known passage is learnt from within, not from without; though in the general apprehension of a character like Hamlet's, the smallest hint, no matter by what medium it came, from the poet himself, would be of incalculable value.

Such a man was of course little fitted for the rhyming and eminently "mouthing" tragedies Dryden now poured forth in rapid succession, as if to show his contempt for his own early avowed admiration for Shakspere, or, as we would rather suggest, as if to give us unconsciously a proof of the high nobility of his own spirit, by a public renunciation in his latter days of the entire principles and practices of his dramatic career,—of his public return to the only true school, from which he had unwisely or recklessly departed. There are few things in literary history more instructive than this part of Dryden's life—nothing in all his works, excellent as they are when not dramatic, that more elevates or endears to us the memory of "glorious John." The rise of the school of "genteel comedy," as it has been called, is another interesting feature of the same reign, for, impure as it was in the hands of its founders, it gradually lost that impurity, whilst improving at the same time in excellences of a more positive character, as it passed, step by step, from Congreve to Sheridan, who, whilst almost rivalling the former writer in his own especial excellence, wit, has, in addition, plot, and varied character, and moral purpose in his satires to which Congreve could lay no claim. The English opera, too, must not be forgotten in reckoning the demands of the era in question upon our attention. In 1673 appeared Shadwell's 'Psyche,' with music by Matthew Lock; and some years later Dryden's, or rather Purcell's, 'King Arthur,' for the only valuable portion of the work is the composer's. Those who availed themselves of the recent opportunity of enjoying its music will not soon forget such passages as the frost scene,—such duets as that of "Two daughters of this aged stream are we." Other works by the same composer followed; then came Arne, and Jackson, and Linley, and Dibdin, and Shield, and Storace, and gave us that school of genuine national music which we know so well how to—forget.

We have now noticed the two most characteristic periods in the history of our

national drama, which is, in the best sense of the word, the history of our metropolitan theatres; and, long as is the period that has elapsed since the latest of them, we can add no third. The fact is that, with here and there a few exceptions to the general current of theatrical literature, such as must arise in every art from the peculiar characters of individuals, and which have given us such genuine plays, even in the most unpromising of times, as Otway's 'Venice Preserved,' or as some of the productions of an actor-dramatist of the present day, our dramatic history may be summed up in three words: we have grown as correct in everything as spiritless ('Cato,' and the plays of the Cato *form* in the Anglo-French school, may be looked on as mere emanations of this feeling of propriety, as far as their dramatic excellence is concerned); we have imported —and subsequently worked hard at the same manufacture at home till we were wearied of it—the Kotzebue-German productions of the 'Pizarro' and 'Stranger' classes; we have established a melo-drama, which may yet rise into respectability, with a few more well-intentioned mistakes on the parts of certain authors, in thinking they are all the while writing plays. The dramatic-poem writers, who so carefully disclaim all connexion with the theatre, of course may be here disclaimed in return.

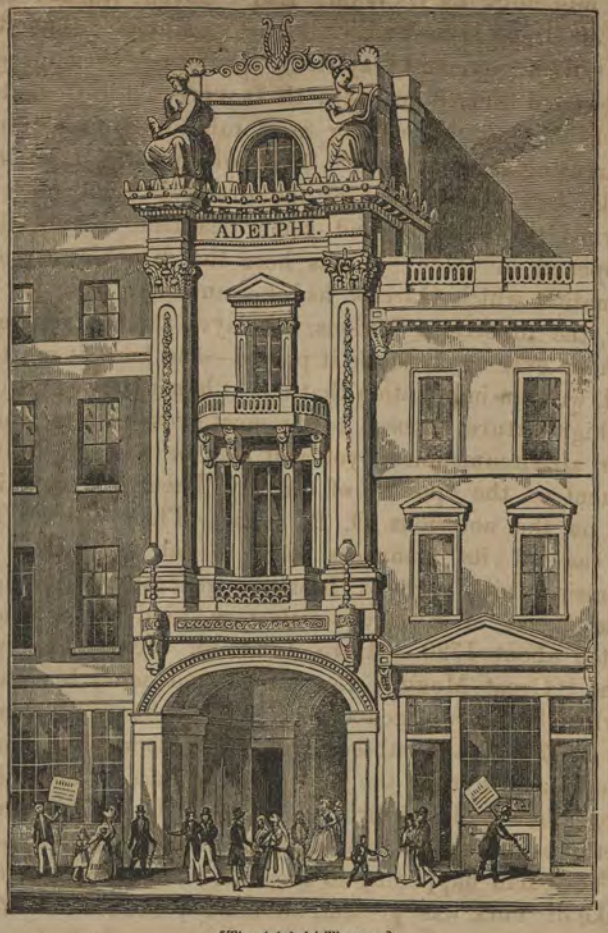
The Italian Opera, as something exotic in its origin, and still needing the shelter of the aristocratic conservatory in which it was first planted, for its due support, demands separate notice. The first building in the Haymarket was erected by Vanbrugh at the beginning of the last century, the funds having been provided by a numerous body of subscribers, among whom were the chief members of the Kit-Cat Club. A rival house to Drury Lane, then enjoying a career of remarkable prosperity, was the object of the builder, whose scheme for its attainment was altogether a bold one; namely, that of joining himself and Congreve as writers and managers to such a company as Betterton and his companions, then playing at the Tennis Court, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, as actors. All parties were sanguine as to success; the players, it appears, fancying the reputation of their literary allies, and the grandeur of the new house, would cause the whole town to be attracted. "In this golden dream they however found themselves miserably deceived and disappointed, as on the opening of this grand and superb structure it was immediately discovered that almost every quality and convenience of a good theatre had been sacrificed and neglected, to show the spectator a vast triumphal piece of architecture; and that the best play was less capable of delighting the auditor here than it would be in the plain and unadorned house they had just come from; for what with their vast columns, their gilded cornices, and immoderately high roof, scarce one word in ten could be distinctly heard. The extraordinary and superfluous space occasioned such an undulation from the voice of every actor, that, generally, what they said sounded like the gabbling of so many people in the lofty aisles of a cathedral. The tone of a trumpet, or the swell of a musical voice, might be sweetened by it; but the articulate sounds of a speaking voice were drowned by the hollow reverberations of one word upon another. 'Tis true, the spectators were struck with surprise and wonder at the magnificent appearance the house displayed in every way they turned their eyes. The ceiling over the orchestra was a semi-oval arch, that sprung fifteen feet higher from above the cornice. The ceiling over the pit, too, was still more raised; being one level line from the highest back part of the upper gallery to the front

of the stage. The front boxes were a continued semicircle to the bare walls of the house on each side, and the effect altogether was truly surprising. In the course of two or three years the ceilings over both orchestra and pit were lowered; and instead of the semi-oval arch, that over the orchestra was made a flat, which greatly improved the hearing."* The very defects of the house, however, helped to promote certain schemes of Vanbrugh's in a new quarter. In July, 1703, interludes and musical entertainments of singing and dancing had been given in Italian at York Buildings. Two years after, a regular dramatic Italian piece, with the narrative and dialogue in recitative, but translated, and performed by English actors and singers, was brought out at Drury Lane. Such were the cautious steps by which the Italian Opera stole into this country. Vanbrugh, in the same year, 1705, opened the new theatre, when, in addition to the English play by Betterton's company, there was presented "Signor Giacomo Greber's 'Loves of Ergosto,' set to Italian music." But the house failed the very first season, not even the attraction, towards its close, so characteristic of the two managers, of the performance of 'Love for Love,' by women, serving to draw sufficient audiences for above three nights. Betterton and his company returned to Lincoln's Inn. The Italian Opera was more and more assiduously cultivated in succeeding seasons, to prevent the utter ruin of the house from the continuous failure of the English performances; in 1708, Operas were played in which Italian and native singers were mingled; and, in 1710, the Italian Opera was introduced entire at last, 'Almahide' having been performed that year in the foreign language, by foreign performers. The popularity which the Opera, or rather the singers—who we suspect were much better appreciated than the composers whose strains they warbled—soon obtained, may be illustrated by the well-known expression of a very enthusiastic lady, "One God, one Farinelli!"

On the individual histories of the three theatres that are alone licensed to play the regular drama we cannot attempt to enter, but a few dates may be useful. When D'Avenant obtained his licence, and formed his company under the title of the Duke's Servants (the King's brother being their patron), Killigrew, as we have before stated, obtained similar powers for the formation and employment of a company at the old Cockpit in Drury Lane: these were to be the King's servants. At the close of the century both patents had fallen into the same hands, those of Rich, the pantomimist; who, by his parsimony, excited so much disgust, that Drury Lane was taken from him, and the licence granted to another party. Steele's name was subsequently entered in the patent; but it was not till the advent upon the London stage of the most perfect actor, perhaps, the world has yet seen, Garrick, that it obtained its highest state of repute and prosperity. In 1745 Garrick and Lacy purchased the theatre, enlarged the house, and opened it with Johnson's well-known prologue. This was a new era of acting, if not of writing; and one can very well understand the great Shaksperian services of Garrick, if we consider that it was not alone the harmony resulting from the greatest of actors representing the characters of the greatest of poets, but that he appears to have been distinguished at the same time, like the poet, by the naturalness of his style. In 1776 Sheridan became part-proprietor, and it was during his government that the Theatre was destroyed by fire in 1809. The

* Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata.

present edifice was built by B. Wyatt, Esq. Covent Garden Theatre owes its rise to the loss of Drury Lane by Rich, as before stated. 'The Beggars' Opera' having made "Rich gay, and Gay rich," the former grew more magnificent in his ideas, and exerted himself to get a theatre erected in Covent Garden, which he opened in 1733, Hogarth making memorable his transit from Lincoln's Inn Fields by an amusing satirical print. This building was burnt in 1808, then rebuilt by Smirke (after the model of the grand Doric Temple of Minerva at Athens), adorned with statues and some beautiful basso-relievos by Flaxman, and re-opened in 1809. It was here that Kemble carried on the work of stage-reformation which Garrick had begun—here that for so many years with his sister, the illustrious Siddons, he played the Shaksperian drama, as we must scarcely hope ever again to see it played—and here, it must be added, that he experienced, with an indignation that might lessen, but could not prevent, the anguish of a high nature exposed to the most gross insults, what it is to be an actor, if, under all circumstances, you will also be a man. It was the rise of prices consequent on the opening of the new Theatre, under his management, that brought on the notorious O. P. riots. The "Little Theatre in the Haymarket" (as all its managers seem to call it, with a sort of affectionate patronising air, perhaps because, generally speaking, it seems to have been the means of a very satisfactory kind of patronage of them) was first erected about 1720. Here, in 1735, Henry Fielding opened the season with the "Great Mogul's Company," and acted his own Pasquin for forty nights, when he was obliged to shut up the house in consequence of the Licensing Act of 1736. And subsequently Foote, to avoid a similar conclusion, gave "tea," and made it one of the most popular places of amusement in London by his own great but sadly misdirected talents. Lastly, we may observe that the Haymarket owes its present privileges to nothing more nor less than Foote's leg, which the comedian happening to break at a hunting party of fashionables, when the Duke of York was present, obtained a licence for life for the Haymarket as a summer theatre by way of compensation, and which was subsequently made permanent: such are the considerations by which we decide in England whether two—or three—theatres shall represent Shakspere! The remaining places of dramatic entertainment in the metropolis are the Lyceum or English Opera House, the Adelphi, the Strand, the Olympic, the Princess's in Oxford Street, a very beautiful little house of recent erection, the Prince's in St. James's Street, the Royal Fitzroy or Queen's in Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, the City of London at Norton Falgate, Sadler's Wells, the Pavilion in Whitechapel, and the Garrick in Goodman's Fields—all on the City side of the water; whilst on the other are the Surrey, the Victoria, and Astley's, the latter, however, chiefly used for equestrian exhibitions. Here is ample room for the expansion of a growing drama, whenever the legislature shall become convinced that the people who attend all these minor theatres would really be no worse if plays were substituted for burlettas, 'Love in a Village' for 'My Poll and my Partner Joe,' Shakspere for Van Amburgh. Of course the patentees of the two principal theatres must be perfectly indifferent by this time on the matter. It would be too good a jest now to urge the possibility of injury to the properties in their present state by any course that might be determined upon with respect to the lesser houses, always excepting that a reversal of the former state of



[The Adelphi Theatre.]

things could be settled by law: the regular drama to the minors, and the burlettas, and nautical pieces, and the lions to the majors—that were something for both parties; as equitable and suitable an adjustment perhaps as could be devised. We commend it to the attention of those who have been very naturally surprised and irritated at the late aspect of affairs, in which they have so deep an interest; who have seen the habitual course of these theatres interrupted,—their best friends alienated, friends at least who had stood by these theatres in their poverty and degradation, and were willing to stand by them apparently through even worse stages of both,—their very character blackened by pretended necessities of reformation; who, in short, had lived to see the preposterous attempt made to preserve to their theatres these privileges by proving they were deserved, and who of course, therefore, nipped the mischief in its bud: and if in so doing they have lost their rents, who shall say they have not preserved at least what appears to have been their consistent principles? But seriously, it must now be evident to all reflecting persons, that these patent rights must be abolished, before the drama can be re-invigorated by the only certain cure—the creation of a new

literature, appealing to, and reflecting the feelings, ideas, and character of the age; before a new, and, as a body, higher race of actors can arise to do justice to such a literature; before we shall be able to sit down in a house small enough to enable us at once to see and to hear, and at the representation of a piece worthy of a sensible man or woman's thoughtful attention. For all this there needs only, we believe, a single and easy remedy, namely, "That," in the words of an article on this long-debated question, written so far back as 1823,* "the theatres of the Metropolis should be licensed for the enactment of the English drama without distinction or limit."

* In Knight's Quarterly Magazine, vol. i. p. 433.

[Covent Garden Theatre.]

[The Treasury from St. James's Park, 1775.]

CXIX.—THE TREASURY.

Captain Becroft, or some other of our recent visitors to the Niger, was requested by one of the sable potentates of that region to bring him, from England, a couple of brass guns, and a strong chest with iron bands and padlocks. His Majesty wished for nothing more—if he had these he had everything. The guns would bring him in money, and the chest would keep it safe. This negro prince must have been a philosopher: Locke, Montesquieu, Bentham—not one of our theorists upon government has ever simplified its principles to such an extent. In practice, however, all governments have been much of a mind with the monarch sage of Nigritia. The treasury is the key-stone of the arch of Government. To get money, whether by brass guns or taxes, and to keep it safe, whether in a chest with iron bands and locks, or in a Treasury, or in a Bank of England, these constitute the whole duty of a statesman. There, then, in that building which figures at the top of the present paper, is deposited the talisman that keeps together the social fabric of the British empire. The seal of Solomon possessed not a tithe of its mystic power.

We smile at the idea of a negro prince's treasury being formed out of the chest, perhaps, of some sailor who may have died on the voyage out. The transformation is not a whit more startling than that by which the royal Treasury of England was manufactured out of a cock-pit. When bluff Harry VIII. had stripped Wolsey of Whitehall, and some other valuable possessions, he con-

structed there for the amusement of his leisure hours, a tennis-court, a cock-pit, and a bowling-green. The scenes of the more healthy and humane amusements of tennis and bowling have left no trace behind them, but we can track the cock-pit through all its transmutations—from a place where cocks fought to a place where polemical divines and jobbing politicians wrangled, until it settled down into a Treasury.

In the year of grace 1708, thus wrote Mr. Edward Hatton :—"The Treasury office is kept at the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, where the Lord High Treasurer sits three or four times a week, to receive petitions and determine and settle matters, and give orders, warrants, &c. relating to the public treasure and revenues, the Customs, Excise, &c. being under his lordship's inspection." At that time, therefore, the Lord High Treasurer seems in a manner to have been little more than a tenant at will in the Cock-pit. The Cock-pit was still the cock-pit in those days, not the permanent office of the treasurer, much less was it *the* Treasury. It might have pleased her Majesty Queen Anne to direct the Lord High Treasurer, Sydney Earl of Godolphin, who was "perfectly in the favour of his queen and country, who had repeated their great satisfaction with his wise and frugal management," to occupy some other apartments, the property of the crown. Nay, the Lord High Treasurer had not the whole Cock-pit to himself, his secretary and clerks; for "the office of Trade and Plantations" (as yet there was neither "Board of Trade," nor "Secretary of War and the Colonies") also found a domicile in the Cock-pit. Then the Treasurer transformed the Cock-pit, by his temporary occupancy, into a Treasury; now the Treasury transforms its principal occupant, *pro tempore*, into the First Lord of the Treasury. In those old times the man made the office; in ours the office makes the man. Formerly the nation was governed by statesmen; now it is governed by offices and establishments. The machinery which man has made whirls its maker about with or against his will.

But to return to the Cock-pit. Pennant republished in his 'London' an old print of the Horse-Guards (that is, of the stables adjoining the Tilt-yard, occupied by the horse-guards) in the time of Charles II., in which the Cock-pit, the future Treasury of England, occupies a tolerably conspicuous position. The picture is in good moral keeping. Charles, with his spaniels, is lounging in front, with an empty and expensive cockpit behind him, which in the reign of his niece was to be converted by the "frugal" Godolphin into a well-filled Treasury. This is the part of the Treasury buildings which fronts Whitehall; the venerable, antique, somewhat moss-grown pile, stuck in between the smugness of the dowager Lady Dover's round house and the equal smugness of the bastard Hellenism of the new Board of Trade. This is in good moral keeping too. The Treasury looks like an old shrivelled usurer, in an old-fashioned dress, standing between two smart gentlemen arrayed in Stultz' last device.

The old office of Godolphin, however, is but a small part of the modern Treasury. Indeed, to judge by a plan of the interior in the King's Library, in the British Museum, it would appear to be almost entirely occupied by the hall of entrance, the porter's and watchman's lodges, and other subordinate receptacles. The offices of the more important functionaries are in the large building behind which fronts the esplanade in St. James's Park. It is not every man who is gifted with the power of painting pictures with words, as was the case with the

gifted author of Londinum Redivivum; and, therefore—or because of its brevity—we select his account of the rise and progress of the Treasury buildings as we at present find them:—"The Treasury is fronted by an ancient building next Whitehall, strongly marked with modern alterations; a passage hence leads to the Park, and to *an amazing number of apartments* used for this extensive department of administration. Several offices were destroyed in 1733, in order to erect the present building facing the parade; the expense of which was estimated at 9000*l*. The façade consists of a double basement of the Doric order, and a projection in the centre, on which are four Ionic pillars, supporting an entablature and pediment."

Malcolm, a man of almost as few words as ideas, simply tells us what the building is. Dodsley, who in 1761 favoured the world with a description of London, and who having, in his earlier years, like Joseph Andrews, worn livery, and, like his prototype, picked up a knowledge of criticism, pronounces judgment on its merits:—"The whole front is rustic; it consists of three stories, of which the lowermost *is of the basement kind,* with small windows, though they are contained in large arches. This story has the Tuscan proportion, and the second the Doric, with arched windows of a good size; but what is very singular, the upper part of this story is adorned with the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze, though this range of ornament is supported by neither columns nor pilasters. Over this story is a range of Ionic columns in the centre, supporting a pediment. Upon the whole the Treasury must be allowed to be a building composed of very beautiful parts, but it were to be wished they were fewer and larger, as there is a sufficient distance to view it." One is at a loss which to admire most—the resolute manner in which the architect has crammed something from every school of architecture into his truly "composite" building, or the equally resolute manner in which his critic has crammed something from every jargon of criticism's Tower of Babel into his remarks. From Dodsley's book, by the way, we learn that the name Cock-pit still prevailed in his day. "The Cock-pit, opposite to the Privy Garden, is esteemed a part of the ancient Palace of Whitehall, and retains its ancient name, though converted to very different uses from that of a Cock-pit. This edifice, which is built with stone, is very old, and the outside next the street has nothing to recommend it; but within it has several noble rooms and apartments, as the council-chamber, &c."

Where the Treasury of the Kings of England had its abiding place—or, more properly, as we shall show in the sequel, where its *eidolon,* or Platonic idea, lodged before it took up its abode in the Cock-pit, were hard to say. The Exchequer, which, in the reign of Edward I., was literally the King's strong-box, was, in his time, lodged in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Madox, in his 'History of the Exchequer,' intimates this while enumerating the duties of William de Eston, admitted to be "tally-writer," which is still one of the designations of the auditor of the receipt. "To keep the keys of the King's Treasury (in the cloisters of Westminster at that time), which do belong to the same Treasurer *in his stead,* and to enrol the receipts and issues made in the Exchequer of Receipt, &c., and to write the Tallies of the Exchequer, and to do other things pertaining to that office. And the said William was sworn, that he would behave himself well and truly, and that he would not, by pretext of any precept from the treasurer, or from his lieutenant" (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), "in his absence, or from

any other, deliver any money out of the King's Treasury to any person without the King's writ, or procure or consent to have the same delivered."

Madox's phrase, "Exchequer of Receipt," is one which came into use at an early period in order to distinguish between the financial Exchequer and the court of justice of that name. The Treasury is not the only department of executive government which, having in rude and early times been invested with judicial powers in certain classes of cases, has given rise to a tribunal which, retaining its old name, has become in time exclusively judicial. The Chancery is still presided over by the Chancellor, but chancellors in our days are judges and no longer prime ministers. The Court of Admiralty is a law court in which the Commissioners of the Admiralty have no voice. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is undergoing the process of transmutation into a Court of Appeal, in which permanent, salaried judges will soon come to preside; and the Court of Exchequer has long ceased to have any connexion with the First Lord of the Treasury or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was originally a court in which controverted cases arising out of the collection of the revenue were decided. It is the lowest in rank of the four courts of Westminster, and this has been explained on the ground that it was originally erected solely for the king's profit, which was considered an object inferior to the general administration of justice to the subject. As a superior Court of Record it was established by William the Conqueror, as part of the Aula Regis, and reduced to its present order by Edward I. The Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being is nominally one of the judges, but the real acting judges of Exchequer are the Chief Baron and four other barons created by letters patent. The last Chancellor of the Exchequer who sat in a judicial capacity was Sir Robert Walpole, in the case of Naish against the East India Company, in the Michaelmas Term of 1735. His interference was rendered necessary by the Judges being equally divided in opinion. The Judges are called Barons on account of their having been originally chosen from among the parliamentary Barons. Formerly the Court of Exchequer was held in the king's palace. Its treasury was the great deposit of records from the other courts; writs of summons to assemble the parliament were issued by its officers; and its acts and decrees, as they related almost entirely to matters connected with the king's revenue, were not controlled by any other of the king's ordinary courts of justice. It now consists of two divisions: one exercises jurisdiction in all cases relating to the customs and excise, and over revenue matters generally; the other is subdivided into a court of common law, in which all personal actions may be brought, and a court of equity. Private plaintiffs were originally enabled to bring their actions in this court by a fictitious allegation that they were the king's debtors: this lie was only dispensed with by Act of Parliament in the second year of William IV.

All these strict injunctions were however insufficient at times to keep loose livers from following the injunction of Sir John Falstaff, "Rob me the Exchequer, Hal!" "The Royal Treasury," says Maitland, speaking of 1304, "being kept in the cloister of the abbey church of Westminster, the same was robbed of a great sum of money. Edward, suspecting the monks to be the robbers, immediately ordered the abbot and forty-nine of them to be apprehended and secured; where they continued in duresse till the year after, when Edward, on Lady-day, repaired to the said church to return thanks to God and

St. Edward for his great success against the Scots. On which occasion he gave orders to discharge the monks: however, they were not put in execution till a week after, out of pique to them, by the persons that were ordered to discharge them."

Various have been the derivations assigned by etymological financiers to the name Exchequer. The favourite one appears to be that which accounts for its origin by the legend of the board being covered with a chequered cloth, on the squares of which the various sums of money were deposited with a view to aid the defective arithmetic of early times. This may or may not have been the case, but the age which can be suspected of having recourse to such a rude and simple device may also be conceived primitive enough to have had no better place of deposit for the treasure than a strong chest, like that of our African potentate. The facility with which the monks—or, supposing them to have been innocent, the more adroit thieves whose scapegoats the holy fathers became—got at the money in 1304 favours the notion. So do the singularly ambulatory propensities with which the Exchequer appears to have been endowed in early times. Kings thought no more of whisking away their Exchequer from one place and depositing it in another, than modern gentlemen do of transporting their portmanteaux by railroad. "In this year" (1210), says Matthew of Paris, "the king, upon some displeasure conceived against the Londoners, as a punishment for the offence, removed the Exchequer from Westminster to Northampton." Again, in the fifteenth year of Edward I., Maitland, quoting Madox, says:—"Edward commanded the Barons of the Exchequer (whose financial duties, it would appear from the context, had not then been entirely separated from their judicial) to transfer that court to the Hustings of London, at which place I imagine they audited the city accounts; by the credit side of which the citizens were indebted thirteen thousand two hundred and five pounds and threepence halfpenny. But a mistake being made by my author either in the debit or credit side of the said account; therefore to make the balance answer, I shall make the credit thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-one pounds and threepence; and by deducting twenty thousand marks of the debt from the same, it will appear that the City stood then indebted to the king, according to my author, four hundred and thirty-eight pounds six shillings and eleven pence." This looks not unlike making the good city itself his Exchequer, and, indeed, our kings, down to the time of Hampden and ship-money, when men grew restive and would understand the joke no longer, appear, when in want of money, to have dipped their fingers in their subjects' pockets much more liberally than into their own. The idea of allowing money to "fructify" in the pockets of the citizens for the use of government does not appear to be, after all, an original discovery of the nineteenth century.

During the Wars of the Roses, and during what Clarendon has called "the great rebellion," it is equally difficult to ascertain the precise locality of the Exchequer. This, however, is owing to the "embarras des richesses." In these unsettled times each party had its own Exchequer, and it was rather a delicate task to undertake to decide which was the true one. Henry VIII.'s Exchequer was in the possessions of the suppressed monasteries, and that of his daughter Elizabeth in the pockets of all the rich men who came in her way. After the Restoration, Charles II. had an Exchequer, but he contrived to ruin its credit.

So it will be seen that the permanent, stationary character of the Treasury is not of much older date than the period at which we commenced our narrative of the rise and progress of the Treasury buildings.

The theory, however, of the British Treasury was much the same during the nomade period of its existence that it has continued to be in its settled and citizen-like life. There was from the beginning a treasurer whose office it was to devise schemes for raising money, to manage the royal property to the best advantage, and to strike out the most economical and efficient modes of expenditure. He had even then the control of all the officers employed in collecting the customs and royal revenues, the disposal of offices in the customs throughout the kingdom, the nomination of escheators in the counties, and the leasing of crown lands. Then, as a check upon the malversation of this officer, there was the Exchequer, the great conservator of the revenues of the nation. "The Exchequer," said Mr. Ellis, Clerk of the Pells, when examined before the Finance Commissioners, "is at least coeval with the Norman Conquest, and has been from its earliest institution looked to as a check upon the Lord High Treasurer, and a protection for the king as well as for the subject, in the custody, payment, and issue of the public money. The business of the Exchequer, in its simplest form, is the receipt of the public money, and the issue of the same under orders from the proper authority; the second branch, that of issue, further involves the most important duty of control; while both require, in a matter of such national and historical importance, the duty of record."

This is still the broad outline of the Treasury—of the Finance department of State of Great Britain. The enormous magnitude of the empire has caused the subordinate departments of Customs, the Mint, &c. to expand until they have attained an organisation, an individual importance, a history of their own. The different modes of transacting money-business, rendered necessary by its greater amount and more complicated nature, have altered the routine both of the Treasury and Exchequer; the changed relations of king and parliament have subjected the Treasury and Exchequer to new control and superintendence. Still their mutual relations and the part they play in the economy of the empire remains essentially the same as in older times.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, for the office of Lord High Treasurer has for many years been put in commission, have their office at Whitehall, in the building whose history we have attempted to trace, where business is transacted daily from ten to four. The Exchequer, or more properly "the receipt of exchequer," has its office at 3, Whitehall-yard, where the hours of business, say our official informants, "are uncertain." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who seems formerly to have been looked upon as a depute of the Lord High Treasurer, has in these later times been not unfrequently the same person with the First Lord of the Treasury. He is always one of the Treasury Commissioners, and the peculiarity wherein his office differs from the offices of the rest is simply this, that upon him devolves the trouble of fighting the financial battles of the administration of which he is a member in the House of Commons.

The old forms of transacting business were long retained with a desperate fidelity in the Exchequer. The obsolete make-shifts of tallies and other antediluvian methods of keeping accounts were continued in the Exchequer after the

very milk-women had got ashamed of them. The regulations under which public moneys were received at the Exchequer until a very recent period had been established by immemorial usage, and more particularly fixed by the Statute 8 and 9 William III., c. 28. By the first section of that Act the Teller is bound to receive and make entry of all sums by weight and tale when tendered at his office; and, according to the ancient course of the Exchequer, to throw down immediately a bill of the sum, written upon parchment and signed by the Teller or his deputy, into the Tally Court, where the person making payment received his acquittance. It was from the various stages of this primitive process that the officials of Exchequer derived their strange designations. There was the Clerk of the Pells (pellis, a skin), who engrossed the bill upon parchment. There was the Clerk of the Pipe, who tossed it down through a pipe or funnel to "the court below." In the words of the Commissioners of Finance in 1831, "The present system of the Exchequer had its origin in, and has retained many of the characteristics of, a period when the existing facilities and securities for the transfer of money were wholly, or almost wholly, unknown; when banks, bank-credits, bank-cheques, and bank-notes had no existence, and when the whole system of pecuniary intercourse was rude and imperfect. Multiplied checks were needful at a time when all payments were made in coin by weight and tale; but these very checks become embarrassing as well as useless when the operations have changed their character. In its earlier history the Exchequer sometimes received coin by weight, and at other times by counting (tale); and it had its departments both for melting and assaying when the coin delivered was believed to be below the legal standard. The Roman numerals, uncouth, obscure, and inconvenient as they are, and inapplicable to the commonest purposes of arithmetical calculation, were the usual formulas of abbreviation in the Norman period, and were consequently employed at the Exchequer, though the Exchequer is probably the only establishment in the civilised world that still retains them in preference to the simple and intelligible Arabic numerals, into which, in fact, every document is now translated in the Exchequer-books." This absurdity had been pointed out fifty years before, but no attempt had been made to amend it. In 1782 the Commissioners of Accounts had expressed themselves as to the forms then in use, and which continued in use up to 1831, thus: "An account in the Exchequer-form is in English, but contains some Latin terms. The imprest-roll is all written in an abridgment of the Latin language. The sums in both are expressed in characters that are, in general, corruptions of the old text, and are in use nowhere that we can find but in the Exchequer; characters very liable to mistakes, inconvenient and troublesome even to the officers themselves. The sums so expressed cannot be cast up. Most of the accounts in the Exchequer are made up twice; first in common figures, that they may be added together, and then turned into Latin, and the sums entered in the Exchequer-figures; and that the high numbers in a detailed account may be understood they are written in common figures under the characters. They are defective, having no characters to express high numbers, as millions; they are unintelligible to the persons either receiving or having other money-transactions at the Exchequer."

This was the form of transacting business at the Exchequer—the mere form; for while the officers of the Exchequer were laboriously performing these old tricks, the real business of finance was transacted by clerks of the Bank of

England. For about a century the Bank sent down to the Exchequer persons duly authorised to examine and receive its own notes. By order of the Statute 46 Geo. III. the Bank clerks so attending at the Exchequer were bound to receive cancelled bank-notes from the Receivers General of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and the Post Office (all which departments kept their money at the Bank of England), and to give each Receiver General credit for them with the Teller as for so much cash. The custom too prevailed of receiving through the medium of the Bank clerks not only these branches of the Revenue, but all moneys paid to the Teller on the public accounts; the general use of paper-money having made it necessary to adopt that course in order to verify the notes presented at the Exchequer, and enable the Teller, consistently with his own responsibility, to accept them in payment of the revenue. In short, all payments nominally made into the Exchequer were received by the Bank, and all moneys nominally issued from the Exchequer were also paid by the Bank, and it was only by a "species of fiction," as Mr. Ellis expressed it, that money appeared to be received and paid by the Exchequer.

This grave fooling did not merely keep a set of intelligent men, who might have been usefully employed, doing nought earthly but translating the record of the business transacted in their names by the Bank clerks out of the intelligible language of English book-keeping into a mixture of dog-Latin and hieroglyphics which themselves understood only in part, and which nobody else understood at all; it did not only cost the nation for the sustenance of these persons thus employed upon what was neither useful, ornamental, nor instructive; it was a source of serious annoyance to all persons who had moneys to receive at the Exchequer, and who were unacquainted with its usages. They experienced great difficulty in obtaining the necessary instruments from the Treasury; and on application at the Exchequer, a delay of three or four days was frequently experienced in passing the instruments through the offices. Nor was even this the worst. The deleterious influence of the system extended itself to the finance ministers. Men of genius and powerful character the country undoubtedly has had in this department; but to a great extent their abilities were paralyzed by the engine with which they had to work. They devised ingenious schemes for raising a large revenue in the manner likely to be least felt by the tax-payers, and expending it judiciously; but the incomprehensible formulas of the Exchequer concealed from them the working of their own plans. It was impossible to obtain clear statements of accounts—nobody knew how much money was expended, or where it went to. All was groping in the dark. Talent, integrity, perseverance, were thrown away in the attempt to work out good by the hocus-pocus of the Exchequer.

At last the time came when it could be endured no longer. From the recesses of the Exchequer the wayward goblin—the "lubber fiend" (or, as Scotsmen would call him, "the Brownie"), which for more than a century had taken the work out of the hands of England's finance-ministers, and transacted it after a fantastic and grotesque fashion of his own, "was with sighing sent." But as is usually the case with exorcised spirits, he tore the patient he possessed strangely as he went out of him. He evacuated his fortress, doing at the same time all the mischief he could. When Dousterswivel's familiar was exorcised from the mine at Glenwithershins, the bonfire the boys made of the machinery, wheel-barrows, &c.,

spread over the whole "country-side" the alarm of invasion. And when "the tallies" were ordered to be discontinued in keeping the accounts of the empire, and consigned to the domestics of the Houses of Parliament to heat the stoves with, they set both Lords and Commons in a blaze. The burning of the Houses of Parliament was the last mischievous freak of the goblin which had so long haunted the Exchequer;—he soared on their flames to his native empyrean, laughing at the human fools he had teased and thwarted to the last.

The old formalities of the Exchequer have been abolished—a good riddance. But it is easier to get rid of a bad system than to invent a better; and, considering the pertinacity with which the abuses of the Exchequer have clung to us, that is, though true, a tolerably strong expression. Comptrollers were substituted for the long array of clerks of the pells, the pipe, and the tallies; money was received and paid into and out of the national treasury with something of the same intelligible simplicity which characterised these transactions among private individuals; it became possible for ministers to see how every farthing of the national money went, if they had a mind and would take the trouble to do so. But that all possibility of speculation had not been done away with has been pretty plainly demonstrated by the gigantic swindling of Solari, Rapallo, and Smith. The truth is, that a bad old system has been abolished, but that no system has been substituted in its stead. The Exchequer is like the man out of whom seven devils had been cast: it is "empty, swept, and garnished." If care be not taken to occupy it, the old tenant may return, bringing with him, in all likelihood, some of his demoniac kindred worse than himself.

A treasury, we have said, is the key-stone of the arch of government. Let us vary the metaphor. The Treasury of Great Britain is the keep of the fortress in which the Administration strengthens itself—for a minister's tenure of office in this country is but a series of parliamentary sieges and defences. The "keep" of the fort of office at Whitehall is most skilfully placed. It stands in the centre of the fortifications. The War-office, the main-guard, is immediately in front; and the Admiralty, like a horn-work thrown out before, keeps watch and ward with its semaphore. Downing street, the quarters of the Premier and Secretary of State, are in the rear, judiciously covered by the keep. And so long as the Premier's banner is seen waving over this central strong-hold so long are his troops assured of pay and "provant," bold, merry, and faithful.

The personal associations of the Treasury are scarcely so interesting as those of the Horse Guards and Admiralty, topics which have already been discussed in 'London.' In the case of the latter we forget the mere business-organisation of desks, stools, clerks, ledgers, and minute-books; the fancy is carried away to the heroes sent forth by that machinery, and of their exploits in all quarters of the earth. The Horse Guards and Admiralty are poetical; the Treasury is prose itself. Even the First Lord thereof—or, as he would once have been called, the Lord High Treasurer—if he is viewed in his capacity of financier (and not of Premier, which in general he is), appears little better than a sort of land-steward —certainly upon a most Brobdignagian scale, but retaining all the commonplace of the character, magnified, if possible, by the colossal dimensions of the business he manages. And as for the clerks—but the clerks in Government-offices are a race to whom we have as yet scarcely paid sufficient attention.

They are of two kinds—the upper and the under; the former rather disdaining

the humble designation of clerks and aspiring to be secretaries. In one respect, both classes agree: they are clerks for life. Their rise in the world, like that of a caged squirrel turning a mill, must be limited to the building in which their work is done. They may be advanced from the bottom to the top of their "department," but out of it there is for them no egress. Their mind shrinks and accommodates itself to its shell; they become not men of the world, but men of the office. Their jokes are interchanged, their cares are communicated to, their holidays are shared with, the inmates of their own or the neighbouring offices. They have cant phrases and conventional allusions no one else can understand. They, the officials, are a people apart; when they go into a mixed company it is like going among foreigners.

It is a mistake to imagine that familiarity with great objects expands the mind; on the contrary, familiarity reduces the objects contemplated to the scale of the mind itself. Switzerland has produced no poet, and Ossian is apocryphal. All our poets have been town-bred, or, at least, brought up amid scenery which the hunters of avalanches, and mountains rising above the snow-line, and cataracts, call tame and common-place. Alpine scenery impresses only impressible minds—cultivated minds: if a Swiss or Scotch Highlander by accident get civilised, the rocks, glens, and corries which drew poetry out of a Byron have been spoiled to him by being familiar from boyhood. He is like one to whom Shakspere has been spoiled by having been made to spout him at an elocution-class for a tin medal. Talk not of Swiss *maladie-du-pays* and *ranz-des-vaches*: to like is not to be able to appreciate. There is no improbability in Byron's assertion that his dog was the warmest friend he ever had; yet Byron knew many who were better than a whole litter of puppies. So with our clerks in Government-offices. The strokes of diplomacy, the evolution of national power which strike intelligent by-standers with admiration or awe, are to them mere tricks of the trade, inspiring in them no more lively emotions than a cleverly-drawn bargain by his master does in a wholesale shoemaker's apprentice. And yet our clerks are proud of knowing, or being thought to know, all the technical details of political business, and on the strength of that knowledge take upon them to instruct everybody in everything. It is a pleasure to watch the odd contortions of countenance with which they listen to any one pronouncing an opinion on some incident in the wars of Scinde or China, who does not even know the kind of paper on which a despatch is written, or how the leaves of office-copies are fastened at the upper right-hand corner with green ribbon. Your Government-clerk generally occupies a neat cottage in one of the suburbs, within comfortable walking-distance of his office, for the sake of digestion, and, in case it should rain, on a good line for 'busses. A number of Government-clerks will generally be found to have settled down upon neighbouring houses, as rooks do upon neighbouring trees; partly, it may be, because what are local recommendations to one are so to the whole of them, but still more because, like the rooks, they enjoy a neighbourly "caw, caw." About the same hour of the morning they may be seen issuing from their respective doors, after leisurely and comfortably shaving, breakfasting, and brushing, and uniting slowly into one stream, like drops of water on the glass of the window, they move leisurely townward together. Staid decorous men—as all who can keep a place of routine duties for years must be, with the quiet consciences which doing nothing wrong if people do nothing very

particularly good inspires—and with the comfortable state of body produced by regular easy work, sufficient to keep men from fretting about other matters and not enough to make them fret about itself—are easily amused. Their topics of conversation may be counted on your fingers: in Spring and Autumn they discuss the change from a winter dress to a summer one, or *vice versâ*. In summer they talk of yester-evening's walk, and in winter of yester-evening's drive homewards, and the incidents of bad sixpences, new 'busses on the road, &c. These varied by remarks on asparagus, oysters, and other "fruits in their season," form the staple of their discourse which has whiled away their time on the road into town for years. As they drop into their respective dens even this slender vivacity subsides: they become mere copying, fetching, and carrying (of intelligence, however, as well as papers) machines. It is a beautiful arrangement in the mechanism of the human mind which enables man to put forth just so much of his thinking powers as the necessity of his sphere may call for. Your true clerk or secretary, if touched by a question, begins to think as the larum of a clock begins to whir when touched; but left unquestioned, he proceeds with his mechanical duties thoughtless. These congenial souls return homeward in a more straggling line of march; the married men (official characters either marry very early in life or not at all) betake themselves direct to their families as in duty bound; the bachelors are sadly addicted to dining out. They are well-drilled, however, always come to time in the morning, and, as they advance in life, learn the necessity of husbanding their strength. If you take up your station on their homeward road between ten and eleven P.M., you are certain to see them walking homeward with very red faces and steps so steady as to betray an effort. The house of a Government clerk is rather a favorite place of visit for ladies of a certain age, especially if he be a bachelor and addicted to a fine garden.

These are your head clerks, and also, be it noted, your clerks of the old school. A new generation is rising up with more assumption and less character; and whatever philosophers say, every man endowed with the artistical sense requires character, that is, individuality, in the men whom he is to respect. The youngsters positively affect literary tastes; nay, some of them have perpetrated tragedies and treatises on statesmanship (by which term they understand dissertations on red tape, folding of letters, and other official incidents), statistics, &c. Their sphere of greatness is in literary and scientific societies, where they contrive to make themselves of importance by always having some driblet of exclusive information to communicate. They are remarkable of an evening for the whiteness of their kid gloves, and the martinet precision with which they retain their hats in their hands.

The subordinate government clerk is a hybrid between the government messenger and the clerk properly so called. He is, perhaps, the happiest of the whole family. The time was when his leg of mutton baked, with the potatoes done in the dripping-pan, was duly brought to him on a Sunday from the baker's about one o'clock, and he never sits down to dinner on that day at five with a decanter of sherry before him, but he thanks Providence with all the fervour of a Pepys for his advancement. After such a one has occupied a stool in the office for several years, he is generally sent, as a first step in his advancement, to carry a confidential message to some chargé-d'affaires, or to execute some small commission in one of the colonies. An Englishman fresh from London is such

a rarity there that his society is courted by the *attachés* and young officers, and the *chef*, after having remarked, *pro formâ*, in an assertion meant to pass muster as an interrogation not to be answered, lest the answer be different from what is wanted—"Mr. —— is a respectable sort of person"—asks him once to dinner. The poor clerk is bewildered with his greatness: at *pic-nics*, and similar occasions, he is the butt of the young scape-graces who have got hold of him, but he knows it not, though their jokes are pretty broadly practical—he is in good company. Abroad he was in request because he was from home; at home he is an oracle, because he has been abroad. Projectors of a continental tour take Mr. ——'s opinion as to the best mode of travelling, and the most interesting routes, because he has been abroad, and is an official character. In his office he is promoted to a small room, back, down three pair of stairs from the ground-floor, which he has all to himself. His salary is augmented, sufficiently to enable him, with the aid of frequent invitations to dine out from citizens about to make the grand tour, to indulge himself of a Sunday in the manner above alluded to. And he remains for life an oracle on the rise and fall of stocks, and the changes of empire—a "practical man," mind ye, who knows things *before* they get into the newspapers—the source of information for writers of leaders in the daily prints, and for the representatives of the new constituencies of the year '32, as superior clerks are the accredited crammers of ministers, and the aristocratic members of the legislature when condemned to make a speech in parliament.

The subordinate clerk is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a Cockney; and the Cockney character is indelible. The upper clerks consist of a pretty equable apportionment of the natives of the three kingdoms. All become subdued to the element in which they live—"nothing in them but doth suffer a sea-change." But they take the official impress or mould with different degrees of facility or completeness. The Irishman retains most of his individuality; his wild spirits, and carelessness of what people think, are incapable of adopting any other habits than those which nature prompts. The Englishman becomes sufficiently officialised to be known at once for what he is. But it is the Scotsman, pliant, yet tough, "wax to receive and marble to retain," who becomes office all over. The gregarious nature of Scotsmen is amazing. At intervals flocks of them wing their way southward, and settle down like locusts upon every green herb. The oldest irruption in the memory of living man was that which brought, among others, the illustrious historian of British India. The next was that which brought Wilkie, and the ex-chancellor, Baron of St. Andrews. All do not find accommodation in public offices; but it is astonishing how many find their way in at these periodical migrations; and more than any others they become mere office furniture. They think minute-books, look ledgers, and walk like stools trundled from place to place. They are endowed with all that condescending propensity to lecture which characterised Sir Richie Moniplies of the ancient house of Castle Collops. And pet amid all this ossification or petrifaction of the human soul there is a drop of kindly feeling left at the core—concentrated like the liquid drop of brandy in the heart of a frozen bottle—at least for their countrymen.

Enough of these occupants of Government offices—at Whitehall, in Cannon Row, Somerset House, Pall Mall, the India House, and the Tower. Any one of the body may be taken as a sample—"he is knight of the shire, and represents them all." But the present seemed the fittest opportunity that has occurred in

our wanderings through London to describe a family of its zoophytes more exclusively peculiar to it than any British family. The Treasury is the centre of their kingdom—the hole of the queen-bee.

Few of the statesmen who have presided at the Treasury have been remarkable for anything but their statesmanship and the general high character of British gentlemen. They afford little to gossip about. Godolphin, as we have already heard Mr. Hatton avouch, was "frugal," and esteemed both by his queen and country. Some of his contemporaries told a different tale—but let that pass. Walpole was "a character," in the conversational acceptation of the term. Good-natured, and withal somewhat ponderous, without intellectual tastes, and coarse in his sensuality, yet with a remarkable talent for governing, he held the reins of power with a more tenacious hand than any statesman who has succeeded him, except the second Pitt. He held them firmly, but without apparent effort; whereas Chatham's was an incessant parade of vigour without the strength to keep hold. Apart from mere animal pleasures, governing seems to have been the only employment or pastime for which Walpole had a taste. It was the thing he came into the world to do, and he could, or cared to, do nothing else. When turned out of office by Pulteney he affected to be resigned, but could interest himself in no other pursuit. He yawned and went to sleep in his chair after dinner, fell into a lethargic state for want of exercise, and slept himself into his grave in no time. Lord North resembled Walpole in his good-nature. Indeed, good-nature is a more common feature of the English statesman than any other. Harley was good-natured; Walpole was good-natured; North was good-natured; Fox was good-natured. But North had not Walpole's power. His greatness was the result of accident. He was kept in office by there being no one else capable of taking it from him. Neither had he Walpole's intense passion for governing, and he managed to enjoy life in his own quiet and complacent way after he was turned out of office. Pitt II. had the governing instinct quite as strong as Walpole, but he had inherited something of the despotic temper of his father; and was anxious that his power should be acknowledged as well as felt. "Good-natured" is scarcely applicable to him, yet he was fond of a social carouse in his hours of relaxation. It is doubtful whether Pitt would not have been a greater man had his father drilled him less. The power of language and the power of action are rarely possessed to the same degree by one individual. With Pitt the talent for governing was an instinct, but the power of oratory (and he possessed it too in high perfection) was in a great measure artificial. It had been drilled into him in youth. There was fluency, and the sentential forms of logic; but there was no play of fancy, no imaginative power, properly speaking, no close reasoning. In modern times the parliamentary displays of a minister attract an undue share of attention, and Pitt is consequently judged fully more by his speeches than his actions. This is to do him injustice; for all his father's care and all his own sedulous efforts could not raise his oratory to the height to which native genius, aided by cultivation, carried Burke, Fox, and Windham. Look to his actions, however, and these oratorical rivals seem dwarfed beside him. The boy grasped the helm of state and held it to the last. He was one of Carlyle's born kings. The people's instinct taught them this; and

"As waves before
A vessel under sail, so man obeyed
And fell below his stern."

We are not writing a history of England, but describing the buildings of its metropolis, and calling up their associations, or we might easily recount a long bead-roll of unobtrusive great men who have here "done their spiriting gently" or otherwise. For our purpose enough has been said.

After all, England's Treasury contrasts strangely with the schoolboy notions of a Treasury that cling to us. Here are no ingots of gold and silver, no stores of jewels, no piled-up substantial wealth. Plainly-dressed men, with about as much small-change as may suffice for the expenses of the day in their pockets, go out and in. Scraps of paper are handed about with large sums written or engraved on them. The abstract idea of money inhabits the empty halls: the power of endowing men with a magnetic power of attracting gold to them after they issue from the doors is there—nothing more. It is like the chests full of sand which the Spanish Jews are said to have received in pawn from the Cid, and to have guarded with scrupulous care, believing they contained the hero's plate and jewels. The chests contained something better than gold—the Cid's "promise to pay;" and the Treasury contains something better still—the collective faith of the British nation, which is not a "repudiating" state. The unseen, remote wealth at the command of this vacant Treasury exceeds what eastern imagination, piled up in the cavern, opened to Aladdin. A British monarch's eye may well gaze on the structure with complacency. And therefore is it appropriately placed where, white-gleaming through the foliage, it is the first object that meets her gaze as she looks from her palace-window in the morning. It is to be hoped that the young scions of royalty are duly impressed with the importance of the wondrous pile which the early lights show to such advantage in the fresh and balmy hours of the young day.

The Treasury, as might have been anticipated, occupies a prominent place in political caricatures and lampoons. A series of broadsides which combine both characters, with pictures above and doggerel below, levelled at Walpole, and also at some of his opponents, the year before he was turned out of office, for the most part lay the scene in its neighbourhood. The first, entitled 'The Protest,' is an allegory of "the Minority" under the protection of Justice, shooting an arrow at Walpole, in his easy chair, defended by "the Majority." The *dramatis personæ* are assembled on the esplanade in St. James's Park, and Walpole's arm-chair is placed right in front of the Treasury, at that time a building of only eight years' standing. The fema[illegible] representing "Majority" and "Minority" in this engraving, remi[illegible] Laird of M'Nab's order to a sculptor to make him figures of Tim[illegible]y, to be set up on either side of his gate. "But how am I to repres[illegible] Sir?" "Make him twice as big as Time." Another of the series allu[illegible]ntitled 'The Nation.' John, the hero of North Britain (Duke of Arg[illegible]d on the box of a coach and six, urging the horses to mad speed with a h[illegible]more, driving over all in his way right to the Treasury gate. The Earl of [illegible]sterfield is postilion. In the headlong haste of the driver the coach is upset, and poor Carteret is bawling from the inside, "Let me get out;" while William Pitt I., trundling pamphlets in a wheelbarrow,

exclaims, "Zounds, they are over;" and Sandes roars out, "I thought what would come of putting him on the box."

Hogarth about the same time introduced the Treasury candidate as "Punch, candidate for Guzzledown," scattering guineas, which he scoops with a ladle out of a full wheelbarrow among the mob.

Gilray has immortalised an apparently less, but in reality more, dangerous attack upon the Treasury than that recorded by the anonymous caricaturist of Walpole and the Duke of Argyle. Dundas and Pitt have just got themselves snugly ensconced in the Treasury, and closed the grated door. The forces who have carried the place for them by storm are approaching for their pay. There is the courtier-like editor of the 'World,' there are bludgeon-men, newsmen with their tin trumpets, errand-boys, and grim grenadiers and highland soldiers in their kilts, all thronging forward with bills to be discharged. The place, it is clear, has not yet been made tenable, though it is necessary that a belief in its being impregnable should prevail; for the new premier, with finger on his lips, is whispering through a crevice to the gentlemen that it is desired they will have the goodness to come to "the back door."

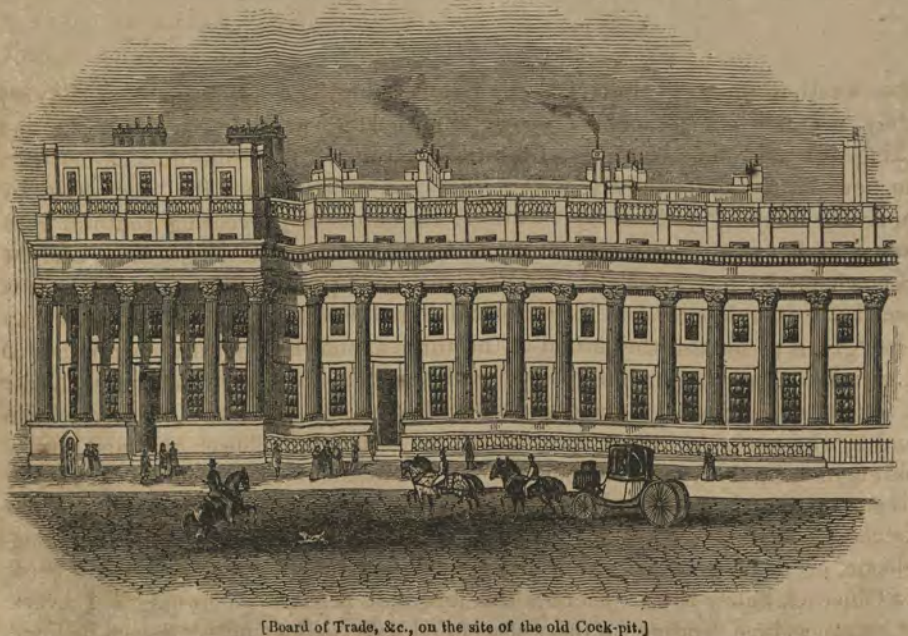
It would occupy too much space to recount all the devices by which metaphor and allegory have attempted to represent the Treasury and its influence. Now it is a well from which fatigue-parties of soldiers with suction-hose are pumping up guineas—now it is a deposit bank from which a premier abstracts money to enable a queen to make up a private purse (sack, rather) in order that she may tolerate him in office. There is something so substantial about the Treasury that squeezing it in to otherwise empty words and pointless pictures they at once acquire a meaning. It is a very god-send to the unhappy political limners and scribblers who are scarce of ideas. It is, like Falstaff, the cause of wit in the witless. Everybody may be conceived to have a feeling of some kind towards the Treasury: he may be a statesman who wishes to have it well replenished; he may be a tax-payer who thinks too much of his substance is drained into that reservoir; or he may be a pensioner, or would-be pensioner, anxious to have it tapped. The mere name of "Treasury" is sure to excite in some way or other; and the wits and witlings know this so well that they have rung the changes on it till it has become as monotonous and commonplace as any triple-bob major. From the wit of Charles II.'s time, who advertised a Treasury to let, to Tom Brown the younger's hue and cry after the sinking-fund which had been lost, or stolen, or had "fallen through a chink in the Treasury floor," every rhymester and copper-plate scratcher among them has had "a gird at it." 'Tis time the venerable institution or building were left to repose, for whatever of wit there may originally have been in the allusion, and there never was very much, has been rubbed off like the thin coat of plating from a bad shilling.

Sarcasm has a short life, love is undying. The affection of the devotees of the Treasury—of a Treasury—of any Treasury, will long outlive all jokes at it. "Le vrai Amphytrion est l'Amphytrion où l'on dine." No, it is the Amphitryon who pays for the dinner. The military chest is the cement of an army, the Treasury is the cement of a government. Towards it, the eyes of all connected, however remotely, with the holders of power, are devoutly and incessantly turned. The maimed soldier or sailor; the widow and orphans of the warrior or civilian

expended out in his country's cause; the highest officers of state; the metropolitan policeman; and many whose claims upon the dividends of this great bank are much more equivocal, all think of it, and dream of it with affection. *Esto perpetua* is their prayer; they could kiss the very lime that roughcasts the building. It is a serious subject for them: the Society for the Suppression of Vice, they think, ought to have restricted its efforts to putting down all newspaper squibs and caricatures against the Treasury. That is too sacred a subject for a joke. They speak of the Queen and constitution, but they think of the Treasury—

"Their dream of life
From morn till night
Is still of Quarter-day."

Dr. Johnson never passed a church without taking off his hat, and Cavaliero Roger Wildrake, though he rarely crossed the threshold of one, duly observed the same ceremony. There are people who take off the hats of their hearts whenever they pass the Treasury, and, as in the other case, this act of homage is not confined to those who have the *entrée*. Perhaps those who have little chance of being admitted within the sanctuary are most fervent in their devotion, as poor Dick Whittington, before he left his native village and discovered that mud not gold covered the streets of London, entertained a more intense veneration for it than the veriest Cockney born within sound of Bow bells. The very monomaniacs (who threaten, if they go on to increase as they have done of late, to outnumber some of the less numerous sects of longer standing—as, for example, their moral antipodes, the Quakers) feel in their disjointed intellects the amiable awfulness of the Treasury. How else can we account for McNaughten's taking up his position on its steps?



[Board of Trade, &c., on the site of the old Cock-pit.]

[The Horticultural Gardens during an Exhibition.]

CXX.—THE HORTICULTURAL AND ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETIES.

The weather often exhibits strange freaks, giving us, for instance, as till very lately, winter when summer was to be expected according to the almanacks, and taking unhandsome advantage of the good-nature of those who duly chronicle in the newspapers the quantity of rain that has fallen within the past week, by depriving them of their usual vacation; its habits of preventing youthful holidays, and lowering the temperature of fervid political meetings, must also be acknowledged; but, after all, like other maligned powers, it is not so bad as it is described; it evidently has its sympathies and forethoughts;—see what a day it has given us for this the second of the three annual horticultural exhibitions at Chiswick—a day consummately clear and beautiful and temperate, and with just so much brilliancy as to make quivering leaves sparkle, transform every little pond by the roadside into a sheet of silver, bring forth flower-girls and flower-baskets as a kind of natural spontaneous production,—make omnibus and stage drivers not merely amiable but poetical. Who is it says the fashionable and the aristocratic cannot condescend to be punctual, or to be seen doing anything in haste, or to be ever caught interested? he or they had certainly never been at a Chiswick flower-show. Here is this long seat, beneath the awning that covers the entrance lane leading to the gates, filled with ladies and gentlemen half an

hour before the time of opening the latter, whilst thicker and faster every moment arrive the carriages, till at last there is scarcely standing-room out of the broad sunshine; then, as soon as the gates open, how rapidly the whole disperse through the beautiful grounds, in so many separate streams, each having one of the numerous marquees scattered about for its centre of attraction; and lastly, in following the principal of these streams toward the tent which parties most familiar with such exhibitions make the primary object of attention,—the one in which new seedling plants and flowers are exhibited,—it is pleasant to see the utter hopelessness of our getting any near view within a reasonable time of the delicate and varied things of beauty that make the central stage one continuous glow, fading not even by contrast with the sparkling eyes and rosy lips that are so busy examining and discoursing upon their respective merits. Many a note-book may be seen in use, to preserve the name of that new and magnificent variety of pelargonium, or that pretty pink, or this beautifully formed hearts-ease. A close examination of the faces around will satisfy us, however, that the mere curiosity of the lovers of flowers to learn what new acquisitions they are to expect to their parterres and green-houses is not the only feeling that makes this tent so attractive; something like parental pride may be traced in the countenance of that rosy-featured and white-haired old gentleman, who is expatiating on the novelty of a calceolaria he has sent to the exhibition; whilst in the more serious and business-like persons collected in a little knot here by our side in earnest debate, it is not difficult to perceive so many professional florists, one perhaps chewing the cud of his disappointment at finding the plant he had nursed with such care, and on which he had expended so much valuable time, has been passed unnoticed instead of receiving the solid approbation of a prize; whilst another may be weighing the pecuniary advantage—by no means insignificant—we have heard of new plants making fortunes for their possessors within the last few years—that will result from the confirmed success of *his* favourite. Passing on to a second tent, this elegant-looking circular one before us, we are met half way by a combination of the most delicious perfumes, giving us full information as to the nature of the display within, namely, fruit. And here we would complain of a want of consideration on the part of the directors that should be amended. Look at those fruits rising stage upon stage, each in an almost interminable circle; at their variety, peaches, nectarines, grapes, melons, strawberries, currants; at their ripe colour, their melting juicy appearance, their size, and then their smell, and say if it is reasonable that we should be obliged to go round and round to admire and enjoy their perfection under the vigilant eyes of a policeman, who we have no doubt whatever would prevent us from even taking a solitary grape from a bunch, and yet that no provision should be made for frail and erring nature, not even a solitary pine-apple of the many that crown this tempting pyramid—sliced up for the accommodation of unhappy epicures. A third marquee,—but it were useless to attempt to describe in all its details a sight so utterly indescribable as the exhibitions in question: where we wander from one scene of floral splendour to another, looking down long ranges or artificial banks of calceolarias, pelargoriums, fuchsias, roses; in which flowers—of every individual hue, finely contrasted with each other, and forming, on the whole, magnificent masses of harmonious colour—alone are visible, preventing almost

the sight of a leaf by their luxuriance; where one instant, our eyes are both attracted and repelled by the intensely vivid colours of the Cacti, and the next soothed and charmed by the delicate and soft tints of the Corollas of the Exotic Heaths; and where, above all, we are almost as much delighted with the beauty and perfume of the orchidaceous plants, as we are surprised at their extraordinary character and modes of growth; here you shall find a plant hung up in a basket, from which the long flower descends through the bottom, there, another growing upon a stump of an old tree, to which its roots are fastened by wires, and yet a third sending up its tall stems and elegant bloom from a square frame-work of short logs. In fine, such is the beauty as well as profusion of the innumerable specimens of all our finest flowering plants brought hither from the most distant parts of the kingdom, that at the first glance one can hardly avoid a suspicion of irony in the statement that such exhibitions are intended to diffuse a taste for gardening; if we were to hear of innumerable ladies and gentlemen, when they got home, rooting up annual, biennial, and perennial, in a kind of vexatious consciousness of the ridiculous figure their flowers cut in the imaginary rivalry they have been instituting in their thoughts during the exhibition, it would seem a much more natural result. Flower growers are, however, not so sensitive, and much more wise. So they keep their flowers and improve them as much as they can, remembering that there is hardly greater difference between their plants and those of the exhibition, than would be perceptible between the latter and the plants of similar exhibitions a few years ago.

Leaving the tents and wandering about the grounds, we presently ascend the only elevation the gardens furnish—the raised base or terrace on which stands the Conservatory, like some gigantic glass bubble which a strong wind might apparently burst, or sweep away altogether, so light does it seem. From thence we gaze upon a scene unique, perhaps, in England. Whilst the air is ringing with music, bursting forth now in front, now behind, and now again far away on one side, band answering band, not less than twelve thousand persons are pouring in and out of the marquees, or moving in slow and dense but steadily progressive array through the Conservatory, or filling the long covered shed where the confectioners' numerous assistants are supplying refreshments without an instant's cessation, or promenading over the lawns, or sitting on the scattered benches in a hundred picturesque little groups which by their repose relieve the continuous sense of motion which the whole so forcibly impresses; and from what classes is this immense and most brilliant-looking crowd composed? —Evidently, the very highest. The indefinable but clearly marked air of elegance and dignity without the smallest appearance of assumption of either of those qualities visible generally, in demeanour, language, and dress, would be sufficient to tell any intelligent observer the character of the assemblage, if he had no knowledge whatever of the purpose for which it was assembled—no means of drawing any inference as to the quality of its members. If, when informed upon these points, he enquired further, he might find this day, in the gardens, an amount of social, and political, and intellectual rank, that would surprise him to find collected anywhere, under any conceivable circumstances; but least of all, perhaps, at a flower-show, unless he were aware how universally tastes of this kind had been diffused among the higher classes of society, of late years. This is one

[Interior of the Conservatory, Horticultural Gardens.]

feature of the exhibition. We must mention another. The beauty of our countrywomen is proverbial all the world over, yet it may be safely asserted that we Englishmen ourselves hardly know what it is in its perfection till we see it here. The poets have delighted to ransack the floral world for the tints, the delicacy, the grace, the sweetness that may best illustrate the personal characteristics of their favourites, whether of reality or fiction, and many a smile, at their expense, have matter-of-fact readers enjoyed in consequence; we suspect, however, that could even the least imaginative of such persons see the loveliness meeting us at every turn in these gardens, pressing us onwards in the tents as we delay an extra second or two of time to contemplate, apparently, this profusely blooming kalmia, or retarding us—not unwilling to be so retarded—whilst it is itself in reality so engaged with a tea-scented rose tree, they will confess that even such flowers as are here would have the worst of it in a competition for beauty.

As the day advances, a written paper affixed against one of the tents draws many of the more enthusiastic amateurs to see what prizes have been gained, and by whom. The number and value of the Society's gifts on these occasions is remarkable evidence both of its liberality and wealth. They comprise to-day no less than five "gold Knightian medals," each of the value of 10*l.*; nine "gold Banksian" of the value of 7*l.*; eighteen "silver gilt" of the value of 4*l.*; and

seventy-nine others of silver, varying in value from 1*l.* 15*s.* to 1*l.* each; besides fourteen certificates of merit, valued at 10*s.* each. In some class or other any person may compete at these exhibitions, and the classes are, on the whole, admirably adapted to give all exhibitors a fair chance of success: thus, for instance, in some cases private growers are distinguished from nurserymen; in others, the possessors of large collections from those who have but small ones, the object in both cases, of course, being to stimulate the production of excellence in every quarter, in accordance we might almost say with every one's means. It is impossible, indeed, to over-estimate the value of the services rendered to horticulture, and every thing directly connected with it, by this Society, since its establishment in 1820. The objects its founders had in view were two-fold; to prepare and maintain a place suitable for all kinds of experiments in horticultural science, and for the purpose of collecting together the most valuable and ornamental plants that can be found on the surface of the globe, preparatory to their subsequent distribution throughout England. The beautiful gardens, comprising no less than thirty-three acres, were in consequence formed. In these we now find an arboretum, containing the richest collection of ornamental trees and shrubs that probably exists in Europe, and which render the gardens during the finer months of the year, one of the most delightful places of resort for a few hours' enjoyment. Secondly, there is an orchard, which is acknowledged to be the most perfect ever formed; also forcing-houses for grapes, hot-houses for rare exotic plants, and an extensive kitchen-garden for the trial of new vegetables, or of new modes of cultivating the old ones, and for the instruction of young gardeners; who, we may observe by the way, are not admitted into the gardens till they have passed through an examination, attesting something like knowledge of the theory as well as of the practice of their calling, and to whom the gardens are in effect a normal school. We may form some notion of the extent and value of the orchard, from the lately published catalogue of the different varieties of trees in it, which forms an octavo volume: a curious contrast to the original poverty of our country, when, according to Mr. Loudon, the whole collection of native plants might be comprised in a list of two or three lines, as thus: "small purple plums, sloes, wild currants, brambles, raspberries, wood strawberries, cranberries, blackberries, red berries, heather berries, elder berries, sour berries, haws, holly berries, hips, hazel nuts, acorns, and beech nuts," a collection evidently no more to be admired for its individual excellence or variety than for its extent; yet such, it appears, were all that were generally known even as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century; for, though the Romans introduced most of the fruits and vegetables now cultivated among us, with many plants that are not so cultivated; "curious proofs of which," observes the same writer, "are occasionally found in the springing up of Italian plants in the neighbourhood of Roman villas, where ground which had long remained in a state of rest, had been turned over in search of antiquities;" yet, after the departure of that people, the plants in question seem to have speedily disappeared from general cultivation, and were perhaps only preserved to us by the exertions of the inhabitants of our early religious houses. But to return:—for the carrying out of the objects indicated a fund is of course the first essential; this is obtained by the payment on the part of each Fellow of the Society of an admission fee of six guineas, and of four pounds yearly; in return

for which he receives, free of any further charge, the published Proceedings and Transactions of the Society; a portion of the rare seeds and plants distributed; admission to all meetings, and to the library; with, lastly, the privilege of sending non-members to the meetings in Regent Street (which are so many minor and more frequent exhibitions, where also plants are shown and prizes conferred), and of obtaining twenty-four tickets of admission, to be used at either of the three principal exhibitions, on the payment of 3*s*. 6*d*. each; beyond that number 5*s*. each must be paid. How the funds thus obtained are expended we have partly seen, but a brief notice of the chief items of the past year's expenditure, apart from the ordinary expenses of the gardens, will show the matter still more usefully. Besides the publication of the Catalogue, the Society laid out 721*l*. in importing foreign plants and seeds; 340*l*. upon the improvement of the hot-houses at the gardens, and 833*l*. in medals and other rewards to gardeners. The first of these items involves some interesting matter connected with the Society's operations, which may be illustrated by an extract from the 'Gardener's Chronicle,' where we learn that Mr. Hartweg (a gentleman specially engaged by the Horticultural Society, as their collector) was in March last at Bogota, the metropolis of the republic of New Granada, on the point of starting for the town of Guaduas, a place 5000 feet above the sea, in a thickly-wooded country, and thence he was to proceed to Carthagena, on his return to England. His collections from Popayan and elsewhere filled fourteen chests, in which were twenty-five species of orchidaceæ, several fine plants of Thiebaudia floribunda, four boxes of roots and cuttings in earth, 121 kinds of seed, and about 4000 dried specimens. At the present time an additional evidence of the vigour of the Society's operations is afforded by the recent departure from the gardens of Mr. Fortune to China, on a special mission to collect whatever wealth of flowers, or fruits, or trees, may be opened to us, by the political changes in a country where we have before obtained so many important horticultural productions. The value of all this it is impossible to estimate with any accuracy in detail; it is only by looking at the state of gardening before the establishment of the Society and now that we can rightly estimate its labours.

In the middle ages a garden seems to have been either an orchard, or a place laid out into walks by high and thickly-grown hedges, or a grove, to any or all of which an arbour seems to have been very commonly established as the favourite spot. James I. of Scotland, in describing his first sight of Jane Beaufort, afterwards his queen, whilst a prisoner in the Castle of Windsor, describes such a garden in the following passage:—

"Now was there maide fast by the touris wall
A garden faire, and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about, and so with treeis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,
That lyfe* was none, walkyng there forbye
That myght within scarce any wight espye.

"So thick the bewis† and the leves grene
Beschudit‡ all the alleyes that there were,

* Living person. † Boughs. ‡ Beshadowed

And myddis every herbere might be sene
The scharp grene swete jenepere,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That as it semyt to a lyfe without,
The bewis spred the herbere all about."

Chaucer, in his poem of 'the Flower and the Leaf,' had previously described a very similar arbour, in which, it is worthy of notice, he exhibits a perfect appreciation of the qualities that to this day make our English lawns the admiration of strangers; the grass of the arbour, he says, was—

"So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hue."

It was, in all probability, gardens of the nature here indicated that Fitz-Stephen refers to, in his description of London during the reign of Henry II., where he says, "near to the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens and orchards planted with trees, large, beautiful, and one joining to another;" it is, at least, tolerably evident that as James mentions nothing about the chief feature of our gardens—flowers—when describing some attached to the chief palace during the reign of Henry V., there could have been very little to mention; and that little must have been less with the citizens of London between two and three centuries before. Of gardening, in the sixteenth century, we get a pretty good idea from various sources; thus, it appears the opulent Earl of Northumberland, in 1512, had in his household of one hundred and sixty persons, just one gardener, who attended "hourly in the garden for setting of herbs, and clipping of knotts, and sweeping the said garden clean;" and, of course, if these duties comprised the whole end and aim of gardening at the period, why, no doubt, one man was enough. The knotted garden was evidently the favourite style of laying out grounds with our ancestors. Bacon speaks of "the knotts or figures" being formed of "divers coloured earthe," and ridicules them as toys for children.

[A Knotted Garden.]

As to vegetable productions for the table at this time, Hume tell us that when the queen wanted a salad, she was obliged to despatch a special messenger to Holland or Flanders, since neither that, nor carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were introduced till near the close of Henry VIII.'s reign; whilst Hentzner's notices of Nonesuch, and Whitehall, show us very clearly the state of the more ornamental departments. The grounds of the palace built by Henry, and which having no equal—

> "in art or fame
> Britons deservedly do Nonesuch name,"

is described as "accompanied with parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis-work, cabinets of verdure, and walks so embowered by trees, that it seems to be a place pitched upon by Pleasure herself to dwell in along with Health. In the pleasure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that spout water one round the other like a pyramid, upon which are perched small birds that stream water out of their bills. In the grove of Diana is a very agreeable fountain, with Actæon turned into a stag as he was sprinkled by the goddess and the nymphs, with inscriptions. There is, besides, another pyramid of marble full of concealed pipes, which spirt upon all who come within their reach"—a feature that our forefathers seem to have been very fond of, for Whitehall possessed a similar piece of practical joking. Even here we find no mention of ornamental shrubs or flowers, though, in a survey taken of the palace in 1650, it appears there were then six plants of the now common inhabitant of our smallest gardens,—Cowper's—

> "Lilac, various in array,—now white,
> Now sanguine, and her beauteous head now set
> With purple spikes pyramidal, as if
> Studious of ornament, yet unresolved
> Which hue she most approved, she chose them all,"

but which were evidently rare enough at the period of the survey from the particularity of their description—"trees which bear no fruit, but only a very pleasant smell." Other features of the gardens of the time were the smooth bowling-greens, and the mazes which "well formed a man's height, may, perhaps," as the writer of the 'New Orchard,' 1597, tells us, "make your friend wander in gathering berries till he cannot recover himself without your help." The theory of gardening was at the time, and long after, in an equally brilliant state. One amusing illustration may be borrowed from Evelyn's translation of a French work, 'Quintinye's Complete Gardener;' where a superstition, as prevalent in England as in the neighbouring country, was thus noticed.—"I solemnly declare," he says, "that, after a diligent observation of the moon's changes for thirty years together, and an inquiry whether they had any influence on gardening, the affirmative of which has been so long established among us, I perceived that it was no weightier than old wives' tales, and that it had been advanced by unexperienced gardeners. I have therefore followed what appeared most reasonable, and rejected what was otherwise: in short, graft in what time of the moon you please, if your graft be good, and grafted in a proper stock, provided you do it like an artist, you will be sure to succeed. In the same manner, sow what sorts

[Bowling Green.]

of grain you please, and plant as you please, in any quarter of the moon, I 'll answer for your success, the first and last day of the moon being equally favourable." The history of the public gardens in and near London, since the sixteenth century, illustrates, with tolerable completeness, the history of the changes of taste in gardening, and the general tenor of its progress. During the reign of Charles II., Greenwich and St. James's Park were laid out under the direction of the eminent French landscape designer, Le Nôtre, who had been invited to this country by Charles, with the express view of introducing the splendid French style, and many of his subjects were not slow to profit, each according to his means, by the example. Evelyn tells us of "one Loader, an anchor-smith in Greenwich, who grew so rich as to build a house in the street, with gardens, orangeries, canals, and other magnificence." Kensington Gardens were commenced by William III., who stamped upon them the impress of his own, and we believe, it may be added, the national tastes of the time; when in our gardens all sorts of "vegetable sculpture,"—the

> "wonders of the sportive shears
> Fair Nature mis-adorning, there were found;
> Globes, spiral columns, pyramids, and piers
> With spouting urns and budding statues crown'd,
> And horizontal dials on the ground,
> In living box, by cunning artists traced;
> And galleys trim, on no long voyage bound,
> But by their roots there ever anchor'd fast."*

* G. West.

From notes made on the gardens round the metropolis, by J. Gibson, in 1691, it appears the sovereign's example was still followed with dutiful exactness; the characteristics of them all were terrace walks, hedges of evergreens, shorn shrubs in boxes, and orange and myrtle trees. Kensington Gardens as yet comprised but twenty-six acres, to which Queen Anne added thirty more, and caused them to be laid out by Wise, who turned the gravel-pits into a shrubbery, with winding walks, and was compared by Addison to an epic poet for so doing. It was about this time that there arose in different quarters a more natural taste in gardening, and which, as the commencement of our present system, has excited considerable interest and a great deal of not very conclusive discussion. One of the sources to which this taste is attributed by foreigners is odd enough—the Chinese; but our own poets seem much better entitled to whatever amount of credit may be justly assignable to any particular quarter. From Bacon downwards, we find them exercising a steady and growing influence to this end. That greatest of prose-poets expressly inculcated the adding to our gardens rude or neglected spots as specimens of wild nature, and he placed gardening on a higher elevation than was dreamed of by any one else in his time in the passage, "When ages do grow to civility and elegance, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection." Waller, at his residence at Beaconsfield, is said to have presented more than usual evidences of natural taste. Addison is the author of the paper 'On the Causes of the Pleasures of the Imagination, arising from the works of Nature, and their Superiority over those of Art,' which appeared in 1712, and Pope, of that in which the verdant sculpture school is unmercifully attacked in the 'Guardian,' and who, in his epistle to Lord Burlington, laid down the opposite principles that were to be cultivated,—the study of nature, the genius of the place, and never to lose sight of good sense; then Thomson, by his 'Seasons,' did admirable service to the cause; and lastly, Mason published his poem on the English Garden.

The first artist who appreciated and accepted the new faith was Bridgman, who banished verdant sculpture from the royal gardens, introduced 'ha-has' instead of walls for boundaries, and portions of landscape scenery, in accordance with Bacon's ideas, but the clipped alleys were still left to be clipped. Kensington Gardens, under his superintendence, were now further enlarged, by the addition of no less than three hundred acres taken out of Hyde Park, and the Serpentine was formed from a series of detached ponds. This was considered a very bold experiment. An amusing evidence of the state of the general ideas on the subject of garden or landscape scenery is given by Mr. Loudon.—"Lord Bathurst informed Daines Barrington that he was the first who deviated from the straight line in made pieces of water, by following the natural lines of a valley, in widening the brook at Ryskins, near Colnbrook, and that Lord Strafford, thinking that it was done from poverty or economy, asked him to own fairly how little more it would have cost him to have made it straight." But there is an older claimant to the honour of the serpentine form—Sir Christopher Wren's father, who proposed to "reduce the current of a mile's length into the compass of an orchard," and to employ the enclosed space to purposes of "gardenings, plantings, or banquettings, or aery delights, and the multiplying of infinite fish in a little compass of ground, without any sense of their being restrained." Bridgman was succeeded

by Kent, who, whilst his sculpture and his paintings have sunk into merited oblivion, seems to be recognized as the first true English landscape artist, a circumstance attributed, in a great measure, and no doubt correctly, to his studies as a painter. Walpole's opinion of him is high indeed: Kent was, he says, "painter enough to taste the charms of landscape: bold and opiniative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays, he realised the compositions of the greatest masters in paintings." Claremont and Esher were both laid out by Kent. We need not further follow the progress of that natural taste in gardening which is now happily established, through its various alternations of advance and retreat, but turn our attention to those gardens in which flowers and ornamental and useful plants have been made a primary object, and thus prepared the way for the societies named at the head of our article.

The oldest Botanic gardens in England are those of Oxford and Chelsea, the last belonging to the Apothecaries' Company as early as 1674, and remaining in its possession to this day; being maintained by the Company for the use of the medical schools of London. Evelyn, who visited it in 1685, mentions as rarities he saw there a tulip-tree and a tea-shrub. Here one of the earliest attempts to supply plants that required it with artificial heat appears to have been made, the green-house having been heated in 1684, according to Ray, by means of embers placed in a hole in the floor. To the immense advances that have been subsequently accomplished in this department of horticulture, much of the present prosperity of gardening in England may be attributed. Among the more striking results of artificial warmth, may be noticed the present as compared with the former supply of our metropolitan markets with exotic fruits; which, as Mr. Loudon observes, enables a citizen of London to purchase throughout the year, at a slight expense, the same luxuries as the king, or as the most wealthy proprietors can obtain from their extensive gardens; and which for quality are unrivalled perhaps in any other part of the world. We must add to our brief notice of the Chelsea gardens that it was here that the "Prince of Gardeners," as Linnæus called him, Philip Miller, the author of the admirable 'Gardeners' Dictionary,' spent nearly fifty years, having taken the management in 1722, and only resigned it a little before his death in 1771. During that period the gardens obtained an almost unrivalled European reputation. The first Arboretum was that of Kew, established in 1760, through the influence of the Dowager Princess of Wales, and which, from the monopoly it has enjoyed of royal and governmental support from the time of its establishment down to a comparatively recent period, is in particular departments, such as that of the New Holland plants, without a rival. It has from the same cause been the medium through which an enormous number of foreign plants have been introduced into this country, we can scarcely say into our gardens; for so illiberal was the entire system of management, that it was not until of late years its directors seem to have had the idea cross their minds that, in return for the national funds, the gardens might contribute in some way to the national enjoyment. Except in such particular departments as that we have mentioned, the arboretum of Kew is now greatly inferior not only to the collection in the gardens of the Horticultural Society, but even to that of a private esta-

blishment, Messrs. Loddiges', at Hackney. Besides its arboretum, Kew contains a large number of rare plants in numerous hot-houses and green-houses, and has also an excellent kitchen-garden, and a British garden, containing a rich collection of native flowers. It is now readily accessible to the public, and forms, as may be supposed, a very interesting place to visitors.

During the war, men had weightier matters to engross all their thoughts, time, and money, than the improvement of their gardens or the development of horticultural tastes through the community; it is, consequently, from the period of peace—1815, that we may date the commencement of the present extraordinary prosperity of English gardening; and of which the Horticultural Society, founded, as we have said, in 1820, must be looked upon as the chief moving impulse. It was by its means that the new leisure was used for the advancement of an innocent and graceful recreation, and which may easily become more than this—a valuable and elevating study; it was by its means that the new opportunities of inter-communication between our own and other countries were taken advantage of for the interchange of those natural productions, which seem purposely scattered over the globe that they may form so many links that shall ultimately bind the whole human race in friendship together; it was by its means that all the appliances and discoveries of science were brought to bear in the readiest and most effective manner upon the commonest but most valuable fruits and vegetables of our tables; lastly, it was by its means that the beautiful and previously unknown plants scattered about in different parts of the globe were obtained, not simply for the completion of a botanical collection, or for the improvement of a nobleman's or gentleman's garden, but also indirectly for the common enjoyment even of the poorest cottager. If we go into Covent Garden, and find packets of seed of such beautiful little annuals, for instance, as the blue and white or white and spotted Nemophilias, or the pretty tri-coloured Gilia, and we know not how many others, offered for a penny each, to whom but the Fellows of the Horticultural Society are our thanks due? Or if, in the same place, we find, on inquiry, how completely the old varieties of fruits and vegetables have disappeared, and their places been occupied by new ones of infinitely superior quality, to whom but them, again, have we any reason to be grateful? Or lastly, if we perceive how extensively the example of this Society has been followed in the formation of the innumerable associations that now not only comprise one or more for almost every large town, but we might almost say one for every "florist's flower" (the Heart's Ease Society, for instance), we have satisfactory evidence that the objects and the exertions of the noblemen and gentlemen referred to have been fully appreciated.

That the second of the two societies mentioned in our title may render as great services to botany as the first has done to horticulture must be the highest ambition of its founders. 'The Royal Botanic Society of London' was incorporated between three and four years ago, for the "promotion of Botany in all its branches, and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures, and also for the formation of extensive Botanical and Ornamental Gardens within the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis." The Society consists of Fellows who pay an admission fee of five guineas, and an annual contribution of two. Exhibitions of

flowers are sanctioned by the Society, and the prizes given are not much less in amount than those at Chiswick. The grounds in the Regent's Park, which are bounded by what is known as the Inner Circle, consist of eighteen acres, which were previously in the possession of a nurseryman, and then formed an almost level surface, the only noticeable deviation being the slight slope of the ground westward. In stepping into the grounds, now, the change is truly surprising, and we do not know where our readers could more readily obtain a practical example of what may be done in picturesque landscape gardening, on the most unpromising sites. As we enter, on one of the evenings devoted to the promenade, as it is called, a pretty rustic screen of ivy intercepts, for a moment, the view of the interior, which passed, we find ourselves on a very broad gravel walk, adorned at each end with large vases on pedestals. As we pace along this walk we have, on the right, a picturesque-looking mound rising to some considerable elevation from the midst of the irregular grounds about its base, and on the left lawns and shrubberies, behind which the winding walks disappear into the lower grounds beyond, where occasional glimpses may be obtained of a brilliant parterre of flowers. "The mount, at least, is not artificial," we have heard visitors say; but it so happens that not only that, but another of the chief features of the gardens—the fine piece of water close by the mount, show, somewhat amusingly, how these things may be managed. The soil dug out of the bed of the water would have been an expensive article to remove, so it was thrown up close by, and lo!—the materials of the mount; then there was a difficulty as to filling the vacant hollow, and it was in serious contemplation to obtain a supply from some of the Water Companies, when a few heavy falls of rain settled that matter, and lo! the Lake. At the end of the walk we ascend a flight of steps, to what is called the Terrace, where, perhaps, one of the most interesting buildings yet contrived for the protection of plants requiring, in this country, an artificial climate, is about to be erected. This is an immense winter garden, entirely covered with glass, where some three or four thousand persons may be able at once to move about the varied surface, ascending or descending the different walks, above all, enjoying the novel effect produced by passing from the hardy plants and temperate atmosphere of their own country in the gardens without, gradually through a warmer and warmer air, each portion having its own suitable vegetation, till, at last, they reach the tropical regions of the extremity, and find themselves in the country of palms, and other such magnificent inhabitants of the East. If this can be accomplished, as is anticipated, without any intervening screens for the preservation of a particular degree of heat to a particular part, the effect will be certainly magical. The proposed dimensions of the structure are 300 feet long by 200 broad, and only from 20 feet to 30 feet high. In this comparative lowness of roof one mode is presumed to have been found of placing the temperature under sufficient management; the other, and chief one, is, of course, the skilful regulation of the heat introduced at the hottest part, which, it is expected, will diffuse itself gradually through the whole building, regularly decreasing in intensity till, at the entrance, all traces of it are lost. In front the building is to have an ornamental dome, some forty feet high. Turning now to the right, and passing on one side the chief body of the promenaders congregated about the stage, on which the band of one of Her Majesty's house-

hold regiments are playing, their cocked hats and scarlet coats forming a brilliant picture from different parts of the gardens,—and on the other, the elegantly fitted-up refreshment-room, the walk leads us beneath the shade of a magnificent tree, brushing the ground on all sides with its drooping branches; and thence onward to certain portions of the grounds laid out in gracefully-shaped patterns which, though yet but very incompletely furnished, are, rightly considered, the most important if not the most interesting departments of the place. That large piece of ground, forming a spiral, is for the reception of plants used, or useful, in medicine; and the student who begins at one end of the spiral will find the different orders are all arranged systematically, according to the improved natural system of De Candolle. Another piece of ground here is devoted to the collection of the chief agricultural plants. But the most generally attractive of the whole will be the garden of hardy plants from all parts of the world, lately formed, and which already contains 3000, and will receive at least 7000 more. These are also arranged according to De Candolle's system, and convey still more directly to the eye, owing to the general form of the parterre, than the other divisions mentioned, the affinities of plants with each other. In this part of the gardens a large and handsome building is also to be erected for the formation of a museum, and to contain the library, reading-room, lecture-room, &c. The facilities offered to students in Botany, at this place, will be apparent from what we have stated. The professor will not need to content himself with illustrating his lecture with a few half-withered specimens collected just as circumstances permitted, but may walk out, like an old philosopher of Greece, into his garden or academy, and teach the most delightful of sciences in the pleasantest of schools.

Returning to the terrace, noticing by the way the taste with which a variety of objects are scattered about, as rustic vases at the intersections of walks, rustic bridges over the water, and the judgment displayed in the more important additions to the original monotonous surface, such as the sloping mounds thrown up in different parts, which now give such variety and expression to it, we pass to the lower grounds on the opposite side of the terrace, where the irregularities become still more agreeable and decided. Every few yards the scene changes. Now we descend into a rocky dell, spanned by an arch of rocks, and with a cave, in character with the whole, at one side; then a little rude bridge takes us across a stream winding sluggishly along between its reedy banks; then, a few yards further, and we are in a kind of amphitheatre, devoted to the growth of the beautiful American plants, or those requiring peat soil, the rhododendrons, kalmias, azaleas, andromedas, &c. &c. We may here remark that the shrubs generally, throughout the entire gardens, are also systematically arranged, and that they are legibly named first with the botanical appellation, and then the English. The mention of the rhododendron reminds us of the changes since Crabbe's time, when the use of the word formed a subject of the poet's good-humoured satire:

> "High-sounding words our worthy gardener gets,
> And at his club to wondering swains repeats;
> He then of Rhus and Rhododendron speaks,
> And Allium calls his onions and his leeks."

Many of our readers we fancy would now be puzzled for the moment to remem-

ber the *English* name of the plant in question. We have pretty well got over that not very rational feeling of objecting to call plants by an appropriate name, and one too that shall be known the world over; and if, when botanists are naming new flowers, they would be at once as appropriate and poetical as Linnæus, when he named another of the plants we have mentioned, we verily believe they might make us in love with as many hard words as they pleased. We refer to the Andromeda, which derives its designation from the daughter of the King of Ethiopia, who was tied naked on a rock, and exposed to the ravenous jaws of a sea-monster, in order to appease the anger of Neptune; but being relieved by Perseus, became his bride, and had many children. Such is the tradition Linnæus thus beautifully illustrates in the appearance of the flower: "Andrómeda polifolia was now (June 12) in its highest beauty, decorating the marshy grounds in a most agreeable manner. The flowers are quite blood red before they expand, but when full-grown, the corolla is of a flesh-colour. Scarcely any painter's art can so happily imitate the beauty of a fine female complexion, still less could any artificial colour upon the face itself bear a comparison with this lovely blossom. As I contemplated it, I could not help thinking of Andromeda as described by the poets, and the more I meditated upon their descriptions, the more applicable they seemed to the little plant before me; so that, if these writers had it in view, they could scarcely have contrived a more apposite fable. Andromeda is represented by them as a virgin of most exquisite and unrivalled charms, but these charms remain in perfection only as long as she retains her virgin purity, which is also applicable to the plant now preparing to celebrate its nuptials. This plant is always fixed on some little turfy hillock in the midst of the swamps, as Andromeda herself was chained to a rock in the sea; which bathed her feet, as the fresh water does the roots of this plant; dragons and venomous serpents surrounded her, as toads and other reptiles frequent the abode of her vegetable resembler, and, when they pair in the spring, throw mud and water over its leaves and branches. As the distressed virgin cast down her blushing face through excessive affliction, so does this rosy-coloured flower hang its head, growing paler and paler till it withers away. Hence, as this plant forms a new genus, I have chosen for it the name of Andromeda."* He subsequently pursued the analogy further: "At length," says he, "comes Perseus, in the shape of summer, dries up the surrounding water, and destroys the monsters, rendering the damsel a fruitful mother, who then carries her head (the capsule) erect." Many other interesting floral compartments adorn this part of the grounds, among them a rosary, in which however the plants are as yet too small to be effective. Here, too, is the Secretary's office, and residence, in a picturesque little building, with a richly-furnished lawn in front, and a fine shady grove, with a cast of Diana and the hart, at one side. The only other part of the gardens that we can here mention is the mount, with its winding walks of ascent, at the foot of which are numerous masses of interesting geological specimens. From the summit we obtain by far the finest view of the whole of the gardens, which from hence have really a charming effect; whilst beyond them, if we look in

* Sir J. Smith's Translation of Linnæus' Lachesis Lapponica.

one direction, we have the handsome terraces of the Park, backed by impenetrable masses of houses, and in another, the ever-beautiful "sister hills" of Hampstead and Highgate. In conclusion we may observe, that in the cut before given of the knotted garden which embodied the notions of our forefathers, and in the view of the grounds of the Society, shown below, we have a tolerably satisfactory evidence of the progress of that truer taste in gardening to which we have previously alluded.

[Gardens of the Royal Botanical Society, Regent's Park.]

[The Model Prison, on the Separate System, at Pentonville.]

CXXI.—PRISONS AND PENITENTIARIES.

About 36,000 criminals and other persons (exclusive of debtors) pass through the Metropolitan gaols, houses of correction, bridewells, and penitentiaries, every year. In the year 1839 the number of persons taken into custody by the metropolitan police was equal to the whole population of some of our largest towns, being 65,965. The disproportion of the sexes was not greater than in the colony of New South Wales, there being 22,467 females and 43,498 males. The numbers taken up for drunkenness were 13,952 males and 7317 females, or nearly one-third of the whole number: the amount taken from drunken persons and restored to them when sober was 9430*l.*, in 1837. The number of disorderly characters apprehended in 1839, was 4957 males and 3217 females; together 8174 persons; besides 3154 disorderly prostitutes, 4436 for common assaults, and 1448 for assaults on the police; and of vagrants the number was 3780. There were 6764 common larceny cases; and 3196 persons were apprehended as 'suspicious characters.' In the class of cases already enumerated are included 52,221 persons. Altogether, of the 65,965 persons taken into custody there were 33,882 at once discharged by the magistrates; 28,488 were summarily convicted or held to bail, and 3595 were committed for trial, of whom 2813 were convicted. Larcenies in a dwelling-house were most numerous in Whitechapel in 1837, and in St. George's in the Borough, in 1836. Larcenies from the person were most common in Covent Garden in the one year and in Shadwell in the other. Highway robberies, burglaries, house and shop-breaking occurred

most frequently in the suburbs—as in Whitechapel, Southwark, Lambeth, Mile End, and Poplar; but the number of this class of offences, in the whole of the metropolitan district in 1839, was under 200. The parish of St. James's furnished, in 1837, the largest proportionate number of cases for the police under the head of drunkenness, disorderly prostitutes, and vagrancy. Clerkenwell was distinguished for the largest number of cases of horse-stealing, assaults with attempt to rescue, and wilful damage. Common assaults were most frequent in Covent Garden in 1837, and in St. George's in the East in 1836; coining and uttering counterfeit coin in Clerkenwell and Covent Garden; embezzlement in Whitechapel and Clerkenwell; and pawning illegally in Mile End and Lambeth. Murder was most prevalent in Clerkenwell and Whitechapel; manslaughter in Islington and Clerkenwell; and arson in Marylebone and Westminster. One thing is at least clear, that Clerkenwell holds a bad pre-eminence for the number and nature of the offences committed within its limits; but district returns must be continued for a series of years before the character of any particular division of the metropolis can be fully brought out. Comparing Middlesex (including London) with England and Wales, we find that in assaults the county is very much above the average, a result which probably arises in a great degree from the presence of a numerous and efficient police force, which, by affording the means of immediate arrest in cases of this nature, augments the number of cases brought before the magistrates; and the same cause will account for the smaller proportion of murders, as interference frequently takes place before quarrels proceed to a fatal termination. The assaults on peace-officers are also few in number, from its being well known that the aid of additional policemen can be easily obtained. The valuable property in shops and warehouses is usually so well protected in London, both by the presence of a police force and internally by bolts and bars, that the average of burglaries is also fewer than in the country; and the same may be said of housebreaking, which crime, as already stated, chiefly occurs in the suburbs. Robbery, with violence, is also below the average; but in malicious offences against property, the disproportion in Middlesex is very striking, which is to be accounted for by the difficulty of finding means to gratify private vengeance in this way, while, in the country, stack-burning, and killing and maiming cattle are crimes of easy commission. But in crimes which call for dexterity and intelligence the preponderance in Middlesex is very great, as in the case of larceny from the person (pocket-picking) and forgery. Lastly, the disproportion of female criminals in the metropolis is very considerable. In 1842, out of 5569 female offenders, 989 were committed in Middlesex, or between one-fifth and one-sixth, instead of about one-ninth. In the Metropolitan police district the amount of loss by 11,589 robberies in 1838 was 28,619*l.*, and the number for which a police force could fairly be responsible was 2919, involving a loss of 10,914*l.*, including 446 cases of robbery by "means unknown." At the commencement of the present century Mr. Colquhoun, himself a police magistrate, estimated the amount of depredations on property committed in the metropolis and its vicinity at 2,000,000*l.*! Is it to be supposed that, with the present most efficient police force of about 3500 persons, less than 2 per cent. of the felonies should now become known? It is quite clear, indeed, that Mr. Colquhoun's statement was either very far wide of the mark, or that a most enormous saving has been effected by an improved system of police.

Still there is no manner of doubt, that, from the number of persons living habitually by depredations on property, the amount of loss must be very great. The Constabulary Commissioners, who had access to the best sources of information, made a return of the number of depredators and offenders against the law, or who had been subjected to the law, or brought within the cognizance of the police in the metropolitan police district, and the following was the result of their investigation. They divided the whole number into three classes:—1. Persons who have no visible means of subsistence, and who are believed to live by violation of the law, as by habitual depredation, by fraud, by prostitution, &c. 2. Persons following some ostensible and legal occupation, but who are known to have committed an offence, and are believed to augment their gains by habitual or occasional violation of the law. 3. Persons not known to have committed any offences, but known as associates of the above classes, and otherwise deemed to be suspicious characters. The following is the return:

Character and Description of Offenders.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
Burglars	77	22	8
Housebreakers	59	17	34
Highway robbers	19	8	11
Pickpockets	544	75	154
Common thieves	1667	1338	652
Forgers	—	3	—
Obtainers of goods by false pretences	33	108	—
Persons committing frauds of any other description	23	118	41
Receivers of stolen goods	51	158	134
Horse-stealers	7	4	—
Cattle-stealers	—	—	—
Dog-stealers	45	48	48
Coiners	25	1	2
Utterers of base coin	202	54	61
Habitual disturbers of the public peace	723	1866	179
Vagrants	1089	186	20
Begging-letter writers	12	17	21
Bearers of begging-letters	22	40	24
Prostitutes, well-dressed, living in brothels	813	62	20
Prostitutes, well-dressed, walking the streets	1460	79	73
Prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods	3533	147	184
Classes not before enumerated	40	2	438
Total	10444	4353	2104

This return, tested as it was by the average length of career of offenders passing through the prisons of the metropolis, is no doubt as near the truth as possible. Besides this return, the Constabulary Commissioners also obtained another, giving the number of houses open for the accommodation of delinquency and vice in the same district; and this return we subjoin:

Houses for the reception of stolen goods	227
Ditto suppressed since the establishment of the police	131
Houses for the resort of thieves	276
Ditto suppressed since the establishment of the police	159
Average number of thieves daily resorting to each	17
Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept	933
Average number of prostitutes kept in each	4
Number of houses of ill-fame where prostitutes resort	848
Number of houses where prostitutes lodge	1554
Number of gambling-houses	32
Average number of persons resorting to each daily	20
Mendicants' lodging-houses	221
Average daily number of lodgers at each house	11

Now, in 1796, Mr. Colquhoun gave, in his 'Police of the Metropolis,' an "Estimate of Persons who are supposed to support themselves in and near the metropolis by pursuits either criminal, illegal or immoral," and, dividing them into twenty-four classes, he made out the number to be 115,000, of whom 50,000 were prostitutes! The male population of London, within the Bills of Mortality, was then only from 150,000 to 120,000, after deducting children and aged persons. The official station of Mr. Colquhoun, at one time, gave great weight to his statements, and well were they calculated to keep up the country idea of London vice and roguery.

The proportion of known bad characters in the metropolis was 1 in 89, according to the table given above, which is a more favourable proportion than exists either at Liverpool, Bristol, Bath, Hull, or Newcastle. In London, this class fix themselves in particular districts. In the parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, the total number of notoriously bad characters, according to the Constabulary Commissioners' Report, was 692, or 1 in 65, or 1 to every 33 adults. "If," as it has been observed, "only three persons form the family or society of each of these characters, nearly 1 in every 20 of the population is thus rendered vicious, or is exposed to the contamination of a constant familiarity with profligacy and vice."* The Mint and the scarcely less notorious Kent Street are in this parish. The Mint was the scene of "the life, character, and behaviour" of Jack Sheppard; and within the same precincts, at the Duke's Head, still standing, in Redcross Street, his companion Jonathan Wild kept his horses. The Mint and its vicinity has been an asylum for debtors, coiners, and vagabonds of every kind ever since the middle of the sixteenth century. It is districts like these which will always furnish the population of the prisons, in spite of the best attempts to reform and improve offenders by a wise, beneficent, and enlightened system of discipline, until moral efforts of a similar nature be directed to the fountain-head of corruption. There are districts in London whose vicious population, if changed to-day for one of a higher and more moral class, would inevitably be deteriorated by the physical agencies by which they would be surrounded, and the following generation might rival the inhabitants of Kent Street or the Mint.

In London, it is not vice only which leads to distress, poverty, and absolute want, the general precursors of crime, but unavoidable misfortunes. The death of parents, the failure to obtain employment, may be the occasion of distress as well as vicious indulgence, indolence, or the loss of character. "It is lamentable," says the chaplain to the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, "to observe how large a majority of the prisoners here consists of destitute or otherwise unfortunate children, suffering either from the loss, the negligence, or the vice of their relatives. For example, out of 131 prisoners, 13 only appear to have been brought up in any way approaching to decent and orderly habits; and but 14 are possessed of such connexions as afford them a prospect of a livelihood in future, so far as their native country is concerned. Of that number also 51 are either friendless, or with prospects even more wretched through the crimes of their relations." The "period of criminality," in the case of these 131 juvenile criminals, appears to have been as follows:—Pilfered early from parents and friends, 51; robbed out of doors for several years, 30; for one or two years, 26; for under a year, 7; little, or none professed, 17. If we had space, we should here trace the

* 'Statistics of the Parish of St. George the Martyr,' by the Rev. George Weight.

usual progress of the London thief, until, after having probably been several times an inmate of the gaol or house of correction, he is sent out of the country.

In 1796 there were 18 prisons in London, some of them of very ancient date. Newgate (the City gate) was a gaol in the reign of King John. The prison-house pertaining to one of the Sheriffs of London, called the Compter, in the Poultry, hath been there kept and continued, says Stow, time out of mind, "for I have not read of the original thereof." About 1804 the old Poultry Compter became too much out of repair to be used as a prison, but the night charges were still taken there. The Marshalsea and King's Bench were both very ancient prisons. In 1381, the rebels of Kent, says Stow, "brake down the houses of the Marshalsea and King's Bench in Southwark, took from thence the prisoners, brake down the house of Sir John Immorth, the marshal of the Marshalsey and King's Bench, &c." It was to the latter prison that Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., was confined by Judge Gascoigne, for striking him when on the bench. During Lord George Gordon's riots the King's Bench was thrown open, about 700 prisoners released, and the prison set on fire. The Marshalsea was so called from having been originally placed under the control of the Knight Marshal of the royal household. Its jurisdiction extended twelve miles round Whitehall, the City of London excepted. The persons confined there before its discontinuance in 1842 were pirates and debtors; and it contained 60 rooms and a chapel. This prison originally stood near King Street. The King's Bench originally stood near the spot occupied by the Marshalsea, in the Borough High Street. In Stow's time there was a prison in Southwark called the White Lion, on St. Margaret's Hill (now called the High Street), near St. George's Church: it was originally the county gaol for Surrey, before the one in Horsemonger Lane was built at the suggestion of Howard. It was called the White Lion, "for that the same was a common hosterie for the receipt of travellers by that sign;" that is, it was probably built on the site of an inn so named. Stow says: "This house was first used as a gaol within these forty years last," and it was then the county gaol for Surrey. In the thirteenth century the postern of Cripplegate was used as a prison, "whereunto such citizens and others as were arrested for debt or common trespasses were committed, as they be now (says Stow) to the Compters." Speaking of Ludgate, he says: "This gate was made a 'free' prison in 1378;" and in 1382, "it was ordained that all freemen of this City should for debt, trespasses, accounts and contempts, be imprisoned in Ludgate; and for treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed to Newgate." The munificence of Dame Agnes Foster to the prisoners of Ludgate has been noticed in a former part of this work. Bridewell was given by Edward VI. to the City in 1553, to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the City. The Tower was the great state prison, from the middle ages down to the present times.

The number of the metropolitan prisons is now only thirteen. The Fleet Prison and the Marshalsea were discontinued in 1842, and the prisoners (debtors) were transferred to the Queen's Bench, now called the Queen's Prison. It is situated at the bottom of the Borough Road, Southwark, contains 224 rooms, and the number of debtors has often exceeded 500. The new Act for its regulation abolishes the day-rules. The old practice was for the "rulers" to pay ten

guineas for the first 100*l.*, and five guineas for each succeeding 100*l.* for which they were in custody. Liberty to go out of the prison for three days was purchased at the rate of 4*s.* 2*d.* for the first day, 3*s.* 10*d.* for the second, and 3*s.* 10*d.* for the third. These days were specified on the "liberty tickets." Of course, good security was given to the Marshal that the "rulers" should not decamp. The emoluments of this officer in 1813 were stated to be 3590*l.* a-year, of which 872*l.* arose from the sale of beer, and 2823*l.* from the rules. The regulations of the prison are in future to be framed by one of the Secretaries of State; and the Act provides for the classification of the prisoners. Some notice of the characteristics of a debtor's prison has already been given, and to it we must at present refer the reader.* The Borough Compter, removed to Mill Lane, Tooley Street, is now used exclusively for debtors from the Borough of Southwark; the prison in Whitecross Street is also exclusively a debtors' prison for London and Middlesex. Debtors are also confined in the Surrey County Gaol, Horsemonger Lane; and in the Westminster Bridewell, Tothill Fields; both likewise prisons for criminals. Debtors were confined in Newgate and Giltspur Street before the prison in Whitecross Street was built. The late Sir Richard Phillips, in a letter on the 'Office of Sheriff,' published in 1808, said:—"The very circumstance of being committed for debt to *Newgate* has a tendency to degrade an unfortunate individual, more than confinement from the same cause in any other prison."

It is very probable that the majority of the prisons will never be seen by the casual visitor to London; but this is not the case with Newgate, and its use is at once apparent, for there is not a more characteristic edifice in London, and it is admirable both in spirit and design. Old Newgate prison, built after the fire of 1666, was pulled down and rebuilt between 1778 and 1780; but during Lord George Gordon's riots in the latter year it was broken open, the prisoners were released, and the rioters set fire to the prison and to the keeper's house, which were destroyed. At the commencement of the present century nearly eight hundred prisoners were confined at one time in Newgate, and in consequence of its crowded state a contagious fever broke out. Many improvements have been made since this period. In 1810, in consequence of the strenuous exertions of Sir Richard Phillips, a committee of the Common Council passed a resolution for building a new prison for debtors, and in 1815 Newgate ceased to be a debtors' prison, the debtors being transferred to Giltspur Street Compter. This latter place ceased to be a debtors' prison in consequence of the erection of Whitecross Street prison. In 1811 public attention was strongly directed to the subject of penitentiary houses, and some attempts were made at a classification of the prisoners in Newgate. Still it has often been stigmatised as one of the worst managed of the large prisons of England. The duties of the chaplain of Newgate thirty years ago, in return for an income of above 300*l.* a year, are thus described in a Parliamentary Report of 1814:—"Beyond his attendance in chapel and on those who are sentenced to death, Dr. Forde feels but few duties to be attached to his office. He knows nothing of the state of morals in the prison; he never sees any of the prisoners in private; though fourteen boys and girls from nine to thirteen years old were in Newgate in April last, he does not consider attention to them a point

* No. LXXVIII. 'Fleet Prison,' vol. iv.

of his duty; he never knows that any have been sick till he gets a warning to attend their funeral; and does not go to the infirmary, for it is not in his instructions." The duties of the chaplain are now of course performed with as much zeal as in any other prison. In Dr. Forde's time the attendance of the prisoners at chapel was entirely voluntary! Gambling and drinking, and tales of villainy and debauchery were the only occupations. The old prisoners instructed the younger ones in the deftest feats of robbery. The want of classification, and the entire idleness in which the prisoners spent their time, rendered Newgate a positive institution for the encouragement of vice and crime. The casual offender, committed on some slight charge which scarcely affected his moral character, was thrust into the companionship of beings scarcely human, men transformed into demons by the vilest passions and a life nurtured from infancy in the lowest depth of vice and infamy; the young were placed with the old, the healthy with the sick, the clean with the filthy, and even the lunatic was there the sport or the fear of the prison. From the contaminating nature of such association there was no escape, and the young offender came out of prison fit for any desperate scheme of villainy. "I scruple not to affirm," says Howard, "that half the robberies committed in and about London are planned in the prisons by that dreadful assemblage of criminals and the number of idle people who visit them." Should the uninitiated in crime at first shrink from intercourse with the prison rabble, he was subjected to every species of annoyance until, openly at least, he was compelled to embrace the brotherhood. His contumacy, so long as it lasted, became the subject of mock trials, in which generally the oldest and most dexterous thief acted as judge, with a towel tied in knots hung on each side of his head for a wig; and he was in no want of officers to put his sentences into execution. "Garnish," or "footing," or "chummage" (for it was called by all the three names), was demanded of all new prisoners. "Pay or strip," was the order, and the prisoner without money was obliged to part with a portion of his scanty apparel to contribute towards the expense of a riotous entertainment, the older prisoners adding something to the "garnish" paid by the new-comer. The practice of the prisoners cooking their own food had not been long discontinued in 1818. Among other objectionable practices were the profits which the wardsmen derived from supplying prisoners with various articles, so that often they benefited by means which tended to promote disorder. The difficulty of introducing a proper classification of prisoners in Newgate led the Parliamentary Committee on Metropolitan Gaols in 1818, to propose the classification of the prisons themselves, as Newgate for felonies, before trial; and other prisons for different classes of convicted offenders.

It is now nearly thirty years since Mrs. Fry commenced her well-known attempts to improve the female prisoners in Newgate. In 1808, according to Sir Richard Phillips, the number of women in Newgate was usually from one hundred to one hundred and thirty. The breadth allotted to each in their sleeping-room was only eighteen inches! The untried were mixed with the convicted, the young and repentant offender with the hardened and profligate transgressor. When Mrs. Fry commenced her benevolent task, the female wards were a scene of uproar and confusion which defies description. The occupations and amusements of the place, as Mrs. Fry states, were "swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, dancing, drinking, and dressing up in men's clothes." Some, however, were destitute of

clothing, and unfit to be seen. One girl spent ten shillings in one day for beer, obtained in the name of other prisoners. Some of the women had scarcely sufficient food to support existence, while others enjoyed delicacies sent in by their friends. There was no certain supply of soap, and towels were not provided.

Notwithstanding that gradually a number of improvements have taken place in the discipline and administration of Newgate, it is still defective, and radically so, for the present building does not admit of the application of a proper system of discipline. In 1836 the Inspectors of Prisons justly found fault with the evils of gaol-contamination which prevail within its walls. The prisoners were enabled to amuse themselves with gambling, card-playing and draughts. They could obtain, by stealth it is true, the luxury of tobacco and a newspaper. Sometimes they could get drunk. Instruments to facilitate prison-breaking were found in the prison. Combs and towels were not provided, and the supply of soap was insufficient. In 1838 the Inspectors reported, that "this great metropolitan prison, while it continues in its present state, is a fruitful source of demoralization." In their last Report (the Seventh), dated 5th April, 1843, the Inspectors say:—"It has been our painful duty again and again to point attention to the serious evils resulting from gaol association and consequent necessary contamination in this prison. The importance of this prison in this point of view is very great. As the great metropolitan prison for the untried, it is here that those most skilled in crime of every form, those whom the temptations, the excesses, and the experience of this great city have led through a course of crime to the highest skill in the arts of depredation and to the lowest degradation of infamy, meet together with those who are new to such courses, and who are only too ready to learn how they may pursue the career they have just entered upon, with most security from detection and punishment, and with greater success and indulgence. The numbers committed, nearly 4000 per annum, which have rapidly increased, and are still increasing, render this a subject of still greater moment. Of this number about one-fifth are acquitted; many of these return to their associates with increased knowledge and skill in crime; with lost characters; with more hardened dispositions from their association here with others worse than themselves; and with their sense of shame and self-respect sadly diminished, if not utterly destroyed, by exposure to others, and by increased gaol acquaintances. Many others are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and in like manner soon get back again to their former courses and companions; and each of these becomes a source of greater mischief to the public, and of danger and seduction to the unwary and inexperienced. We most seriously protest against Newgate as a great school of crime. Associated together in large numbers and in utter idleness, frequently moved from ward to ward, and thereby their prison acquaintance much enlarged, we affirm that the prisoners must quit this prison worse than they enter it. It is said that prisoners are here but for a short time, and therefore that much mischief cannot be done. Many of them are here for three weeks and more, and are locked up together in numbers from three to twenty, for twenty out of twenty-four hours, without the restraining presence even of an officer, without occupation or resource, without instruction, except that afforded by the daily chapel service, and by the short visits which a chaplain can pay from ward to ward in so large a prison, and by the books which are

placed in the wards. At the end of three weeks what remains to be learnt that any inmate of a ward can teach? what narrative of guilty or sensual adventure remains untold? what anticipation of future success and indulgence that has not been dwelt upon? Some few have courage to fly from such mischievous companionship, and ask, after a few hours' experience of the wards of Newgate, to be placed in the separate cells; but it is not to be expected that many will voluntarily fly from company which distracts thought, to seclusion and their own unhappy reflections. The arrangements however for these few are such as to deter them from availing themselves of them. The solitary cells are the old condemned cells of Newgate, which are now used as refractory cells for those who offend against the discipline of the prison, or for those charged with unnatural offences, or with the most brutal crimes; and if a young man, who has never before been in prison—who wishes to retain the little good that remains to him—and who is disgusted with the characters he has met in the prison, and the language and conversation he has been obliged to hear, requests to be put apart, he is removed to one of these cells. They are cold, ill ventilated, dark, small, and even without a seat to sit upon. At our last inspection we found two young men of comparatively respectable appearance, who, disgusted with the bad conversation, the oaths, and the indecent language which they said they had heard in the wards, requested to be alone; and who preferred solitude in these wretched cells to such companionship. One had been a month in separate confinement under the most unfavourable circumstances possible; and yet did not regret the choice he had made."

Within less than a stone's throw of Newgate is Giltspur Street Compter, now used for criminals only, the debtors having been removed on the completion of the Whitecross Street prison. It is under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and is both a prison and a house of correction. Since July, 1842, night-charges have no longer been sent here, but to the police station-houses. The front looks west upon St. Sepulchre's Church and down Skinner Street; and on the south it is bounded by the north side of Newgate Street; and on the east and north by the buildings of Christ's Hospital. The balls of the Christ's Hospital scholars often fall into one of the prison-yards. What a contrast between the two institutions and their respective inmates! There is only one entrance, in the centre of the front building. The area within is occupied by a multiplicity of wards, yards, and sleeping-rooms, constructed without order or regularity, and which defy the application of correct principles of prison discipline. Prisoners of every denomination and character are here crowded together, with as little classification as in Newgate. The solitary confinement of this prison consists in the prisoner being consigned to apartments in the front of the building, which enable him to command a view of one of the greatest thoroughfares in the metropolis, with its numerous moving incidents; and although, when there is an execution in front of Newgate, he cannot see the criminal turned off, the street groups below keep alive his interest in the proceedings. About 6000 prisoners are annually committed to this prison; and either their behaviour must be most admirable, and Giltspur Street is a most excellent penitentiary, or the officers of the prison are most indulgent, for the number of prison punishments in one year was only 20! This is one of the least secure of the metropolitan prisons, and

the escapes from it have been the most frequent. The Inspectors of Prisons, after alluding to one or two causes which render the prison insecure, remark: "There is another circumstance which renders this prison very insecure, but which we do not think it prudent to notice." The number of visitors admitted daily averages about 100, and on Sundays double this number. It is right to add that considerable improvements have taken place within a very recent period in the discipline and management of the prison, and that the City authorities have shown a most laudable desire to amend the defects of a former period; and, as a proof of their zealous and enlightened spirit in this case, they have determined upon pulling down the old prison, except the building fronting the street, and to rebuild it upon the most improved principles of prison construction. When these changes are effected, Newgate cannot long resist amendment.

Bridewell, another place of confinement within the City of London, is under the jurisdiction of the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals, but it is supported out of the funds of the Hospital. The entrance is in Bridge Street, Blackfriars. The prisoners confined here are persons summarily convicted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and are for the most part petty pilferers, misdemeanants, vagrants, and refractory apprentices sentenced to solitary confinement; which term need not terrify the said refractory offenders, for the persons condemned to "solitude" can with ease keep up a conversation with each other from morning to night. The total number of persons confined here in 1842 was 1324; of whom 233 were under 17, and 466 were known or reputed thieves. In 1818 no employment was furnished to the prisoners. The men sauntered about from hour to hour in those chambers where the worn blocks still stood and exhibited the marks of the toil of those who, as represented in Hogarth's prints, were employed in beating hemp. The tread-mill has been now introduced, and more than five-sixths of the prisoners are sentenced to hard labour, the "mill" being employed in grinding corn for Bridewell, Bethlem, and the House of Occupation. The Seventh Report of the Inspectors of Prisons on the City Bridewell is as follows: "The establishment answers no one object of imprisonment except that of safe custody. It does not correct, deter, nor reform; but we are convinced that the association to which all but the City apprentices are subjected, proves highly injurious, counteracts any efforts that can be made for the moral and religious improvement of the prisoners, corrupts the less criminal, and confirms the degradation of the more hardened offender. The cells in the old part of the prison are greatly superior to those in the adjoining building, which is comparatively of recent erection, but the whole of the arrangements of which are exceedingly defective. It is quite lamentable to see such an injudicious and unprofitable expenditure as that which was incurred in the erection of this part of the prison."

If we proceed from Newgate in a north-west direction, there are two important prisons, Coldbath-fields and Clerkenwell. The former, according to the Inspectors of Prisons, "is the largest and most important in the kingdom for criminal purposes." Coldbath-fields House of Correction is in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, between the church and Gray's Inn Road, and is under the jurisdiction of fourteen magistrates, appointed at each Quarter Sessions, of whom four go out quarterly by rotation. It is for criminals from all parts of the county of Middlesex. The number of prisoners confined in the course of the twelve months

ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 11,043, namely, 7331 males and 3712 females: as many as 12,543 have been committed here in one year. The greatest number confined at one time was 1215; and the daily average for the year was 1032. The management of so large a number, and the regulation of the details and routine of the daily discipline and proceedings of the prison, is a task which few men are qualified to undertake. The Governor is assisted by 54 paid officers, including 2 chaplains; and wardsmen and monitors are selected from the prisoners. There are 43 different kinds of books of account kept. The prison is surrounded by a high wall, varying in height from 18 to 23 feet; and the prison buildings are in three distinct divisions:—The principal, or old building, erected in 1794; 2. The new vagrants' ward, completed in 1830; and, 3. The female prison or wards, completed in 1832. The old prison forms a square with two wings; and both the centre and the wings are divided into parts, eight of which belong to the centre and eight to the two wings. These divisions facilitate the classification of the prisoners, though, from general structural defects, this classification is comparatively nugatory. The vagrants' ward, used also for reputed thieves, consists of five radiating wings proceeding from a semicircular building, and these five wings, with the four intermediate airing courts, constitute four yards. The female wards constitute a distinct building, which does not differ much in its plan from the vagrants' ward. There are two chapels, one for males, and the other for females, in which there is service every morning. Some of the ladies connected with the British Society for the Reformation of Female Prisoners visit the female department of the prison to read the Scriptures, &c. There are six schools for the instruction of boys; also an adult school; and 36 tread-mills, each calculated for 11 persons. Sentences of hard labour are worked out on "the mill," or in picking oakum or coir, in menial offices, labour in the yards, in handicrafts necessary for the service of the place, and in scouring and washing. Labour of this kind, in a smaller proportion, is assigned to those who are not sentenced to "hard" labour. The discipline enforced is that called the "Silent System;" the prisoners working in bodies, and silence being preserved by great vigilance on the part of the officers of the prison and the wardsmen, their assistants. At night, 520 prisoners sleep in separate cells. Visitors are only received during two hours of the day, on week days; and an order must first be obtained from a magistrate, who only grants it under pressing circumstances. If granted, the visitor's interview lasts only a quarter of an hour, at a double iron grating, the visitor on one side and the prisoner on the other, a turnkey being stationed between the two gateways. The general practice, as it regards intercourse by letter, is to prohibit a convicted person receiving a letter until six months of his imprisonment have elapsed, and afterwards the permission only extends to one letter a month. It is impossible to practise gambling under the discipline adopted at this prison, which is highly distinguished for its efficiency. The Prison Inspectors, in their Seventh Report, observe, "This prison continues to maintain its high character for cleanliness, order, and strict government; and the management throughout is most creditable to the Governor and the officers under him." The prison offences for the year ending Michaelmas, 1842, were,—for neglect of work, 948; noise, talking, insolence, bad language, 9562; various acts of disobedience or disorder, 5788; other offences for which prisoners were put in the cells, 420; altogether, 16,808 offences.

It is needless to remark that the internal police of a prison is very materially affected by the "Silent System" of discipline: one half the punishments in Coldbath-fields originate in this conventional restriction. In the prison penal code the stoppage of a meal, half a pint of gruel, is the smallest penalty, and solitary confinement on bread and water for three days, the maximum. Handcuffs are used when violence is attempted. The cat-o'-nine-tails and the birch rod are used, the latter, perhaps, too sparingly, for only 15 experienced its smart in 1841, and the "cat" was used in only four cases. Whipping takes place in presence of the offender's class, and the worst characters in the other classes.

Clerkenwell Prison, St. James's Walk, is the general receiving prison of the county of Middlesex for persons committed either for examination before the police magistrates, for trial at the sessions, for want of bail, and occasionally on summary convictions. The prison was established by patent granted by James I. to the Liberty of Clerkenwell; but the greater part of the present building is of the date of 1816, when the prison was altered and enlarged at an expense of 40,000*l.*; but it is an ill-constructed edifice, and not at all in accordance with the present improved plans of prison construction. On two sides the prison yards are overlooked from the adjacent houses. The number of persons confined here in the course of the year ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 3882; and the greatest number at any one time was 158. The Inspectors of Prisons have frequently directed attention in their Reports to the demoralizing effects of imprisonment in this gaol. Prisoners for re-examination are subjected to the hardship of associating with some of the worst criminal characters in the metropolis. A new gaol for untried prisoners must, they remark, sooner or later be erected for the county of Middlesex.

The Westminster Bridewell in Tothill-fields is a new building, erected at a cost of 200,000*l.*, and was first occupied by prisoners in June, 1834. It consists of three principal divisions:—the gaol for males before trial; the house of correction for male convicts; and the female prison, each on the radiating plan, and comprising eight wards with corresponding airing yards; 42 day-rooms, and 288 single sleeping-cells. The centre of the prison forms an octangular court-yard, 250 feet across each way. The untried are associated, and so are the convicted, but the latter are subjected to the discipline of the "silent system." The number confined in the prison in 1841, was 5133.

Horsemonger Lane Prison, in St. Mary's, Newington, is under the jurisdiction of the Surrey county magistrates, and is a substantially-built structure, capable of receiving 364 criminals. It is of a quadrangular form, with three stories above the basement, and was completed for the reception of prisoners in 1798. One side, appropriated to debtors, consists of three divisions—one for the master-debtors, one for the common debtors, and the third for the inferior class of debtors and the female debtors. The criminal division occupies the three other sides of the building, arranged in ten wards, and the whole is surrounded, or nearly so, by the prison garden. Prisoners have been drafted to the Westminster Bridewell from Coldbath-fields, and the consequence is that many of the advantages of classification which it enjoyed are lost; and, properly speaking, this prison is for criminals and debtors from the city and liberties of Westminster. The "silent system" is in operation for the convicted prisoners. The number of prisoners

confined during the year ending Michaelmas, 1841, was 5133, including 161 debtors; and the greatest number of prisoners at any one time was 395.

Before noticing the Millbank Penitentiary, and the Model Prison at Pentonville, we must briefly advert to the history of improvements in prisons and prison discipline. These began with the labours of Howard, who, in 1775, published his work on 'The State of the Prisons in England and Wales.' The manifest evils of gaol association led to the publication of Bentham's 'Panopticon, or the Inspection House,' and in 1791 he presented to Mr. Pitt his plan for prison management, on the principle of his 'Panopticon.' Mr. Pitt and several of the ministers entered into his views with the greatest readiness, but years were spent in a fruitless struggle to bring them into operation, and it is now well known that they were thwarted by the obstinacy of George III. The land on which the Penitentiary now stands was paid for at the price of 12,000*l.*, though a much more advantageous site could have been obtained at Battersea Rise for half the money. The Penitentiary at Millbank was not commenced until 1813. It was intended at first for 300 males and 300 females; but in 1816 an Act was passed authorising the completion of accommodation for 400 males and 400 females; and three years afterwards another Act extended the design, and 600 males and 400 females were to be provided for. In 1835 another Act further increased the extent of the Penitentiary, and adapted it for the confinement of 800 males and 400 females. There are now above 1100 separate cells, and by subdividing a few of the larger the number might be increased to 1200. The Separate System in England was first brought into operation in 1790, at the Gloucester County Gaol, under the auspices of Sir George Paul, a magistrate of enlightened views, who, in conjunction with Howard and Judge Blackstone, devised a plan for a national penitentiary; and Sir George Paul, then an active magistrate of Gloucestershire, induced the other magistrates of the county to give the plan a trial. It is an error to suppose that the separate system was first introduced in the penitentiaries of the United States. From 1790 to 1807 it was in most successful operation at Gloucester, until the increase of population outgrew the accommodations of the prison.

The Millbank Penitentiary is in the parish of St. John, Westminster, but an act was passed for making it extra-parochial. It stands on the left bank of the Thames, about half a mile from the Houses of Parliament, and not far from the foot of Vauxhall Bridge. The soil on which it is built is a deep peat, and the prison buildings are laid on a mass of concrete. Still the lowness of the situation, the extent of the mud-banks exposed at low tides to evaporation, the number of deleterious manufactures carried on in the vicinity, render the prison any thing but healthy. It was first occupied by prisoners in 1816, when a part only of the Penitentiary was completed, and the whole was finished in 1821. At the end of 1823, in consequence of the prevalence of an alarming epidemic, the place was temporarily abandoned, the prisoners being removed to the hulks, under a special Act of Parliament, and it was not re-opened until August, 1824. The cost of the buildings has exceeded half a million sterling, or at the rate of 500*l.* for each cell, but as the number of prisoners has only once been so high as 878 (in 1823), and the number of late years has not averaged 600, it is not extravagant to assume that the mere lodging of each prisoner involves an amount of capital sunk of not less than 1000*l.*, for which a builder would expect interest at the rate of 70*l.* or

80*l.* a year. By an Act passed in the session of 1843, the name of the Penitentiary has been changed, and in future its proper designation will be the Millbank Prison. It is under the control of the Secretary of State, but is more immediately under a Committee, not exceeding twenty nor less than ten, nominated by the Queen in Council. The prisoners are chiefly persons sentenced to transportation or to death, whose punishment has been commuted to imprisonment; and military delinquents. In their last Report but one, the Superintending Committee remark, that "in consequence of a distressing increase in the number of insane prisoners, the separate system has been relaxed." The prohibition of intercourse is now limited to the first three months; then a modified system of intercourse is allowed, consisting of permission to converse during the hours of exercise, with two or more fellow prisoners, a principle of classification being observed with reference to age, character, and conduct; and the privilege is liable to be suspended. In their last Report the Committee state that eighteen months before the alteration of discipline took place, 15 prisoners became insane; in the eighteen subsequent months only 5. The Inspectors of Prisons in their Seventh Report state that the existing system of discipline "is neither calculated to deter from crime, nor contribute to the personal reformation of the offender." The defective health of the prisoners has always been a great obstacle to the maintenance of an efficient discipline.

The boundary wall of the Millbank Prison is nearly three miles in extent, with only one entrance-gate. It encloses an area of sixteen acres, seven of which are occupied by the prison-buildings and thirty airing-yards, and the remainder is laid out as garden-ground. The plan of the prison-buildings is most intricate: arranged in the form of a pentagon, though a sixth angle has been added. In each pentagon there are twelve cell-passages, each 152 feet long, or 1824 feet in each pentagon, or 10,944 feet in the six—a length of cell-passages two miles in extent. These passages are broken most inconveniently by 54 angles, into lengths of 50 yards each; so that to command a view of 100 yards of the passages it is necessary to stand at one of the angles. Besides these cell-passages there are others communicating with the two infirmaries, the two chapels, airing-yards, punishment-cells, &c. There are 28 circular staircases, and 12 square staircases, each of which is the same height as the building; making, in all, a distance of three miles to be traversed in going over that part of the building appropriated to prisoners. The Inspectors of Prisons state, that in consequence of the injudicious plan of construction, two or three times as many officers are required in the Penitentiary as would have been necessary under a better arrangement.

It is at the new Model Prison at Pentonville that we must expect to see carried out the views of the most enlightened minds of the present day on the subject of prison discipline. The contest between the "Silent System" (recommended by a committee of the House of Lords in 1835), and the "Separate System" seems to have gradually become most favourable to the latter mode of discipline, though the "Separate System" has often been confounded with the punishment of solitary confinement. The Model Prison is a place of instruction and probation, and not a gaol of oppressive punishment. It is for adults between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five: the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, for juvenile offenders, is on the same principle. The Commissioners for

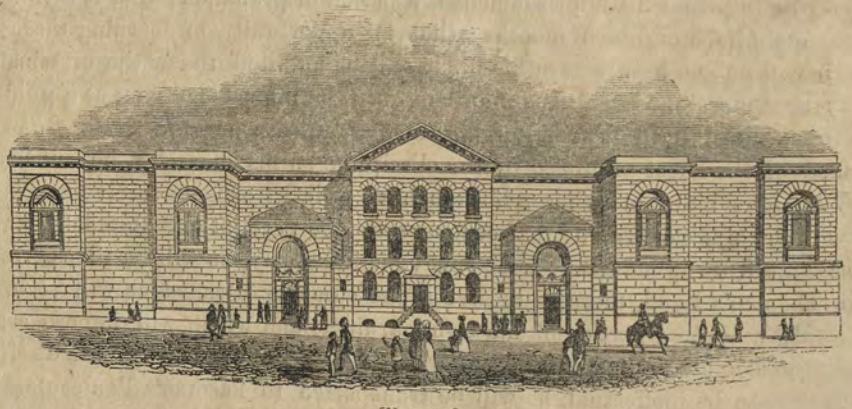
the control of the Model Prison are nominated by the Queen in Council; and the correct name of the place is "The Model Prison, on the Separate System." The objects to be kept in view are thus explained by Secretary Sir James Graham, in a letter addressed to the Commissioners in December, 1842:—"I propose that no prisoner shall be admitted into Pentonville without the knowledge that it is the portal to the penal colony; and without the certainty that he bids adieu to his connexions in England, and that he must look forward to a life of labour in another hemisphere. But from the day of his entrance into the prison, while I extinguish the hope of return to his family and friends, I would open to him fully and distinctly the fate which awaits him, and the degree of influence which his own conduct will infallibly have over his future fortunes. He should be made to feel that from that day he enters on a new career. He should be told that his imprisonment is a period of probation; that it will not be prolonged above eighteen months; that an opportunity of learning those arts which will enable him to earn his bread will be afforded under the best instructors; that moral and religious knowledge will be imparted to him as a guide for his future life; that at the end of eighteen months, when a just estimate can be formed of the effect produced by the discipline on his character, he will be sent to Van Diemen's Land, there, if he behave well, at once to receive a ticket of leave, which is equivalent to freedom, with the certainty of abundant maintenance, the fruit of industry; if he behave indifferently, he will be transported to Van Diemen's Land, there to receive a probationary pass, which will secure to him only a limited portion of his own earnings, and which will impose certain galling restraints on his personal liberty; if he behave ill, and if the discipline of the prison be ineffectual, he will be transported to Tasman's Peninsula, there to work in a probationary gang, without wages, deprived of liberty, an abject convict. This is the view which should be presented to the prisoner on the day when he enters Pentonville; this is the view which should never be lost sight of, either by him or by those in authority over him, until the day when he leaves the prison for embarkation; and when, according to the register to be kept of his conduct, the Governors will determine in which of the three classes he shall be placed."

The Model Prison is situated between Pentonville and Holloway, and occupies an area of 6¾ acres, surrounded by lofty boundary walls. The first stone of the prison building was laid in May, 1840, and it has been completed at an expense of 85,000*l*. The cells are each 13 feet long, 7 feet broad, and 9 feet high, and are all of uniform dimensions. Each is provided with a stone water-closet pan, a metal basin supplied with water, a three-legged stool, a small table, a shaded gas-burner, and a hammock, with mattress and blankets. There is a bell in each cell, which when pulled causes a small iron tablet inscribed with the number of the cell to project on the wall to direct the officer on duty. Each cell is warmed by hot air, and the ventilation is effected by means of perforated iron plates above the door of the cell, which communicate with a lofty shaft. None of the prisoners will ever be seen by each other, and in chapel each has his separate box. The officers wear felted shoes, and can inspect the prisoners, whether in the cell or in the airing-yard, without being either heard or seen.

Each prisoner will be visited hourly during the day by a keeper, daily by the

deputy-governor and chief officer; and the surgeon and schoolmaster will be frequently in attendance upon him. Books will be supplied to him, and the trade which he exercises will occupy his mind. The prisoners are to be permitted to lay their complaints before the visiting Commissioners. Many modes of secondary punishment have failed, but the one to be pursued at the Model Prison is an experiment founded on past experience of the deficiency of other systems, and promises at length to be successful.

The Philanthropic Institution and the Refuge for the Destitute belong rather to another class of institutions, though they are partially of a penitentiary character; but we shall notice them elsewhere.



[Newgate.]

CXXII.—LONDON NEWSPAPERS.

The Englishman cannot exist without his newspaper. Foreigners laugh sometimes at the Englishman and his tea-kettle. "They are inseparable," they say. "If he goes to the top of Mont Blanc, to the North Pole, or to Central Africa, 'tis all the same: he must carry it with him." The newspaper is, however, a still more indispensable necessary of life. Give the working-man his pint of beer, and he will not ask for tea, but he must have his newspaper. Every county-town has its newspaper; every distant colony, however remote, recent, or small. The first regular settlers in New Zealand had the first number of their colonial newspaper printed in London, and the second a few days after they landed. Melbourne (Port Philip) and Adelaide (South Australia), the foundations of which were unlaid ten years ago, have each their four or five newspapers. Nay, the very military stations—the cantonments of our armies in the East—must have their newspapers; and the 'Hong-kong Gazette' is already more than a year old. In all the new settlements of Englishmen the order of proceedings appears to be:—First, to run up sheds to cover themselves from the weather; next to kindle a fire and set the tea-kettle on to boil; and then to set about printing a newspaper, though it should be done, like the 'Auckland Observer,' by a mangle instead of an ordinary printing-press. These three necessaries

insured, John Bull is contented—breeches will come in time, when those he has brought with him are worn out.

The newspaper is a European invention, and a necessary consequence of the invention of the printing-press. There were substitutes for newspapers even before Faust and Guttenberg, but poor shabby makeshifts they were. The Romans had their *Acta Diurna*, a daily manuscript paper, both under the republic and the empire. It appears to have contained an abstract of the proceedings of public assemblies, of the law-courts, of the punishment of offenders, accounts of any public buildings or other works in progress, together with a list of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. It is not only in the staple materials of the *Acta Diurna* that we find a close parallel to our modern newspapers. The manner in which the former were "got up" appears to have been not unlike what now prevails. "The due supply of information," says a writer in the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' "on political and judicial affairs, was to be obtained, as now, by reporters (*actuarii*). In the celebrated debate of the Roman Senate upon the punishment of those who had been concerned in the Catilinarian conspiracy, we find the first mention of short-hand writers, who were specially employed by Cicero to take down the speech of his friend Cato." The Senate of Rome appears to have been as jealous of the reporters' gallery as the British Parliament. It was a close court until the first consulship of Julius Cæsar, who no sooner entered upon his office than he made provision for giving the same publicity to all the proceedings of the Senate that already existed for the more popular assemblies. Under the despotism of Augustus and his successors, publicity was inconvenient, and prohibited; the subordinate assemblies had lost their political importance; and with the extinction of political news the *Acta Diurna* lost their interest. At the best this state gazette can have been but a meagre document: the conversational wit of Horace, and the dainties of Apicius, may have equalled anything modern times have known; but Cicero himself never knew what it was to have 'The Times' on his table at breakfast. Perhaps in the police and crim. con. department the *Acta Diurna* were equal to any modern newspaper. Not a gazette appears, says Seneca, without its divorce, so that our matrons, from constantly hearing of them, soon learn to follow the example.

In all civilised or *semi*-civilised countries the profession of news-writer (as it is to be found in the East at this day) was probably followed; but the services of the news-writer were hired out to private patrons. Before the introduction of printed newspapers it would appear that our great English families had private gazetteers in London, who transmitted the news of the day to them in written letters. This custom accounts for the following memorandum extracted from the archives of the Clifford family by Whitaker, in his 'History of Craven:'—'To Captain Robinson, by my lord's commands, for writing letters of news to his lordship for half-a-year,—five pounds." (The "private correspondent" of any respectable provincial journal has in our days a guinea a letter.) As the people in any state rose into importance, their governors found it necessary to keep them in good humour by telling them, or pretending to tell them, what it was about. Thus the war which the republic of Venice waged against the Turks in Dalmatia in 1563 is said to have given rise to the custom of communicating

military and commercial news by written sheets, which were read in a particular place to those desirous to hear them, who paid for this privilege in a small coin then current, called *gazzetta*, a name which came in time to be transferred to the written sheets themselves. The Venetian government ultimately gave these announcements in a regular manner once a month; but they were too jealous ever to allow them to be printed. Only a few written copies were transmitted to various places, and read to those who paid to hear. A device of the same kind (but with the aid of the printing-press) is said to have been resorted to by the ministers of Queen Elizabeth. Copies of a printed paper, called 'The English Mercurie, published by Authoritie for the Contradiction of False Reports,' are preserved in the Library of the British Museum (Dr. Birch's 'Historical Collections,' No. 4106). They relate to the attempted descent of the Spanish Armada, and are numbered 50, 51, and 54, in the corner of their upper margins. No more recent numbers of this publication are known to exist. Strong doubts have been expressed of the authenticity of those now mentioned; we believe that they may most safely be set down as forgeries. But that other European governments, both at that time and earlier, had occasionally adopted the Venetian plan, appears to be beyond dispute. 'Gazette' has become the designation for the notifications of civil governments, just as 'bulletin' has for those of victorious generals—and the estimation of both on the score of veracity stands very nearly on a par. Gazettes of this kind are not exactly newspapers, nor can newspapers, with strict accuracy, be said to have originated with them, though they undoubtedly suggested hints as to topics and arrangement, and even their name has been borrowed by newspapers properly so called.

The newspaper proper is a pamphlet, published periodically. The invention of the printing-press, if it did not give birth to the pamphlet, certainly increased its frequency and power over public opinion. Pamphlets were of two kinds: there were the letters, exhortations, discussions of isolated points of politics or theology of Luther, his associates, or adversaries; and there was the pamphlet of news. In this island John Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women,' was a specimen of the former; and the 'News out of Holland,' published in 1619, for N. Newberry, of the latter. The periodical appearance of the 'News-book'—the continuing the same name to it, and distinguishing each successive publication by a number—followed as a matter of course. A news-collector, of established reputation, found this the best way of "setting his mark" upon his publications; a printer found it convenient to have such continuous employment for his press. The object of the private news-publisher was really and truly to communicate all he knew, and to learn as much as he could, for the reputation and consequent sale of his work would depend upon the quantity and quality of its contents. The Government Gazettes, on the other hand, were as often meant to conceal as to publish, and, at all events, sought to give a convenient colouring to what they did tell. The defect of the newspaper arose from the difficulty of getting at the real truth; it was necessarily made up in a great measure of second-hand gossip. This long kept newspaper information at a low estimate, aided by the want of the official stamp of authenticity and the natural propensity of gossips to undervalue all information that is not exclusive: what was printed was common property, or, as Ben Jonson hath

it in his 'Staple of News,' had ceased to be *news* by being printed. The *quidnuncs* of provincial towns, who go about swelling with importance because they have a scrap of intelligence in the hand-writing of their own especial M.P. (which, ten to one, he picked out of the morning papers), are the concentrated essence of this feeling; but, more or less diluted, it pervades all minds.

The newspaper, we have said, is a European invention, and we may add, that it is of one or other of two types—the London or the Parisian. It is difficult to say with precision when periodical newspapers began to be published: they grew into form by degrees. They appear to have originated in London and Paris nearly about the same time. Newberry's 'News out of Holland,' of 1619, alluded to above, was followed in 1620, 1621, and 1622 by other papers of news from different countries. In 1622 the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus excited great curiosity, especially in so Protestant a country as England; and about that time these occasional pamphlets appear to have been first converted into a series of periodical *brochures*. 'The News of the present Week,' edited by Nathaniel Butter, seems to have been the first weekly newspaper in England. The originator of newspapers at Paris is said to have been one Renaudot, a physician, who had found that it was conducive to success in his profession to be able to tell his patients the news. Seasons were not always sickly, but his taste for collecting news was always the same, and he began to think there might be some advantage in printing his intelligence periodically. His scheme succeeded, and in 1632 he obtained a privilege for publishing news.

Various circumstances contributed to establish a permanent difference between the London or insular and the Parisian or continental type of newspapers. The first of these is the broad and essential distinction between the social character of the two cities, which has marked them from the beginning of their history. The wealth and power of Paris and London, rather than any recommendation of local fitness, has made them the capitals of their respective countries. The Governments of France and Great Britain did not choose Paris and London for their metropolitan seats, but were obliged to take their residence in these centres of civil activity and influence. But the wealth and influence of Paris and London sprung from very different sources—the former was made by its university, the latter by its commerce. Paris, the seat of what was once *the* European University, became at an early period, what it has ever since remained, the focus of the intellectual activity of Europe. A Parisian diploma was from early times the passport to the highest employments in church and state; its literary circle was constantly recruited by the most ambitious and clever men of the age from all countries. Paris became the natural head of the constitutional opposition in the Romish church. The Kings of France were less the patrons than the allies of the University of Paris and its ecclesiastical party. The science and literature of Paris, its law, theology, and general learning out-grew the precincts of the university, but the organised phalanx of intellect maintained its unity, even when dispersed through a parliament, a Sorbonne, and academies and colleges innumerable. The intellect of Paris through centuries stood France in lieu of a constitution. "The League" was in the ascendant as long as Paris supported it: the "Monarchy" triumphed as soon as Paris threw itself into the King's scale. Louis XIV. did not create French literature, art, and science: he put a court livery on them to

conciliate their support. They served him better than armies. They upheld the French throne and its influence in Europe while they remained courtly, and they overthrew it when they became popular. Even in our day the literary spirit of Paris is in the ascendant while Thiers and Guizot contend for the mastery. London, on the other hand, has had many eminent scholars, and literary and scientific men; but London never has been itself literary or scientific: it never was the seat of a university (till recently, and the plant is still a hot-house one). But the relative position of London to the Continent made it, before the discoveries of the Portuguese, the seat of British commerce: all the ramifications of early British trade came to centre in London; and when new worlds were laid open to European enterprize, and England from its situation came to engross the lion's share of the trade, London continued the great broker or agent of all England. The Kings of England called London their treasury, and naturally chose to reside near or in it; and the merchants of London caught the spirit of statesmen, but without acquiring the refinement of scholars. The newspapers of two capitals so very different received, camelion-like, their hue from the nearest objects: those of Paris have, from the first, displayed more taste, more power of amusing, but also more of scholastic abstraction. Rougher and less highly finished, the journals of London have grappled with the practical questions of life in a more judicious and manly spirit.

Another of the circumstances alluded to, and it is the only other that calls for particular notice, is the very different political character and relations of the two capitals, and also of their countries. Wealth procured by individual enterprise begets that independent confident spirit which struggles against organization and controul; professional scholarship, whether of the church or the law, or any auxiliary sciences, begets a respect for established order—the ambitious wish to direct it, the less aspiring require its advantages and submit to it. The natural temper of the London public threw them into the popular scale in our national tumults; the natural temper of the Parisians threw them into many factions, but always among the supporters of power. The Paris of the League, or of Henri IV.—the Paris of the Fronde, or of Mazarin—was always the supporter of a government: it opposed the king to uphold the kingly power. London, on the other hand, struggled for individual self-will against all or any government. The newspaper press of either city caught in this respect also that city's character; and the difference was rendered wider and more marked by the different progress of the historical development of the frame of government in the two countries. The great struggle between the popular and monarchical principle was fought out in France, and decided in favour of the monarchy before newspapers arose; it was fought out in England after their invention, in no slight degree by their means, and by their means, in great part, decided in favour of popular government with the greatest possible respect for individual rights. From the time of Renaudot the newspaper press in France was licensed: it was prepared by walking in a go-cart in infancy, to walk gracefully in chains in its maturer years. The newspaper press in London was a chartered libertine from the beginning, and no attempt to license it was long persisted in. "The Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the people, with privilege," by "Roger L'Estrange, Esq.," gave so little satisfaction, that in the course of little more than two years it

was superseded by the 'Gazette,' the mere vehicle of government advertisements, and the real newspaper trade again left free to private enterprise.

The manufacture of English newspapers was for a long time confined exclusively to London. It was not till 1706 that a provincial newspaper was known in England. The first was the 'Norwich Postman,' published in that year at the charge of a penny, but "a halfpenny not refused." A newspaper was introduced in Scotland, but as an exotic or hot-house luxury, about half a century earlier. During the "great rebellion," a party of Cromwell's troops, sent to Leith in 1652, for the purpose of garrisoning the citadel, took a printer with them, one Christopher Higgins, to reprint a London diurnal, called 'Mercurius Politicus,' for their amusement and edification. Edinburgh being then a capital, continued from that time to have its newspaper (though with intervals); but the earliest permanent Scotch newspapers were the 'Edinburgh Courant' (1705), and the 'Caledonian Mercury' (1720). Ireland, like Scotland, had its exotic short-lived newspaper during the civil war; but the earliest Irish paper was Pue's 'Occurrences,' started in 1700. The earliest Colonial newspapers (Boston and New York) were also commenced during the first decennium of the eighteenth century. All new provincial newspapers—of the English school—were framed upon the model of the London Journals, and their successors have continued to follow close in the wake of the London newspaper press, copying from time to time its improvements, and always deriving the greater part of their news from it. Even the portentous activity of the New York Journals, with their agents boarding packet-ships and steamers out at sea in search of news, is merely a scramble to get hold of the earliest London newspapers, in order to "gut them."

London newspapers have a local habitation as well as a name. The greater part of them are printed and published in the Strand and Fleet Street, and the immediately adjoining parts of the streets which cross them from a little way west of Waterloo Bridge, and a very little way east of Blackfriars. This region is the great exchange or mart of intelligence in London—the "staple of news," to borrow a phrase from rare Ben Jonson. This part of London is a very Temple of Fame. Here rumours and gossip from all regions of the world come pouring in, and from this echoing hall are reverberated back in strangely modified echoes to all parts of Europe. It is impossible to conceive the restless activity—the unintermitting fever and fret of intellect—the ceaseless clanking of steam-engines—the sleepless drudgery of human thinking and physical faculties—the money spent and earned in this region, except by going a little into the detail of the compiling, printing, and publishing of newspapers, and the statistics of the newspaper trade.

There are three distinct classes whose business is about newspapers. There are the intellectual workers (by courtesy called so, for with some of them it is a sufficiently mechanical kind of work), or compilers and composers of newspapers; there are the mechanical workers, or printers of all grades and denominations; and there are the publishers, newsvenders, &c., whose business it is, by wholesale or retail, to aid in disseminating the completed work. The connexion between the composers and printers of newspapers is more or less intimate and permanent; the publishers and these two classes are in general rather more independent of each other—their connexion is more precarious.

The London newspapers are generally spoken of as divided into three classes: two will serve our present purpose—the daily, and those which are published at longer intervals. The daily papers are, at least in a mercantile point of view, the more important. It was assumed, in 1840, that the capital invested in the daily papers of London did not amount to less than 500,000*l.* Of this about two-thirds was assumed to be represented by the morning papers. It is by these that the greatest expense is incurred in the collection of materials—the employment of parliamentary reporters, foreign correspondents, and other gleaners of information. The expenses of the evening newspapers are for these *items* comparatively trifling; they are in the habit of taking great part of their news from the morning papers. The outlay of the less frequently published papers is still less. Of those which are published twice or thrice a-week, a good many are indeed mere *réchauffés* of the dailies—a dishing-up of their news in another form for another class of readers. The weeklies have in general a separate and independent existence, but they too are generally beholden for their mere news in great part to the dailies.

The 'Times'—the leading journal—may be taken as an example of the manner in which a daily paper is got up; the others are, making allowance for difference of scale and expenditure, conducted much in the same manner. In 1840—(there have been changes since, but only in the *personnel* and the inferior matters of detail; for our purpose, which is not to calculate the value of the property, but to give an idea of the system of management, the old story will do equally well; indeed, better, as it relieves us from all personal reflections). In 1840, then, the 'Times' had, or was understood to have, three editors, fifteen or sixteen reporters, at a very liberal annual salary, with an uncertain number of foreign correspondents, news collectors, and occasional contributors. For the mere mechanical department of the business there were three or four clerks, three or four readers, twelve attendants on the machinery, and about fifty compositors. There was one controlling editor, to whose inspection everything was subjected, and who had a voice omnipotent as to the insertion or rejection of all articles. Such a presiding genius is found indispensable, in the first place, to insure unity of plan and purpose; and, in the second place, to prevent mistakes in judgment, or oversights which might bring the journal under the tender mercies of the law. The other editors confine themselves to departments; one was the foreign editor, and so on. The reporters were engaged to report the proceedings in Parliament, or in the Courts of Law while sitting, and the most stirring transactions of the provinces, at intervals when any important movement is going on—more especially during the parliamentary recess. The foreign correspondents are generally gentlemen, with professional pursuits, resident at the capital whence their letters are most frequently dated. The foreign intelligence is compiled from the foreign journals, from the communications of the regular correspondents, and sometimes from information volunteered from different sources. The Parliamentary debates are supplied by relays of reporters—a certain number to each House. When an important debate is expected in either House of Parliament, a detachment of reporters—say four—are placed upon it. The first reporter takes notes for an hour, before the end of which time the second is by his side ready to relieve him. The first then hurries to the 'Times' office to write out his notes for the com-

positors. The second remains for an hour, and then hurries away like the former; while the third is taking notes for another hour; and he is followed in the same manner by the fourth. The first reporter is now ready to succeed the fourth; he takes notes for another hour, is relieved by the second, and so on till the House breaks up. The time of taking notes is frequently limited to three-quarters of an hour, or even less. By this process the whole of a series of debates, which began at four or five in the afternoon, and continued till three or four in the morning, is issued to the public within a few hours after the debate has terminated. Accidents and offences, provincial incidents, and the like, are supplied by a class of contributors who have no regular engagement, but are paid by the job. The 'Times,' when composed, is printed by a machine worked by steam-power, capable of printing 2500 copies in an hour, *perfect*—that is, on both sides. The paper is generally put to press at five in the morning, and at ten the whole impression is worked off. Mr. Babbage, after describing the manner in which eight-and-forty columns are formed into eight pages and placed on the platform of the printing-machine, says: "Ink is rapidly supplied to the moving types by the most perfect mechanism: four attendants incessantly introduce the edges of large sheets of white paper to the junction of two great rollers, which seem to devour them with unsated appetite; other rollers convey them to the type already inked, and having brought them into rapid and successive contact, re-deliver them to four other assistants completely printed by the almost momentary touch." The 'Times,' when printed, consists of eight pages of six columns each. The printed area of the whole paper (both sides) is more than 19½ square feet, or a space of nearly five feet by four. On a rough estimate, it contains about 113,000 words. Compared with an octavo volume, having a page of print measuring 3¼ by 6½ inches, the area of the 'Times' is equal to more than 120 of the octavo pages; and allowing for difference in size of type, to perhaps 200. In addition to this the 'Times' has of late, in order to find room for its advertisements, been accompanied by a supplement of half the size of the paper, on an average three times a-week. All this is sold to the public at the price of 5*d*. The enormous circulation and the charge for advertisements enables the proprietors to incur the expenditure above indicated, allow a fair profit to publishers and newsvenders, and grow rich themselves by their property. During the last quarter of 1842, the 'Times' took out 1,475,000 stamps, and paid 3500*l*. 17*s*. of advertisement duty. All the other morning papers have a similar establishment to the 'Times,' though on a smaller scale: the establishments of the evening papers are of course rather less expensive. Some estimate of the comparative influence of the different daily journals upon public opinion, and of their comparative value as properties, may be formed by the aid of the following extract from the returns of the newspaper stamp and advertisement duty for the last quarter of 1842:—

Morning Papers.	Stamps.	Advertisement Duty.
Times	1,475,000	£3500 17 0
Morning Chronicle .	444,000	868 4 0
Morning Herald . . .	377,000	540 16 6
Morning Post	275,000	835 11 6
Morning Advertiser . .	365,000	453 10 6

Evening Papers.	Stamps.	Advertisement Duty.
Globe	250,000	£212 14 0
Standard	240,000	202 17 6
Morning and Evening Paper.		
Sun	279,000	310 13 0

The weekly newspapers (for the papers published thrice a-week are in general mere *pendants* of the dailies, and those published twice a-week do not differ in any material respects from their weekly brethren) take the staple of their news from the daily papers. Their outlay is chiefly incurred for literary or political communications, and for printing. Some weekly papers have their own establishments, while others employ a printer to do the work at his own establishment. When the proprietors print their own paper, they require to engage a printer or manager, whose duty it is to give out the copy to the compositors, to see that the proofs are ready by the time the editor requires them, to put the articles into columns, arrange paragraphs, &c. &c. A reader is also employed to read the first proofs, after the compositor has put the types together. The number of compositors varies in such an establishment from five to thirty; an extra number being generally required at the end of the week, when the late news has to be finished off, or when supplements are given. The majority of weekly papers are now, however, printed under contract by some established London printer with his own materials. The proprietors find this more economical than going to the expense of taking and paying rent for a printing-office, purchasing founts of type and all other materials, and, in short, incurring all the expenses which printing is heir to. This is not the only new subdivision of employments and combination of labour occasioned of late years by the increased capitals invested in the printing business, the general adoption of the steam-press, &c.: there are proprietors, who have their paper composed on their own premises by their own workmen, and have it printed off at the steam-press of some of the great printers. Such arrangements have a twofold effect,—they encourage the starting of new papers by diminishing the pecuniary risk; and they increase the number of short-lived newspapers; for when less capital is invested in dead stock, men let go a losing or not very profitable speculation more lightly. On the whole, however, they give greater vivacity to the newspaper business. If the weekly papers are shorter lived, there are always successors to those which drop off ready to rush into the field—there are more of them jostling and squabbling for a circulation at the same time. If the magnificent scale on which operations are conducted at the 'Times' office in Printing House Square is striking from its magnitude, the getting up of the multitudinous weekly papers in some of the courts of Fleet Street is perhaps the more bustling and vivacious subject of contemplation. Several adjoining courts may have their half-dozen printing establishments each; and to each of these editors and sub-editors (great part of whose work is done elsewhere) repair for a few hours in each week to superintend the progress of printing. The houses which lay themselves out for this kind of business have rooms fitted up to accommodate the editors at their periodical visits. Sometimes, in addition to two, three, or four different newspapers composed and printed at one of those establishments, there may be the "forms" of two or three more duly transmitted to be printed. The head-work which passes

through those establishments in its way to the public is inconceivable, both in its quantity and varied quality. The fingers of the compositors cease not; the clash and clang of the steam-press knows no intermission. In the topics and manner of treating them the establishment takes no concern. Nonconformists, Railway Times, Illustrated News, Roman Catholic, Colonial, and all other kinds of organs or mouthpieces are set up and thrown off with the same conscientious accuracy, and the same utter indifference to their contents. These printing establishments are indeed machines which receive without feeling the tender thoughts of anxious and harassed editors and contributors, and tease and shake them into a shape fit to appear before the public, incapable of sympathising with the anxious anticipations of the brain-parents.

And now having got our newspapers into shape, let us look to the mode of their publication. The business of the publisher is to deal out to the different newsmen the number of papers they require, and receive payment for them. It is a feature of the news-trade, as between publisher and newsvender, deserving of notice, that it is essentially a ready-money business. Except in some few cases, or under peculiar circumstances, no credit is given. The newsman knows that he must get his paper or lose his customer, and the publisher is thus enabled to dictate his own terms. The publisher, properly speaking, is a person appointed by proprietors, with more or less extensive powers of management, to dispose of their paper to the retail dealers, or news-agents. But there is a class of newsmen who, from the extent and nature of their dealings, come very near to the publishers, and are indeed generally called by that name. Their business consists in buying large quantities of newspapers of all sorts, and retailing them to the trade. Their profits are derived from an allowance of 1*d.* on every nine papers that sell at 5*d.* each, and 2*d.* on every nine papers that sell at 6*d.* each. Newsvenders, in a small way, who do not sell so many as nine of any paper, find it more convenient to send to a shop, where they get their papers as cheap as if they sent to each office, and get all they want at once. The profit of a penny or twopence on nine papers may appear trifling; but when it is taken into account that several of these publishers will take more than a hundred quires of some papers, it will be apparent how a great many pennies must come to a considerable sum.

The small newsvenders, just mentioned, supply only private customers in country or town. They are thickly scattered, not only through the town and suburbs, but are to be found in the towns and villages round about for many miles. There are some who live as far as six or eight miles from town, and yet send daily to their publisher for papers. It will be evident that this class cannot depend entirely upon their small trade in newspapers for a subsistence, but must take to it merely in order to eke out other ways and means. There is among them a considerable diversity of character and employment: most frequently they are, especially in the suburbs, stationers, booksellers, or circulating-library keepers in a small way, and with their occupation newsvending seems to connect itself most legitimately and naturally. But there are interlopers of all trades: greengrocers, who bring out a few papers in the same little spring-van that goes to Covent Garden for vegetables; barbers, who in the semi-rural environs of the metropolis are as great gossips as ever; and the whole tribe of small huxters. Sometimes your newsvender (in the suburbs and suburban villages) is a lady-like person,

whom the clergyman and good ladies of the neighbourhood have set up and patronise in a small elegant stationer's shop. Sometimes the newsvender is a pompous gentleman in black, with an immense gold chain and seals—so grand, you can scarcely conceive how so great a man comes to be fiddling with an assortment of second (or third or fourth) hand books, most of them exposed in the open air, and a library (by courtesy so-called) consisting of some hundred or two of every soiled volume of the most common-place modern novels, evidently picked up as chance bargains. At last you find that he was regularly bred in some large bookselling shop, but either could never contrive to get into business for himself, or having got in could not contrive to manage it, and so subsided into his suburban from-hand-to-mouth trade. The lady's shop is generally the resort of the religious gossips of the neighbourhood—she is secretary to half-a-dozen small coal, soup, and clothing societies, and carries on a little manufacture in Berlin wools. The gentleman's shop is the resort of the more free-thinking, literary, and political characters of the vicinity, to whom he recounts his experiences of the *inner*-town life—affects to know all its ways—explains intricate political questions (he is generally a liberal with a strong dash of the aristocrat), and is particularly eloquent on the degeneracy of modern newspapers. "If he had 50,000*l.* to begin with, he could show what a really liberal newspaper might and ought to be made." As a counterpart to these gentilities we must not forget their neighbour the radical newsvender. He is generally a shrewd self-educated artisan, who, having been bitten by a mad politician, has got thrown out of employment, if, indeed, he have not fared worse. Being a high-spirited man, he will not live on agitation as a trade; his own is closed against him; so a number of friends agree to take their stationery and papers from him, in order to start him in a small shop. He looks pretty steadily to the general business, and his wife (a woman such as England alone can produce—whose love was at first a sentiment of admiration for one whom his class regarded as their champion), minds the details. He is not quite cured of his taste for public business; but he struggles earnestly to confine it to a safe channel. He is secretary to some anti-corn-law association; or an opposition member of the vestry; or, if no better employment in this way is to be had, he puts up with a mechanics' institution. His wife thinks in her secret soul that they might prosper better if he would keep himself entirely to their own business; but she never breathes a word about it, for it might make him give up what he takes so much pleasure in. He has himself misgivings of the same kind, and every time the twinge comes across him attends with double vigour to business for two or three days. On the whole they scramble on tolerably well—never out of difficulties, never sinking under them—respected by all who know them.

A much bigger person than the kind of newsvenders we have been describing—though by no means so topping a character as the publisher—is the London agent, who deals with and supplies country news-agents. Men of this class generally take large supplies of papers direct from their publishing-offices. One we know whose papers cost him a 1000*l.* a-week. Ten or twelve of this class send their papers by railway-trains. The morning papers sent by the Great Western Railway must be at Paddington by six A.M.; they reach Bristol by eleven A.M. Those for the north of England are sent by the Birmingham train, which leaves Euston Square at six A.M. The Southampton and Gosport train starts from

Nine Elms at seven A.M. By this route the papers reach Gosport about half-past ten A.M.: a steamer is waiting for the arrival of the train, and with its assistance the London morning papers are delivered in the Isle of Wight by half-past eleven A.M. The inhabitants of that island are reading their 'Times,' while the London publication of the paper has scarcely finished. An agent who supplies the early papers to Gosport and the Isle of Wight, informs us that his Gosport customers are often supplied before his town customers. The publisher of the 'Times' gives off the papers that are to be sent by railway first, and the agents who receive them are not allowed to supply their town customers with these first oozings of the press.

Little did honest Nathaniel Butter, when in 1622 he began to publish 'Certain Newes of the present Week,' contemplate the extent to which the trade he was inventing was to grow. In the course of little more than two centuries the small weekly newspaper has expanded into 139 daily, weekly, &c. newspapers. The activity set in motion to keep up these papers may be partly inferred from what has been stated above. So many news-collectors incessantly perambulating the streets; peeping into the senate and courts of justice; into the theatres and other places of public amusement; or posting night and day to and from public dinners, agricultural and political meetings in all the provinces of the empire. So many honest spies residing in the capitals both of Christendom and Islam, gathering and transmitting to the London newspapers every rumour of court intrigue—so many theatrical and artistical critics—so many writers of essays, political, moral, (and immoral,) humorous, and instructive—all for the edification of the patrons of the London newspaper press. So many editors devising means of rendering their paper more attractive, collecting matter from all ends of the earth—so many expresses to convey information to the newspapers, or the newspapers to their readers—so many reporters listening (what a penance!) to the lengthy speeches of modern orators, and translating them into grammar and English idiom, in order that they may not discredit the columns of the newspaper—so many newsvenders, with their bags, fetching, and folding, and despatching, by foot-messengers, by post, and by railway-trains. It is a brave bustling life, and one in which there is no stint or stay. No sooner do the night-owls, whose business it is to "compose" the morning papers, quit work, than their brother typos, who work by day, are setting to work upon the evening papers. The last copy of the Sunday paper is scarcely "worked off" when the compositors on the Monday morning journals are beginning to bestir themselves. Sunday and Saturday are alike days of sale with the newsvender. The half-opened shop-window, the wall beplastered with placards announcing the contents of the Sunday newspapers, show that the newsman is at his receipt of customs: and at the omnibus-stands and the steam-boat piers the volunteer venders of the newspapers attend to supply the country-going parties with something to read should the time hang heavy on their hands. These last are the lingering remnants (sadly tamed down) of the vociferous itinerants whose *vera effigies* adorns the tail of this sketch, as the title of one of our earlier newspapers does its head.

The printers of newspapers are much like other printers, but both the authors of newspapers (editors, writers of "leaders" and reviews, reporters, penny-a-liners, &c.), and the newsvenders are classes with marked distinctive characters.

The latter have been described above, but their light-foot Mercuries (their errand-boys) must not be passed unnoticed. We have an affection for the little creature, who, be it storm or sunshine, rain or snow, duly brings our newspaper at breakfast-time. It would be a hard heart indeed that could grudge him his Christmas-box annually petitioned for in verse from the Catnach mint. Charles Lamb has celebrated an annual dinner given in days of old to the chimney-sweeps. Had he lived till this time he might have recorded—as he only could—the annual dinner of the newsvenders' boys. But as such blazon may not be, let us take the account of their last festival, evidently from the pen of some precocious imp of the tribe. We sorely suspect our own juvenile, whom we have more than once caught, on returning from an early walk through the green-lanes in our neighbourhood, taking a furtive glance at the columns of our newspaper, totally regardless of the plight we should have been in had the tea and toast been ready before it arrived.

"The newsvenders' servants' anniversary dinner, which is given by the proprietors of the London papers to the newsvenders and their servants, took place yesterday at Highbury Barn Tavern, and was very numerously attended by the class for whom it was more particularly intended, and their wives. The dinner, or rather series of dinners—for there were two, not to mention a tolerably solid supper at eight o'clock, for those whose engagements prevented their earlier attendance,—was plain and substantial, and was duly honoured by the guests, whose style of dealing with the viands set before them would seem to prove that the calling of a newsman is by no means a hindrance to the possession of a remarkably sound and vigorous appetite. Indeed we have seldom seen more able performers than the lads who partook of the first dinner at one o'clock; meat-pies, pudding, and drink vanished with inconceivable celerity, and the cry was still for more. At last the young folks were satisfied, and their elder brethren and their families then partook of the second dinner at three o'clock, which being finished, the chairman rose and proposed successively the 'Queen,' 'Prince Albert,' and the 'Proprietors of the London Newspapers,' all which toasts were drunk with the most vociferous applause. After rising from the table the company proceeded to amuse themselves in the grounds till nine o'clock, when the ball, which usually succeeds these festivities, being opened under the able direction of that *skilful but eccentric master of the ceremonies,* dancing-master Wilson, the ladies and gentlemen present commenced dancing, which they kept up with great spirit long after we were *compelled to depart.* The festivities of the day were well conducted by Mr. Wylde, the chairman, assisted by the stewards, and seemed to give general satisfaction; and the company, though abundantly uproarious, appeared to enjoy themselves greatly after their own way. To the credit of the party it should be observed, that *out of* nearly five hundred individuals, young and old, who were present, we did not see one tipsy man or woman."

It is a more delicate matter dealing with the character and position of the literary labourers in the newspaper vineyard. They wield goose-quills too, and are noways slow to betake themselves to their tools, either in attack or defence. A great deal of melancholy cant has of late been vented about the social estimation of journalists as below their deserts. The intellectual character of British journalists, too, it has been said by those who ought to know better, is

inferior to the French. Neither assertion is true. The cry about the degraded *status* of journalists has been got up by a knot of kid-glove democrats, who wish to be pets of the saloons, as some French journalists are. The *prestige* which attaches to the literary character in France, and to writers in journals along with the rest, cannot be expected here. In England a man takes his place in public esteem, not on the strength of his profession, but of his personal character—and may this long be the case. No one need expect to find here a company awed into respect by the announcement that he is Mr. ———, editor of the ———; but neither need he fear, if his conduct is what it ought to be, that the announcement will make him less regarded. Journalists may command, and do, and have commanded, as much respect in this country as members of any other profession. As to the alleged superiority of the French newspaper press, it is, in respect of news, both as concerns quantity and quality, decidedly inferior to the English; and, without any wish to undervalue the high talents dedicated to journalism in France, there have been, and are, talents quite as high embarked in the profession in London. That the character of mercantile speculation preponderates in our newspapers is, in so far as politics are concerned, rather an advantage than the contrary. The fears of proprietors put a check upon such crude and rash speculations as distinguished the French 'Globe' in the days of its St. Simonianism. There may be less of the parade of scientific inquiry in English journals, but there is more of practical statesmanship. The men who are trained to political controversy in association with the party-leaders of their day, and the most active members of the great mercantile interests, are trained in a better school than sentimental and imaginative belle-lettrists, like Lamartine and De Tocqueville.

Within our limits it would be impossible to sketch the characters of 139 newspapers, and a bare list of their names would be tedious. All that can be done is to group them in classes, indicating the peculiarities of each class by a few of the more prominent individuals belonging to it. The daily papers are a class by themselves. They are in the news department less narrators of events than mirrors of the transactions themselves. The full, almost *verbatim*, reports of speechifying meetings, the long collections of protocols and other official documents, are given with a conscientious fidelity that renders these papers sometimes almost as tiresome as the facts they chronicle. There was a time when the newspapers were not allowed to report the proceedings of Parliament, and then they must have been deficient in a very interesting feature. But the fidelity with which the debates in Parliament are now reported has become wearisome. The public has been surfeited with Parliamentary eloquence. To wade through these interminable columns, a man would require to have no other avocation. So strongly is this felt, that all the daily papers are now in the habit of giving, along with their full Parliamentary report (which is intended probably as a matter of record or a *pièce justificatif*), an abstract of it in the editorial column—and few readers, we suspect, venture upon any more. Each of the leading daily papers has a strongly-marked spirit of individuality, impressed upon it in some instances by the first projector, and retained through many changes of proprietorship and editorship. 'The Times' is right John Bull; always vigorous and vehement, sometimes to a degree ludicrously disproportioned to the subject of dis-

cussion. Shrewd and energetic, it is *borné* in the last degree when any question comes to be discussed in which the insular prejudices of England come into play. The 'Standard' is marked by clear logic, strong prepossessions, and a high gentlemanly tone. It is the paper of a ripe scholar, and withal somewhat of a recluse. The 'Globe' is characterized by a diplomatic *retenue* and the natural easy tone of a man of the world. This it inherits from a former editor: the present writers have caught up his mantle, but a flippancy at times breaks out which contrasts disagreeably with the usual tone of the paper. The 'Post' is apt to be looked upon as a mere fashionable paper: this is a mistake—there is much vigorous writing and unconventional thought, both in the literary and political departments. The 'Chronicle' and 'Herald' are undergoing a transmutation, so that we rather conjecture what they are to be than know what they are: the latter is improving in vigour and variety.

The London weekly papers are literary, or political, or sporting, or fashionable, or agricultural, or commercial, or blackguard. To these may be added class papers.

There are only two exclusively literary papers: the 'Athenæum' and the 'Literary Gazette.' The leading political weekly papers are the 'Spectator,' 'Examiner,' 'John Bull,' 'Weekly Dispatch,' and 'Weekly Chronicle.' The circulation of these papers, according to the latest stamp returns, is—of the 'Spectator, 3850; of the 'Examiner,' 6312; of the 'John Bull,' 3750; of the 'Weekly Dispatch,' 66,666; and of the 'Weekly Chronicle,' 17,083. The 'Weekly Chronicle' and the 'Examiner' represent the opinions of two sections of the middle-class liberals; the 'Dispatch' is affected by the hard-headed artisans; the 'John Bull' is still nominally the representative of the class which yet glories in the designation of Tory, though its real rank is rendered questionable by the rising conservative journal the 'Britannia.' 'Bell's Life in London' is the only exclusively sporting paper. It is a goodly mass of small type, recording all feats in racing, hunting, boating, coursing, cricketing, and, in short, every *ing* that flourishes in the fields of merry England. The 'Sunday Times,' however, supplies its readers with a fair proportion of sporting intelligence. The 'Era,' a paper of only a few years' standing, is looked up to by some sporting characters as a fair record of the events of the turf. The circulation of 'Bell's Life' is 18,750; of the 'Sunday Times,' 21,666; of the 'Era,' 4958. The so-called fashionable papers are the 'Court Journal' (1491), and 'Court Gazette' (666): they are patronised by the same class that patronised the fashionable novels in their day. Foremost among the agricultural papers stands one of the oldest London papers, the 'Old Bell's Messenger.' This journal has for forty years been considered, *par excellence*, the farmers' journal: 17,333 copies circulate almost exclusively among the farmers. The 'Mark Lane Express' is rather the journal of the corn-factors than of the agriculturists: 4500 are circulated weekly among the frequenters of corn-markets. The commercial journals are the 'Journal of Commerce,' and the 'Mercantile Journal' (both excellent papers in their way), with a whole host of 'Prices Current,' 'Trade Lists,' 'Circulars,' &c. &c. Almost every class and profession have now their special journals: soldiers and sailors have their 'Military and Naval Gazette,' and 'United Service Gazette;' the gardeners have a 'Gazette' and a 'Chronicle;' the lawyers have their 'Jurist;' and the justices

of the peace a paper which takes their name; speculators in steam and railways have the 'Railway Times;' the colonial interest has its 'Colonial Gazette;' and some colonies (as for example New Zealand) have journals of their own published in London. Every sect in religion almost has its newspaper:—the evangelical churchmen have their 'Record;' the high-churchmen their 'Church Intelligencer;' the ruling body of the Dissenters their 'Patriot;' and their opposition the 'Nonconformist:' one section of the Wesleyans patronise the 'Watchman;' another the 'Wesleyan Chronicle;' and our Roman Catholic brethren have their 'Tablet.' Perhaps the blackguard papers above alluded to may be named as class papers, and the best way to put a stop to them may be to mark down as blackguards all their supporters. The 'Illustrated Newspapers' are a recent invention. The novelty of the speculation insured them a large circulation at first, and they still in part retain it; though some old experienced traders shake their heads, and "much question whether one illustrated paper will exist three years longer."

["Glorious News!"—Horn Boys.]

[Barry's Pictures: Grecian Harvest Home.]

CXXIII.—THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c. IN THE ADELPHI.

This once-flourishing and influential Society has been so long reposing beneath the shadow of its laurels, that now, when it arouses itself to renewed vigour and action, it must not be surprised to find its very existence, much more its services, forgotten, and that its greeting with the public generally will be at first little else than a repetition of the remark and question: "The Society of Arts!—what Society is that?" There may be something mortifying in this, but it cannot be helped, that is one consolation; another may be found in the respectable antiquity of the custom of forgetting what is no longer of service to us. "There's hope," says Hamlet, in a passage applying with still greater force to societies than to individuals, "a great man's memory may outlive his life half a year: but, by 'r lady, he must build churches then." Now, if there had been any alternative but the building of churches, this Society must have been remembered for at least its half year of lifelessness or inaction, so many, so various, and so important are the good things it has done for the development and promotion of the arts, manufactures, and commerce of England. To this Society some of our

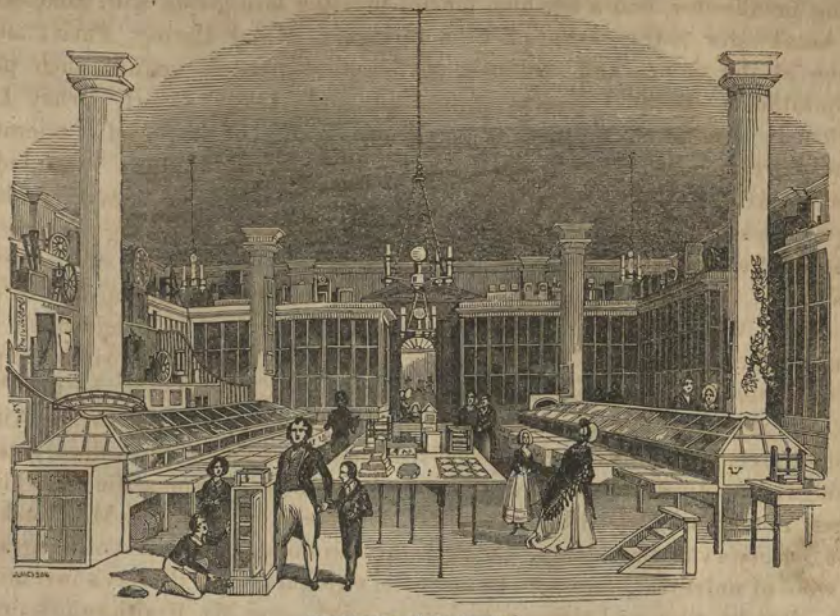
best artists have owed the most priceless of all services that can be rendered to men of genius at the outset of their career, appreciation on the part of an enlightened few, introduction under favourable circumstances to the many. It was established in 1754, chiefly through the public spirit of a drawing-master, Mr. William Shipley; and after tossing about from coffee-house to coffee-house, from private apartments to private apartments, finally and most satisfactorily settled itself in 1774 in its own premises, in the Adelphi. It was while the members were yet in their rooms in the Strand, that Bacon, in 1758, ventured to send a small figure of Peace, and was delighted with a reward of ten guineas. Subsequent attempts by the same artist were so successful, that he gained the highest premium on nine different occasions. His three beautiful works now at the Adelphi, Mars, Venus, and Narcissus, all originals, all the size of life, and all presented by him, show how deeply he felt his obligations to the Society. Again, in 1761, Nollekens received ten guineas for the alto-relievo of 'Jephthah's Vow,' which now hangs up in the antechamber to the great room of the Society; and two years later, fifty guineas, as a mark of its approbation of a still more important piece of sculpture. The example of these sculptors was followed soon after by Flaxman, who, sending in 1768 one of his earliest attempts, received a grant of ten guineas; for another work, exhibited in 1771, he obtained the Society's gold medal. Next came Lawrence, who, at the early age of thirteen, received the reward of a silver palette, gilt, with the addition of five guineas in money, for his drawing in crayons of the Transfiguration; the painter, in the height of his subsequent prosperity, was accustomed to speak of the impulse thus given to his love of the art. Other names might be added to the list, which could also be extended with interest to painters of the present day; as, for instance, Sir William Ross received the Society's silver palette in 1807, at the age of twelve, for a drawing of the death of Wat Tyler; Mr. Edwin Landseer received a similar mark of approbation in 1810 for an *etching;* and Mr. Wyon was adjudged the gold medal in 1818, for a medal die. But to artists there is a feature of still greater interest in the Society's history: it was in its rooms that the first public exhibition of paintings in England took place in 1760, and which was continued with great success for some years. If we turn to manufactures and commerce, and the variety of incidentals included in those terms, we find even more important and solid services rendered, as a whole, though the details furnish fewer points of interest or comment. The large expenditure of the Society in the reward of merit, which expenditure, for about ninety years, has considerably exceeded 100,000*l.*, is alone a striking fact, connected as it has been with so little personal interest on the part of the distributors, whose labours have been throughout labours of love. In glancing over the subjects that have engaged their attention with the happiest results, we may mention the following. To the growth of forest trees the Society gave a great impulse among the higher classes, almost immediately after its formation, and accordingly we find among the recipients of its gold and silver medals the Dukes of Bedford and Beaufort, the Earls of Winterton, Upper Ossory, and Mansfield, and a Bishop of Llandaff. A similar movement took place, and through the same agency, in agriculture, with the effect of bringing to bear on that most important of all sciences, and almost for the first time, a considerable amount of intellect and education, and enterprising activity, which formed most

refreshing contrasts to the dulness, ignorance, and unwillingness to move one inch out of the even tenor of their way, that too generally characterised the farmers of England at the time. Mr. Curwen of Windermere, who received several medals for agricultural improvements, stated at one of the public meetings that but for the Society he should never have been a farmer; and his case was no doubt but one of a large number. Implements began rapidly to improve; madder, hemp, foreign grasses, and different sorts of cattle, were added to our home productions; experiments on drill husbandry were brought into notice; and thus did the Society lead the way to that assiduous study of all the processes of agriculture—however apparently well known—that promises yet to revolutionise the entire science. Then in chemistry, we had for the first time manufactured at home such vessels as the best kinds of crucibles, melting-pots for tin ores, and earthen retorts, such materials as smalt and verdigris; whilst the prosperity of the country was even more directly advanced by the introduction of new or improved modes of tinning copper and brass vessels, dyeing woollen cloth, linen, cotton, silk, and leather, making buff leather, transparent varnishes, and enamels, tanning with oak saw-dust, &c. &c. In manufactures and mechanics generally, the Society taught us, or at least aided those who did so, the manufacture of Turkey carpets, tapestry weaving, weaving to imitate the Marseilles and India quilting; also how to improve our spinning and lace-making, our paper and our catgut for musical instruments, our straw bonnets, and artificial flowers. The colonies shared in its extensive beneficence: potash and pearlash were produced by the Society's agency in North America; and just before the war of independence which separated the States from England broke out, it was busily engaged in introducing the cultivation of the vine, the growth of silkworms, and the manufacture of indigo and vegetable oils. But the rewards, some twenty in number, given within the last forty years or so, to poor Bethnal Green and Spitalfields' weavers, for useful inventions in their calling, illustrates perhaps even better than any of the foregoing notices that feature of the Society which so honourably distinguishes it from all others in the present day, its readiness to receive, examine, and reward every kind of useful invention that may be brought forward by those who have neither friends nor money to aid them in making their inventions known. To all such persons the Adelphi is ever open; and the general knowledge of this fact throughout Britain might yet be attended with more important results than any noted in the Society's previous history. So careful has the latter been to do full justice to whatever might be offered it by parties thus situated, that, till recently, patented inventions were not included within its scope; and now that an alteration has taken place, and that the Society very properly is ready to do its best to disseminate information as to all useful discoveries, whether patents or not, it still reserves its rewards for those who are too poor to take out a patent, or too liberal.

A brief notice of the rewards granted during the present year, and of some of the principal communications read to the Society, will, in connexion with the foregoing pages, give a tolerably clear view of the Society's general proceedings. In the mechanical and other practical arts, rewards have been given for an improved method of hanging window-sashes, an improved life-buoy, an improved tube for weaving wide velvet, an improved loom for weaving horse-hair; also for

a plan of a self-acting feeding-apparatus for high-pressure boilers, a plan of a floating breakwater, and a machine for hot-pressing lace goods, with some others. The breakwater is the invention of a foreigner, Major Parlby, Paris; and in looking at the names and addresses of the other parties, we find such places as Spitalfields, Bethnal Green, Mile End, and Russell Court, Drury Lane, mentioned; significant evidences of the admirable effect of the Society's operations in the development of unfriended talent. The eight subjects rewarded, in connexion with the fine arts, consist of a drawing of the Townley Hercules, a design for a school-house, designs for architectural ornaments, design for the best elevation of a Gothic church, a painting in oil of animals from life, different portraits in oil, and a drawing of the Apollo. The rewards are medals of gold and silver, with occasionally money payments in lieu of or in addition. One feature of these rewards of merit has yet to be mentioned—the prizes are publicly presented to the recipients in the great room at the Adelphi, by the President, who is now no less a personage than Her Majesty's consort, Prince Albert. Among the communications read during the present session, on the ordinary weekly evenings of meeting (Wednesdays), may be mentioned the type-setting machine of Messrs. Young and Delcambre—the lithotint process, explained by Mr. Rotch, one of the Society's vice-presidents—the Secretary's communication on Arithmography, or system of universal languages by means of numbers—Mr. Prosser's invention of making bricks, tiles, and tesseræ, by compression—and Mr. Braithwaite's process of stamping wood with hot irons, to produce imitations of the best style of carving. All this multifarious business is managed by means of nine committees, some of which meet weekly; one having for its charge the subject of Accounts, a second Agriculture, a third Chemistry, a fourth Colonies and Trade, and so on for Correspondence and Papers, Manufactures, Mechanics, Miscellaneous matters, and, lastly, Fine Arts. Members generally may attend the meetings of committees, with the exception of that of Miscellaneous matters, which consists of the Chairmen of the other committees and six members chosen from the body at large. The number of members is now about 700, no less than 125 having been added in the present year, since the revival we have referred to. The terms of membership are a single payment of twenty guineas or annual payments of two, which include the right of borrowing books from the valuable scientific library.

According to the title of the Society it is established "for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce;" tolerably comprehensive words certainly, but evidently not too much so. Indeed, looking at the variety of subjects we have already had occasion to mention, and then stepping into the model-room of the Society at the Adelphi, one might be tempted to ask whether there are any limits to its field of exertion; whether, in short, it is not a society for the encouragement of everything. What a glorious confusion there is amidst all this orderly array of glass-cases, that extend horizontally in rows across the room, or that perpendicularly line the walls. Hands for the one-handed, to give them again two, and other instruments for those who have lost both—cloths of all sorts of materials from all sorts of countries—medals of Charles the First's reign and the last new stove of Victoria's—fire-escape ladders to run down from windows, and scaffolds, rising telescope-fashion out of a box, to mount up to roofs (a most ingenious machine, and worthy the admiration which we understand his Royal



[Model-room of the Society.]

Highness the President recently expressed in regard to it)—bee-hives, and instruments to slice turnips—ploughs, and instruments to restrain vicious bulls—pans to preserve butter in hot localities, and safety-lamps to preserve men in dangerous ones—models of massive cranes, and of little tips for umbrellas—life-buoys, and maroon-locks to give notice of thieves in gardens—diving-bells and expanding-keys—safe coaches and traps—clocks, and improved tail-pieces for violoncellos—instruments to draw spirits, and instruments to draw teeth—samples of tea, sugar, cinnamon, and nutmegs, in different stages of growth—models of Tuscan pavements—beds for invalids—methods to teach the blind how to write—but the list is interminable, and were we to continue it for half-a-dozen pages further, we should be in no appreciable degree nearer the end. It is but justice to another admirable point of the Society's policy to mention here, that however miscellaneous many of the subjects may be which are brought annually before it, in accordance with the particular pursuit or skill of individuals, the Society itself, at the same time, pursues a methodical course of its own: thus while it rewards by "bounties" whatever inventions or works of more than ordinary skill and value are casually submitted to it, its chief rewards, or "premiums," are bestowed on those who have succeeded in a competition, or in a mode, the nature of which has been previously pointed out by the Society. Its guide in selecting subjects for premiums may be, perhaps, best expressed in the phrase, 'What do we most want?' a question that we may presume to find practically answered in the list now before us, of subjects for which rewards will be given in the course of the next two sessions. These are classed under the heads Agriculture, Fine Arts, Chemistry and Mineralogy, Colonies and Trade, Manufactures, Mechanics, and include a host of matters of the deepest interest, in connexion with the national prosperity. We find among them premiums offered for cheaper or superior

modes of gaining lands from the sea, cultivating waste lands, draining, forming manure, making extensive plantations, particularly on land unfit for other purposes; also for the introduction of new and improved species and varieties of forest, or fruit, or ornamental trees, shrubs, and other plants;—in some instances of known dicœcious plants, of which we possess but one sex, specified by name; as in the beautiful evergreen so common in our gardens, the aucuba japonica, or gold plant, the female of which we alone possess, and for the male a gold medal is consequently offered. Then, again, premiums are offered for new or improved methods of harvesting corn or making hay in wet seasons—for importing and rearing in this country any improved breed of cattle, sheep, or other domestic animals (the Cashmere-shawl goat forms a special item)—for improvement in the heating of horticultural buildings, and in the formation of better and cheaper agricultural machines: these all occur under the head Agriculture. Beneath that of Chemistry and Mineralogy, communications are desired on the subjects of generating steam at a higher power, without increasing the danger or the expense —on preventing smoke—on purer glass for optical purposes—on the discovery in Britain, or in a British colony, of a stone for lithography, to equal the best German stones—of better modes of lighting houses and streets. In connexion with Colonies and Trade, the improvements, discoveries, or introductions sought are—the growth of flax in British India, and of silk and tea in any British colony—a substitute for hemp—also accounts of the Chinese modes of manufacturing their Indian paper so much used by our printsellers, their porcelain, and of their method of growing cocoa. Under the head Mechanics, the attention of candidates is directed generally to improvement in those important objects on which the interests of Great Britain essentially depend, namely—the shipping, steam-engines, steam-boats and carriages, roads, bridges, tunnels, canals, docks, and harbours; the construction of rail-roads, and modes of propelling rail-road carriages; also to everything connected with these subjects, as machinery, tools, and diminution of manual labour; to the improvement of optical, mathematical, astronomical and especially of nautical instruments, in respect to accuracy or facility of use; to the improvement of surgical instruments and apparatus; and, we are glad to see, to the diminution of danger attending many of the ordinary avocations of men through steam-boilers, gunpowder-mills, public conveyances, mines, and quarries. Lastly, the Society announce, under the head of Fine Arts, that, for the future, the rewards will be confined to original works of art; including historical subjects, portraits, landscapes, fruit, flowers and still life; enamels and miniatures; architectural designs; drawings of machinery; engravings on steel, copper and wood; medal dies, gems and cameos, drawings in lithography, lithotint, &c.; models in wax and clay; carvings in wood, ivory, marble, or other suitable material; anatomical, botanical, and other scientific drawings, and improvements in the Daguerrotype and Solar type processes.

Such are but a few of the subjects to which the Society directs attention at the present time, and in connexion with which it offers its numerous rewards. We may conclude this part of our paper by throwing out a suggestion which seems to us not unworthy of notice. Of all the communicants, or those who might become so under favourable circumstances, of the Society, it is evident a very large portion must be persons whose situation will not admit of the expenditure

of any considerable amount of time, much less of money, unless with the expectation of a decidedly beneficial pecuniary return; yet this the Society does not give: we think it might. If, instead of offering small premiums in connexion with so many different subjects, it would yearly select a few of the most important, and promote them by large ones, the result, we think, would be a more decided success; the Society, it seems to us, would become a still more valuable agent for the promotion of all the great objects it has at heart. We now turn to an event in the history of the Society which has already done much to popularise it in years past, which may yet do much more, when the magnificent works which that event placed in their possession shall be as generally known and appreciated as they deserve.

Some sixty years ago, there might have been seen daily passing in a direction between Oxford Street and the Adelphi, for years together, and through all kinds of weather, one whose appearance told, to even the most casual observer, he looked upon a remarkable man. Referring to himself, in one of his letters to a friend, he had once said, "though the body and the soul of a picture will discover themselves on the slightest glance, yet you know it could not be the same with such a pock-fretted, hard-featured little fellow as I am also;" but neither these personal characteristics, nor the mean garb in which he usually appeared, could conceal the earnestness stamped upon his grave, saturnine countenance, or the air of entire absorption in some mental pursuit, having little in common with the bustle of the every-day business of the world around him. He was a man to make or to keep few friends, and to shun all acquaintances; it was not often therefore that, in these passages to and fro, he had any companion; but the event was noticeable when he had, from the striking change in his demeanour.

[Barry.]

He became full of animation, and of a kind of sparkling cheerfulness; his conversation was at once frank, weighty, and elevating, and even the oaths, with which he made somewhat free, could not spoil the delight of the most fastidious censor of words, whilst borne along on the full and free current of the painter's thoughts. No one but himself at such times would have called his countenance "hard-featured;" its smile was inexpressibly sweet, its look of scorn or anger, when roused, such as few men could have met unmoved. But what was the

employment that thus determined for so long a period his daily movements? The answer will require a brief review of his past career. Whilst a young student at Rome, Barry—for it was he to whom we refer—had been often annoyed by the absurd taunts of foreigners as to the ungenial character of the British soil for the growth of Art, often seduced into answering them in such a manner as suited rather his fiery temper and indomitable will, than the cause which he so impatiently espoused. But a better result was his own quiet determination to devote his life to the disproof of the theory. He began admirably, by a strict analysis of his own powers, and by inquiring how they were best to be developed. Here is the result: "If I should chance to have genius, or anything else," he observes, in a letter to Dr. Sleigh, "it is so much the better; but my hopes are grounded upon an unwearied, intense application, of which I am not sparing. At present I have little to show that I value; my work is all under ground, digging and laying foundations, which, with God's assistance, I may hereafter find the use of. I every day centre more and more upon the art; I give myself totally to it: and, except honour and conscience, am determined to renounce every thing else." But the writer was without a shilling in the world to call his own; and although he had friends, the best of friends, as they were, one of them at least, Burke, the best of men, he had already received from them the entire means of subsistence while he had been studying so long at Rome, and was determined therefore to be no longer a burden to them or to others; but how should he, renouncing all the ordinary blandishments of a young painter's career, the "face-painting" and other methods by which genius condescends to become fashionable, or, in other words, to lay down its immortality for the pleasure of being acknowledged immortal, how was he to subsist? It was whilst this question remained, we may suppose, not decisively answered, that the painter thus mournfully wrote to a friend:—'O, I could be happy, on my going home, to find some corner where I could sit down in the middle of my studies, books, and casts after the antique, to paint this work and others, where I might have models of nature when necessary, bread and soup, and a coat to cover me! I should care not what became of my work when it was done; but I reflect with horror upon such a fellow as I am, and with such a kind of art in London, with house-rent to pay, duns to follow me, and employers to look for. Had I studied art in a manner more accommodated to the nation, there would be no dread of this." But from this state of despondency and dissatisfaction he was soon to rise triumphant. Again and again he asked himself how he was to subsist while the great things he meditated should be accomplished, and the answer came: the conclusion was anything but attractive or cheering, but he saw it was the conclusion: *no cross, no crown;* and accepted it ungrudgingly. It was not long before he could say, "I have taken great pains to fashion myself to this kind of Quixotism: to this end I have contracted and simplified my cravings and wants, and brought them into a very narrow compass." There are few, we think, of those who may have smiled with pity or contempt at the painter's mean garb, who would not have honoured it while they reverenced him, had they known this. The first apparent opportunity of achieving the object indicated, was in connexion with the proposed decoration of St. Paul's, of which we have already given an account. The very idea was enough to set Barry's soul on fire. It

opened a field of exertion wider in its range, more magnificent in its nature, than in his cooler moments he could have expected would ever have been afforded him; though, from the following passage of one of his letters, it should seem that he had not only long meditated upon the scheme, but had been—in opposition to the general notion, which accords the merit to Reynolds—the first to propose it to the Academy.—"The dean and chapter have agreed to leave the ornamenting of St. Paul's to the Academy, and it now rests with us to give permission to such painters as we shall think qualified to execute historical pictures of a certain size, I believe from fifteen to twenty feet high. We also intend to set up a monument there—Pope is mentioned—the sculptor is to be paid by subscription, and a benefit from the play-house. I proposed this matter to the Academy about a year since, a little after my being admitted an associate, and I had long set my heart upon it, as the only means for establishing a solid, manly taste for real art, in place of our contemptible passion for the daubing of inconsequential things, portraits of dogs, landscapes, &c.—things which the mind, which is the soul of art, having no concern in, have hitherto served to disgrace us over all Europe."* The enthusiasm of the Academy seems to have been all expended in its offer respecting St. Paul's; for, on the refusal of the Bishop of London, they allowed the matter to drop; and when the Society which forms the subject of this paper very wisely stepped forward and offered its room for decoration, the Academy declined. No wonder that Barry's dislike of the Academy grew more and more decided, member of it though he was; or that he could no longer allow his life to glide away without the accomplishment of any of its great objects: it was soon rumoured through the academic circle, with such comments as ill-nature, jealousy, and personal dislike would prompt, that Barry himself, single-handed, had offered to undertake the great work they had refused, and that the Society had accepted his offer. Barry, at the time of his offer, is said to have had just sixteen shillings in his possession; but he says, referring to his writings, "I thought myself bound, in duty to the country, to art, and to my own character, to try whether my abilities would enable me to exhibit the proof as well as the argument." And so, merely stipulating for the exercise of his own independent judgment, free admission at all times, and that the necessary models should be furnished at the Society's expense, he began his undertaking. Such was the man, such the nature of the avocations that drew him daily, at the period we have mentioned, towards the Adelphi. Let us now ascend the stairs to the first floor, passing through the little anteroom where the alto-relievos of Bacon and Nollekens are mounted high upon the walls, and beneath the portrait of the founder of the Society, which appropriately hangs over the door of the great room, where the painter's works are to be found. The first glance shows us in one way the magnitude of the undertaking; the upper portion of the walls of the whole of the noble room, or hall, as it should rather be called, is covered by the six paintings of which the series consists; as we step from one to another, we perceive that these large spaces have been wrought upon in a large spirit, and a still closer examination opens to our view pictures of surpassing beauty and grandeur, and scarcely less remarkable as a

* Letter to the Duke of Richmond.

whole for the successful manner in which they have been executed, than for the daring originality of their conception.

His leading object, it seems, was to convey the idea, "That the attainment of happiness, individual as well as public, depends on the development, proper cultivation, and perfection of the human faculties, physical and moral, which are so well calculated to lead human nature to its true rank, and the glorious designation assigned for it by Providence." A truth of the mightiest import, and for all time, and, of course, one that a painter requires every fair indulgence in the attempt to illustrate by the mere representation of half a dozen scenes. In the first of these, the principle of civilization is at once forcibly and poetically embodied in the picture of Orpheus, in the combined characters of legislator, priest, poet, philosopher, and musician, addressing a wild and uncultivated people, in a

[Barry's Pictures: Orpheus civilizing the inhabitants of Thrace.]

country but too much in harmony with themselves. As he pours forth his songs of instruction, accompanied by the music of his lyre,—types of the instruments by and through which he works, the understanding, and the feelings,—the rapt savage fresh from the chace, with his female partner, to whom he has delegated the task of carrying the dead fawn, leaning upon his shoulders, the old man looking up with the scepticism natural to age overborne by wonder and admiration, and him

who sits by his side, lost in surprise, at the new views opening upon him of what may be done by so small and as yet comparatively untried an instrument as the hand, all betoken the potency of the "minister and interpreter of the gods," as Horace calls him. Comments have been made on the delicacy of the female above mentioned, as inconsistent with the painter's own view of showing "that the value and estimation of women increase according to the growth and cultivation of society, and that, amongst savage nations, they are in a condition little better than the beasts of burden." Barry seems to have perceived this himself; for in his etchings of the picture in the great work published by him, which lies on the table, the objection seems to be completely obviated. He has there removed the censer, the fumes of which, winding upwards, veil the undressed limbs in the picture, and made it prominent to the eye, and, at the same time, by other alterations, removed the air of excessive delicacy, and made the figure as we now see it in our engraving. The second picture presents us with a lovely view of a 'Grecian Harvest Home;' the inhabitants are no longer such as Orpheus addressed, but such as his teachings and time have made them, civilized, gentle, and happy, the cultivation of their fields and the tending of their flocks their chief avocation, the dance and the song their chief enjoyment, the honour of success in a wrestling match their highest ambition. The thoroughly Grecian air of this picture must enchant every one. Barry, as well as Wordsworth, felt that—

> "in despite
> Of the gross fictions, chanted in the streets
> By wandering rhapsodists; and in contempt
> Of doubt and bold denials hourly urged
> Amid the wrangling schools—a spirit hung,
> Beautiful region! o'er thy woods and fields,"

and, like the poet, he has made us feel it too. This is the triumph of art. The third picture of the series, that facing you as you enter the room, is perhaps, taken altogether, as great a picture as ever was painted. We have advanced from savage life and the earliest stage of civilization, to that where poets, painters, sculptors, philosophers, have arisen to shed a new glory over the earth, and where the heroes have become more essentially because more ideally heroic. Most happily has the painter chosen the one event that above all others could best enable him to express this new position in the history of man, and the acknowledgments due to the people to whom we owe so much: the Victors at Olympia is the subject of the third picture; the age of Pericles, the most brilliant in Grecian history, the time. Beneath the seat of the judges are portraits reminding us of the illustrious men who have helped to make Greece what she here appears, Solon, Lycurgus, and others; and trophies telling of the grander events of her history,—of Salamis, of Marathon, and of Thermopylæ; whilst in the crowds congregated about the victors, we have Pindar leading the chorus in the singing of one of his own odes; behind him, in the chariot, is Hiero of Syracuse; Pericles is seen in another direction speaking to Cimon; whilst Socrates, Anaxagoras, Euripides listen, and Aristophanes scoffs. The chief group represents Diagoras of Rhodes, who had in his youth been celebrated for his own victories in the

games, and who is now borne on the shoulders of his sons, one of whom has been this day the victor at the Cestus; the multitude are filling the air with their acclamations, and strewing flowers upon his head as the victorious father of victorious children; whilst a friend on the left grasps his hand, and tells him in the well-known recorded words, "Now, Diagoras, die, for thou canst not be made a god." Of the two other victors on the right, both foot racers, one has already received the branch of palm, and is being crowned, while the scribe at the table records his name, family, and country. If the reader will look in the extreme corner of the picture on the left hand, he will see an interesting practical evidence of Barry's own opinion of the work; that low figure seated on the base of the statue of Hercules represents the painter in the character of Timanthes. As to the opinions of others, Canova's is a memorable case in point. When on his visit here, he said he would have come purposely to England from Rome to see it, without any other motive, had he known of the existence of such a picture.

[Barry's Pictures: The Victors at Olympia.]

Of the fourth and fifth pictures of the series little can be said in the way of praise. The artist felt the necessity of showing a something still better than

Grecian civilization, as preparatory to the Elysium into which he proposed to lead men at last, and, of course, if that were any where to be found it was in the history of commerce and the greatest of commercial countries, his own; he felt also, no doubt, that in other respects the British nation had influenced and was still influencing most potently the progress of civilization; but the pictures in which he has embodied these views are failures, nor do we see how they could be otherwise. Grecian history and civilization present a tolerably consistent whole, because the chief details were consistent with the religion, morals, and manners, the theory and the practice, of the Grecian people. Our history and civilization present but too many evidences of inconsistency; we have ascended higher, but sunk lower; have made our religion, morals, and manners too often at war with each other, our theory a frequent satire on our practice. In the mean time we have the Thames, in the shape of a venerable figure, in a triumphal car, borne along by Drake, Raleigh, Cabot, and Cook, accompanied by Mercury as Commerce, with Nereids carrying articles of manufacture and industry, among whom Dr. Burney is somewhat ludicrously introduced as the personified idea of Music. The most pertinent criticism we have seen on this picture was the unintentional one on the part of a dowager, who, putting her fan before her face, expressed her regret to see "good Dr. Burney with a parcel of naked girls dabbling in a horse-pond." The other picture referred to is the meeting of the members of the Society of Arts for the annual distribution of the premiums, and who appear to be debating how they may best forward the objects of the Society; a work in itself of considerable merit, and interesting in the locality, but too restricted in its nature for the series. Opposite the Victors at Olympia, and over the door of entrance, is the last of these pictorial essays on moral culture, the view of Elysium, certainly one of the boldest flights of imagination to which painter ever ventured to give a local habitation and a name, and, though not as a whole to be compared with the 'Olympia,' which seems to us all but perfect, presents perhaps a still loftier view of the artist's genius. Michael Angelo might have been proud of that wonderful figure of the Archangel Gabriel, who keeps watch and ward between the confines of Elysium and Tartarus; and, indeed, the amazing character of the whole conception is not unworthy of that sublime painter. Barry was quite aware of the objections to which 'Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution' was exposed. "Although," he says, "it is indisputably true that it exceeds the highest reach of human comprehension to form an adequate conception of the nature and degree of that beatitude which hereafter will be the final reward of virtue; yet it is also true that the arts which depend on the imagination, though short and imperfect, may nevertheless be very innocently and very usefully employed on the subject, from which the fear of erring ought not to deter us from the desire of being serviceable." "It was my wish," he continues, "to bring together in Elysium those great and good men of all ages and nations who were cultivators and benefactors of mankind. The picture forms a kind of apotheosis, or more properly a beatification, of those useful qualities which were pursued throughout the series." The truly admirable manner in which he has done this is remarkable; he has utterly sunk all consciousness of self, of the man Barry's religious, moral, political, philosophical,

[Barry's Pictures · View of Elysium.]

or artistical biases, in order to look over the field of human history as a superior being might be supposed to look over it, who had nothing in common with humanity, and, thus looking, true intellectual eminence is not difficult to be distinguished. The very case that has been adduced to prove the contrary is one of the strongest of evidences of this, Hogarth's; against whom Barry is said to have had a grudge, and of whose merit he has certainly spoken disrespectfully—but Hogarth is there. A more important evidence of the largeness and philosophical grasp of the painter's mind is the way in which he has grouped his characters, making light of the accidents of time, country, or costume, to impress with the more striking force the essentials of biographical history. Thus we have Roger Bacon, Archimedes, Descartes, and Thales, in one combination; Homer, Milton, Shakspere, Spenser, Chaucer, and Sappho, in another; Alfred the Great, Penn, and Lycurgus, in a third. Other portraits will be readily recognised in our engravings. Two features of the picture exhibit Barry's judgment as conspicuously in what he has avoided, as the whole shows his lofty courage in what he has grappled with. Near the top of the picture, on the left, cherubim are seen indistinctly through the blaze of light and glory that streams down—from whence

we need not ask; at the opposite corner of the picture, at the bottom, we have an indication equally slight, but equally sufficient, of Tartarus and the torments of the damned. As an evidence of the spirit in which, as we have said, Barry introduced or kept out the persons who fell under his consideration when selecting for this picture, a little anecdote in reference to the Tartarean part of it may be read with interest. In the emaciated limb which belongs to the garter of one of the falling wicked, it was said that the leg of a nobleman who had offended Barry was noticeable. When the remark reached the latter, he defended himself with an earnestness and propriety that speak the truth of his words: "What I particularly valued in my work," said he, "was a dignity, seriousness, and gravity, infinitely removed from all personality." Still the temptation, it must be owned, was great, and many no doubt wondered why they did not find there the whole Academy. With another anecdote from the same source,* which we give in the relator's words, we conclude this notice of the pictures:—"A young lady from the north, of great beauty and wit, went to take a look at the painter's Elysium. She looked earnestly for a while, and said to Mr. Barry, 'The ladies have not yet arrived in this Paradise of yours.' 'O, but they have, madam,' said the painter with a smile, 'they reached Elysium some time ago; but I could find no place so fit for creatures so bright and beautiful as behind yon very luminous cloud. They are there, and very happy, I assure you.'"

And, referring once more to the painter's anticipated difficulties at the commencement of his career, how *did* he subsist during the six long years this work was in progress? Why, by working at night for the bread that was to keep him alive the next day, or week; making hasty drawings, or such engravings as the Job, Birth of Venus, and Lear; and when these failed, and he applied to the Society for assistance by a small subscription, and was refused, why then—God knows what he did then; for he was too proud to borrow, too honest to run in debt. However, he struggled on, bating no jot of heart or hope, until the Society gave him a donation of fifty guineas, and after that another of similar amount; and so the goal was reached at last. The paintings, begun in 1777, were completed in 1783. Something like reward now followed. The Society allowed the work to be exhibited for his benefit; Johnson came, and pronounced his decision in his usual weighty words, "There is a grasp of mind there which you will find no where else;" Burke, estranged as he was from his once "dear Barry" (and, it must be owned, not through his fault), looked upon the walls with an honest exultation as he felt how he had contributed to the success of the author; whilst good Jonas Hanway had scarcely paid his shilling and looked over the noble works around him, before he hurried back to demand its return from the astonished doorkeeper; and, on receiving it, put down a guinea in its place. By this exhibition Barry gained 500*l.*; by the etchings of the pictures which he made with his own hands, 200*l.* more; 100*l.* he received from Lord Romney, the President of the Society, whose portrait was introduced; 100*l.* was bequeathed to him by Timothy Hollis as "the painter of the work on Human Culture," and Lord Radnor presented him, in a delicate way, with 50*l.* The use Barry made

* Cunningham's 'Lives of the Painters,' &c.

of this money gives the finishing touch to the character of this noble artist:—he placed his money in the funds, and secured to himself an income of 60*l.* a-year; and that sum may be said to be the money value of Barry, as an artist, to the age he lived in, and which he has so greatly adorned by these imperishable works.

[Barry's Pictures: Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution.]

[Bartholomew's Hospital.]

CXXIV.—MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HOSPITALS AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

It is perhaps, on the whole, a matter of congratulation that the London Hospitals are more eminent as schools of medicine and surgery than for their influence as social institutions. In Paris one-third of the deaths (9338 out of 28,294, in 1840) occur in the hospitals, but in London the proportion is only one in nineteen (2358 out of 46,281). The domestic feeling, or prejudice, if we like to call it so, of the English people is, generally speaking, believed to be adverse to that public association which is inevitable in an hospital. This is true to a great extent; but, on the other hand, it is also the limited capacity of the London hospitals which restricts the proportion of persons dying there to one in nineteen. In ten general hospitals there does not exist accommodation for more than three thousand persons at one time, and every "taking-in day" a large number of persons are unable to obtain admission.

There is scarcely a district of London which is without its hospital of one kind or another; but we shall first notice the three great hospitals, two of which are of ancient foundation, and are historically interesting. The most ancient of these is St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Rahere, the minstrel of King Henry I., not content with founding the priory of St. Bartholomew, annexed to it an hospital, about the year 1122, for the relief of poor and sick persons. Alfune, who, among other charitable works, built the church of St. Giles-without-Cripplegate, and was the first "hospitaller," used daily to beg for the relief of the poor under

his care at the adjoining market and shambles of Smithfield. Four centuries after the foundation of the hospital, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London prayed the King to commit the order and governance of both this hospital and St. Thomas's to their hands. The hospital, however, was not transferred to the city until 1546, eight years later, during which period the Crown continued to enjoy its revenues, which at the dissolution were of the gross annual value of 371*l.*, of which sum 292*l.* was from rents in London and the suburbs. In 1544 the hospital was newly incorporated, but its revenues were not re-granted; and it does not appear that the new constitution ever came into operation. At length, two years afterwards, in 1546, the king consented to re-found the hospital, for the reception of one hundred poor and sick persons, and to endow it with five hundred marks from its former possessions, on condition that the citizens raised yearly other five hundred marks for its support. This they agreed to do: but Stow says that the houses which formed the bulk of the property granted by the King were either in such a decayed state or leased out at such low rents, that great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the required income, and various expedients were adopted to raise this sum. In 1548 there were three surgeons, with salaries of 18*l.* each, appointed to be in daily attendance on the sick; and in 1552 the expenditure, including the payment to the ministers of Christ's Church and St. Bartholomew's, and the diet of the one hundred poor at 2*d.* per day each, amounted to about 856*l.* per annum. In 1557 this hospital, with St. Thomas's, Christ's, Bridewell, and Bethlem, were united for purposes of administration, and their affairs were managed by one general board until 1782, when an act was passed under which, with the exception of Bridewell and Bethlem, each of them was placed on its present footing and under separate government.

The income of the hospital at present exceeds 30,000*l.* a-year. The bulk of the real estate is in London, and the London rents amount to 17,011*l.* a-year; landed estates in different parts of the country produce 6187*l.*; dividends on stock in the funds, 5236*l.*; rent-charges and annuities, 1087*l.*; and the benefactions and legacies for ten years averaged 440*l.* a-year. The pecuniary donations and bequests to the hospital, received up to 1836, amounted to 236,019*l.*, including 40,978*l.* appropriated to building the four wings between 1729 and 1748.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital is situated on the south-east side of Smithfield Market. The principal entrance is through a large arch, ornamented with a statue of Henry VIII., and two figures representing Lameness and Sickness. The main buildings consist of four separate elevations of three stories in height, faced with stone, standing detached on the four sides of a quadrangle. They were completed from the produce of voluntary subscriptions raised between 1729 and 1760. On the first floor of the north wing there is a very handsome hall, 90 feet by 35, and 30 feet high, which is appropriated to general court meetings and the annual dinners of the governors. The grand staircase was painted gratuitously by Hogarth. The four several stories of the south wing contain fifteen wards, and the west wing contains fourteen wards. The wards in the east and west wings are 52 feet by 21½; and their height varies from 10 to 15 feet. In the south wing the wards are 60 feet in length, and the heights are the same on each floor as in the east and west wings. To every ward an apartment for the sister in

attendance is annexed. In the roof of each wing is a tank for water, containing from 1800 to 2000 gallons, supplied by a steam-engine; and a continual supply from the New River Company is carried all through the hospital by force-pumps. Besides the quadrangle, the area of the hospital comprises buildings, almost as extensive, for the residences of the different officers, &c. There is also the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, rebuilt about sixteen years ago, at a cost of 6035*l.* out of the hospital funds. At the back of the western wing is a range of buildings containing the Lecture-Room for Materia Medica, the Medical Theatre, Pathological Theatre, Chemical Theatre, the Anatomical Museum, Dissecting-Rooms, rooms for lecturers, professors, and curators, pupils' room and library, laboratory, apothecary's shop, surgeon's and physician's rooms. The treasurer's house and garden, the burial-ground of the church, and the vicarage-house, occupy the space north-east of the western wing; and between it and the south-western gateway are houses for the steward, the matron, and the apothecary.

St. Thomas's Hospital was originally a religious establishment, founded by Richard, prior of Bermondsey, in 1213. In 1538 its possessions were valued at 266*l.*; and in the following year they were surrendered to the King. Before the middle of the century the suppressed hospital was purchased by the City of London; and a charter from the crown having been obtained in 1551, and the building repaired and adapted for the reception of poor, lame, and diseased people, it was opened for their admission in November, 1552. For some time the funds of the hospital were insufficient; and in 1562 the lands late belonging to the Savoy Hospital, and some other property, which had been granted to the three hospitals united, were granted for the sole use of St. Thomas's, with a view, perhaps, of equalising the revenues of the several hospitals. Notwithstanding this assistance, in 1564 the treasurer was obliged to advance 100*l.*, and in 1569 a sum of 50*l.* was obtained by pawning a lease; but it soon afterwards emerged from its difficulties. The rents of property in London and the suburbs at present realise 13,962*l.* a-year; the rental of estates in the country 9950*l.*; and the dividends on stock 671*l.* From 1693 to 1836 the pecuniary gifts to the hospital amounted to 184,378*l.* The gross annual income applicable to the general purposes of the institution is nearly 26,000*l.*

St. Thomas's Hospital is situated in the borough of Southwark, not far from the foot of London Bridge. It consists of several courts or squares, in two of which are statues; one, in brass, of Edward VI. by Scheemakers, and the other one, of stone, of Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor in 1680. A large part of the hospital buildings was rebuilt in 1693, and additions were made to them in 1732. A new north wing was completed in 1836, at a cost of 18,000*l.*; the south wing in 1842; and it is intended to rebuild the centre on an adopted plan, when the whole building will present a very imposing appearance. The site of the new north wing and a portion of ground north of the old north wing were purchased of the City for 40,850*l.*, which was at the rate of 54,865*l.* per acre! The Museum, Anatomical Theatre, Demonstrating Theatre, Lecturing Theatre, Dissecting-Room, and other appropriate offices attached, cost 8443*l.*, and are built on a site formerly covered by slaughter-houses, brothels, and miserable tenements. The Museum and Dissecting-Room are 45 feet by 25; the Lecturing Theatre is circular and 30 feet in diameter. The Museum contains about 6000 prepara-

tions. The parish church of St. Thomas stands within the area of the hospital, besides which there is a chapel. The whole parish is the property of the hospital. There are nineteen wards, three of which are 107 feet by 28, and vary in height from 12½ feet to 14½ feet. They are well ventilated, kept at a uniform and agreeable temperature by two fires, and in cold weather by hot-water apparatus, and are generally quite free from offensive smells.

The founder of Guy's Hospital was neither minstrel nor priest, and though claimed by booksellers as one of their body, his property was acquired by stock-jobbing rather than by literature. At any rate he was a man of great benevolence, and had long been a munificent supporter of St. Thomas's Hospital when he determined himself to be the founder of a new hospital. At the age of seventy-six he commenced the erection of the present building, on which during his lifetime he spent nearly 19,000*l.* He died on the 27th of December, 1724, and on the 24th of January following sixty patients were received into the hospital. In 1732 the sum of 220,134*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* was carried to the account of his executors, as the residue of Mr. Guy's estate. This magnificent bequest has been laid out at different times in the purchase of real estates in the counties of Essex, Hereford, and Lincoln. The hospital has also been benefited by the enormous bequest of Mr. Hunt, who in 1829 left it a sum amounting to 186,675*l.*, besides other property which made the total amount 196,115*l.*, on condition of enlarging the hospital and providing one hundred additional beds. This legacy has also been invested in estates. The other benefactions received from the foundation of the hospital to the present time amount to about 10,000*l.* The gross income is now above 30,000*l.* a-year, and about 21,000*l.* a-year is directly applicable to the purposes of the charity. The rental of the hospital estates is 24,732*l.* a-year, of which 2298*l.* is derived from the Southwark estates, and the dividends from funded property average about 4600*l.* a-year.

The entrance to Guy's Hospital is in St. Thomas's Street, by an iron gate opening into a square, in the centre of which is a statue, in brass, of Mr. Guy, by Scheemakers, the pedestal on which it stands bearing on one side an inscription recording Mr. Guy's benevolence, and on the other sides are relievos of Mr. Guy's arms, Christ healing the Impotent, and the Good Samaritan. The main building consists of a centre and two wings, containing residences for the Treasurer, Chaplain, Steward, Apothecary, Butler, Porter, and the "Dressers;" a chapel, in which there is a statue, by Bacon, of Mr. Guy; the "taking-in" and examination rooms, surgery, and waiting-rooms for out-patients, apothecary's shop, medical store-room, laboratories, medical and operating theatres, the electrical room (containing apparatus necessary for electrical and galvanic operations), a room for *post mortem* examinations, and several wards for patients. Behind this is the Lunatic House, which is peculiar to this hospital. The number of lunatics is twenty-four, the number provided for by Mr. Guy having been twenty. They have a tolerably spacious airing-ground in the rear of the building appropriated to their use, and a garden for their recreation adjoins it. The south side of the hospital ground comprises a mass of buildings, some of which are sick wards; and here are also the museum, theatre, and dissecting-room, and the museum of comparative anatomy, the residences of servants of the hospital, and various offices and store-rooms. The anatomical theatre and the larger theatre

in the main building afford accommodation for about 300 persons. The operating theatre is of smaller size. At the eastern extremity of the area, bounded on the north by St. Thomas's Street, is the Botanic Garden, which is occasionally used by the students, but its chief value consists in the improved ventilation which it secures to the whole establishment. The wards are all spacious and airy, and are warmed by means of stoves.

The constitution of the London Hospitals is not uniform, though in all of them the ruling body consists of the governors; but the powers of the various officers to whom the immediate management and superintendence of the hospital is entrusted are exercised under less control in some cases than in others. Since 1792 there have been two classes of governors at St. Bartholomew's, the chartered or corporation governors and the donation governors.

At St. Thomas's there are three kinds of governors. The corporation of London is represented by the lord mayor and aldermen and twelve common councilmen, as at St. Bartholomew's; and they do not derive their authority from the other governors, but from the charter of the hospital and the Act of 1782. The special governors consist almost entirely of retired officers, and the executors of benefactors are occasionally appointed. This class of governors is not required to contribute towards the funds of the Hospital, and it is this only which distinguishes them from donation governors. It has invariably been the practice to admit as donation governors any person willing to pay 50*l.* who can procure governors to propose and second them.

The government of Guy's Hospital was settled by the founder. The number of governors must be at least fifty and not exceed sixty, with a committee of twenty-one, to whom the immediate management of its affairs is entrusted, and of this number one-third retire annually. The governors are chosen from a list presented at a general court by the president and treasurer, and no division has ever taken place on their admission: no donation is required, and the appointment is for life.

The next important department of the hospitals consists of the medical and surgical establishment, including the "sisters" and nurses. At St. Bartholomew's there are three principal physicians and three assistant physicians, three principal surgeons and three assistant surgeons, who are appointed by the General Court: they do not reside in the hospital, but there are in addition three house-surgeons and an apothecary, for whom apartments are provided. One or other of the physicians and surgeons visits the hospital every day in the week, and one physician and surgeon attends the almoners in rotation on the weekly admission-days for the purpose of examining patients. The physicians receive a salary of 105*l.*, but their principal emolument is derived from the fees paid by the pupils attending the medical practice of the hospital, which are fifteen guineas for eighteen months and thirty guineas for the perpetual right. These pupils, two or three of whom are in constant attendance on each principal physician, prescribe simple remedies in his absence. The physicians have also the opportunity of becoming lecturers to the students attending the hospital school. The salary of the assistant physicians is 100*l.* per annum, but they are not allowed to take pupils, though they may become lecturers to the medical classes. The stipend of the principal surgeons is 40*l.*, besides a gratuity of 30*l.* each voted to them by

the general court, and the fees paid by the hospital pupils are divided equally among them. Each of the principal surgeons has the privilege of nominating six dressers, who, in addition to the ordinary fee of twenty-five guineas for attending the surgical practice, pay a further fee of twenty-five guineas each. Out of these one is named as his house-surgeon for the year, for which a further fee of fifty guineas is paid. In going through the wards the principal surgeon of the day is attended by the pupils, frequently from sixty to eighty in number, or even a hundred. The assistant-surgeons only act for their respective principals, and have neither salary nor any participation in the fund arising from the pupils' fees; but they usually succeed to the office of principal surgeons. The house-surgeons superintend and direct the dressers in the absence of the surgeons, perform minor surgical operations, and receive a salary from the hospital of 25*l.* a-year. The services of the eighteen "dressers" are highly useful in extending the advantages of the hospital. They attend to casual injuries of minor importance in cases where there is no necessity for the patient either being received into one of the wards or admitted as an out-patient, and they contribute to the comforts of the in-patients by watching the symptoms of their disease. On a patient being admitted into one of the wards, the dresser writes on the paper hung up at the head of each bed the name and age of the patient, the name of the complaint, the date of admission, and his own name, with a minute of the diet, medicines, and local applications ordered by the surgeon. They are required to collect a history of each new case, to report the progress of old cases, and to take down a full history of such cases as may be pointed out to them. They dress fractures, wounds, ulcers, and all cases that require local applications. The "sisters" of the wards are twenty-nine in number, one superintending each ward and one attending upon the casualty patients. They have usually been persons who have received some education and have lived in a respectable rank of life. Recently they have been at times selected from some of the most active and trustworthy among the nurses. The majority of the sisters receive from 14*s.* to 20*s.* a-week, the four seniors from 22*s.* to 31*s.* 6*d.*, and on Sundays a dinner is provided for them at the cost of the hospital. The duties of a sister consist in a general superintendence of the ward to which she is attached, in carrying into effect the directions of the medical officers, taking charge of and administering the medicines, reporting to the cook the daily diet required for the patients, and giving information to the medical officers of any change of symptoms in the patients. The nurses, seventy-five in number, act under the sisters, two of them being attached to a single and three to a double ward. They perform the usual duties of servants, in waiting on and cleaning the patients, the beds, furniture, wards, and stairs; and are paid 7*s.* a-week, and partly dieted at the expense of the hospital.

The majority of persons received as patients into the London Hospitals are mechanics, labourers, reduced tradesmen, or servants. There are, however, numerous admissions of individuals of both sexes, and particularly females, of the very lowest class of society and the worst character. The most common offences against the regulations are smoking, swearing, gambling, and fighting, and refusals to attend to the directions of the medical officers. Instances have occurred in which the lives of the sisters or nurses have been threatened by

patients of the lowest and most abandoned class. In all ordinary cases it is necessary that an applicant for admission should obtain the recommendation of a governor by his signature to a printed petition, of which forms are procured at the hospital. Many are admitted without any other recommendation than the urgency of their case. Cases of accident are admitted on all days, at any hour whatever; but at every hospital one day in the week is set apart as the regular day of admission, when the applicants attend in the patients' waiting-room one hour before the meeting of the board. Small-pox is the only disease against which the doors of the hospital are absolutely closed. The admissions average between fifty and sixty on the regular days, which is also the average number of the accident admissions and others which take place on other days. The out-patients consist of such as, being in want of medical aid, either do not apply for, or from the nature of the case or the want of room cannot obtain, admission into the hospital; or of convalescents, who, when partially cured in the hospital, are removed to make room for others. The casualty patients include all who apply on any day in the week between ten and twelve for surgical assistance. They are seen by the dresser in attendance, and the case is treated and a record of it entered under the direction of the house-surgeon. The number of beds at St. Bartholomew's is 533, and the number of in-patients is between 5000 and 6000 a-year, of out-patients between 8000 and 9000, and of casualty patients upwards of 20,000. The deaths amongst in-patients are about one in eighteen, or about 360 a-year.

At St. Thomas's and Guy's the general medical economy, arrangement, and regulations are of much the same nature as at St. Bartholomew's, and it is unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of them. At St. Thomas's there are nineteen wards, each of which is superintended by one of the sisters, who were formerly selected from the nurses, but are so no longer. There is always one candidate for the office in training. The nurses are divided into day-nurses and night-watchers, the latter of whom enter upon their duties at eight in the evening and remain until ten the next morning. It is found very difficult to get persons fitted for either of these offices, as the duties are onerous and disagreeable, and the stipend small. The total number of in and out-patients to whom relief was administered in 1836 was 46,674, classed as follows: Physicians' out-patients 14,404, surgeons' out-patients 19,870, midwifery out-patients 1451, apothecary's out-patients 5965; and of in-patients there were 3025 discharged during the year and 298 died. The remainder were under cure on the 31st day of December. When a patient dies, the body is laid out, and, after remaining in the bed about four hours, is taken to the dead-house; the bed and bedding are thoroughly washed and cleansed; the bed is entered as a "dead bed," and remains unoccupied about a week.

At Guy's the number of beds which can be made up on an emergency is 600. The average number of applications for admission on the regular day is 100, of whom on an average 43 are admitted and 57 rejected. The deaths are about 6 per week. On the death of a patient, a screen is placed round the bed; but it is rarely possible to conceal the circumstance from the others in the ward, and within three or four hours the body is removed to the undertaker's room. The out-patients of this hospital amount, perhaps, to 40,000 a-year. About 60 sur-

gical tickets are issued per week; 80 surgical casualties per day; 30 eye-cases per week; 90 physician's tickets per week; 6 cases per day relieved at the apothecary's shop; 20 obstetric cases per week, and 30 ordinary lying-in cases; or taking three weeks as the average of attendance of each class of cases, there is an average of above 100 persons in the daily receipt of medicine or attendance, independently of slight casualties relieved.

The importance of the great London Hospitals as schools of medicine is well known. Nearly every medical and surgical practitioner has "walked the hospitals," as the phrase goes; and though the recognition of provincial medical schools renders it no longer absolutely necessary that a medical student should have attended a London hospital, yet the number who "come up" for this purpose is but little diminished. The vicinity of the hospitals swarms with these incipient Galens; and they are so thick on the ground in some quarters, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Borough hospitals, as to give the district a distinctive character. Certainly the "medical students" are entitled as a class to figure amongst the social lights and shadows of this great metropolis.

There are thirteen schools of medicine in London, but the most important are those connected with the great hospitals, though it is chiefly within the last twenty years that they have attained their pre-eminence over the private schools of medicine. The lectures of John Hunter, in Windmill Street, about 1768, were the first complete course ever delivered in the metropolis; and in 1749 all the dissections carried on in London were confined to one school, that over which John Hunter's brother presided. But even at St. Bartholomew's Hospital the introduction of lectures is of very recent date. Mr. Percival Pott, a distinguished surgeon of this hospital nearly eighty years ago, was in the habit of delivering occasional instruction in this manner; but the late Mr. Abernethy, about twenty-five years ago, may be said to have been the father of the system as it at present exists. The institution of a medical school in connexion with an hospital adds to the emoluments of the medical officer; furnishes, through the medium of the pupils, additional and gratuitous attendance on the hospital patients; and, lastly, imparts a medical education to the pupils themselves by lectures, illustrated during their personal attendance on the patients, by observation of the progress and symptoms of disease, the mode of treatment adopted, and the results. The governors of this hospital have since expended above 5000*l.* in buildings intended to facilitate the acquisition and communication of medical science. The museum was built so recently as 1835.

From 1760 to 1825 the schools of surgery of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals were united, and the fees paid by the surgical pupils of both hospitals were put into one common fund, and divided equally amongst the surgeons and apothecaries of the two establishments. Medical lectures only were delivered at Guy's Hospital, while surgery, together with anatomy, was taught at St. Thomas's. For many years the late Sir Astley Cooper, who was surgeon at Guy's, filled the office of anatomical lecturer at St. Thomas's. This union was dissolved in 1825, in consequence of the governors of the two institutions differing respecting the appointment of a lecturer on anatomy; though we believe there is still some traces of the old connexion to be found in existing regulations. In 1825 it was resolved that the means of surgical education should be provided within the pre-

cincts of Guy's Hospital. Accordingly, the building which contains the anatomical schools, museum, &c. was erected at a cost of about 8000*l.* Sir Astley Cooper was appointed principal lecturer in surgery, his nephew succeeding him as surgeon. On this occasion Sir Astley was desirous of presenting to Guy's Hospital his anatomical models and preparations, when the governors of St. Thomas's refused to surrender them, but ultimately gave him 1000*l.* for his interest in them. A few years ago, in consequence of some offence given by them, the privileges of the students of Guy's, in being admitted to see the practice of St. Thomas's, was restricted to some extent by the authorities of the latter establishment, when a most serious riot took place. The refractory students were indicted for the offence, and a slight punishment was awarded by the court. The fees paid by pupils entering the medical and surgical practice of this hospital are about 3000*l.* a-year, which is divided amongst the principal physicians, principal surgeons, and apothecary. The pupils admitted yearly to the house-practice vary from 100 to 130, and an attendance of three years is required by the Apothecaries' Society.

We can scarcely do more than mention the names of the other hospitals. The Westminster Hospital, opposite the Abbey, was established in 1719, and was the first institution of the kind supported by voluntary contributions. It contains accommodation for 200 patients. St. George's Hospital was established in 1733, by a dissentient party in the management of the Westminster Hospital, and Lanesborough House was at first engaged for the purpose. The principal front of the present building is 180 feet long, faces the Green Park, and is of rather imposing design. It contains a theatre for the delivery of lectures and an anatomical museum, and the number of beds is 317. The London Hospital was established in 1740, and in 1759 was removed to its present situation in Whitechapel

[St. George's Hospital.]

Road. The patients are chiefly watermen, and labourers employed in the docks and on the quays in the east parts of London. In this quarter we have also the Dreadnought, a large man of war which lies off Greenwich, and is fitted up as a hospital for sick and maimed seamen of every nation. This floating hospital is in every way a very admirable institution, and we regret that we have not space to notice it more fully. On the north side of London we have first the Middlesex Hospital, established in 1740, and subsequently enlarged by two additional wings. The number of beds is 300; and, through the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, provision is made here for patients afflicted with cancer, who may remain in the hospital for life if they wish. The ordinary expenditure is nearly 8000*l.* a-year. The Small-pox Hospital was originally established in 1746 by public subscription, and opened at a house in Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road; but in 1767 was removed to its present situation at King's Cross. Adjoining it is the London Fever Hospital, established in 1802, which contains beds for about 150 patients. University College Hospital was founded in 1834, and already ranks high as a medical school. The number of students attending the practice of the hospital is usually about 120, and nearly one-half of the income of the institution consists of the fees paid by them. Proceeding to another part of the metropolis, we find the Charing-Cross Hospital, established in 1831, and combining the two plans of a dispensary and an hospital for in-patients. In Portugal Street, near Lincoln's Inn, is King's College Hospital, established in 1839. It has an income of about 4000*l.* a-year. There is also the Royal Free Hospital for the Destitute, first established in Greville Street, in 1828, and removed to Gray's Inn Road in 1842, supported entirely by voluntary contributions. We subjoin the population of the principal general hospitals of the metropolis on the day when the census was taken :—

Name of Hospital.	Number of Patients, June 7, 1841.			Number of Persons employed in the Establishment or Resident on June 7, 1841.			Grand Total.	Deaths in 1839.
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		
St. George's	178	134	312	10	46	56	368	250
Westminster	68	75	143	6	22	28	171	95
Middlesex	109	103	212	9	36	45	257	156
Charing Cross	43	46	89	6	13	19	108	102
King's College	56	45	101	6	20	26	127	..
University College	56	45	101	9	15	24	125	194
Fever	14	15	29	1	10	11	40	161
Small-pox	15	10	25	2	7	9	34	28
London	205	108	313	11	60	71	384	311
St. Bartholomew's	194	192	386	22	125	147	533	361
Guy's	251	192	443	49	161	210	653	219
St. Thomas's	125	116	241	22	81	103	344	244
Dreadnought	168	..	168	17	9	26	194	110
Total	1482	1081	2563	170	605	775	3338	2231

New institutions of this nature are every year springing up, especially those intended for the reception of special classes of disease,—as consumption and the diseases of the chest, cutaneous diseases, diseases of the eye and ear, &c. &c.—though some of these new establishments are dispensaries rather than hospitals.

The 'Sanatorium,' in the New Road, opened in 1842, is an especially interesting institution, and calculated to be of most essential service to a particular class, as governesses, clerks, and other persons of respectable station who are without friends in London; but we cannot here do more than refer to the interesting Annual Report.

Besides the institutions just enumerated, there are numerous lying-in hospitals in different parts of the metropolis: none of them are as yet a century old, the earliest (the British Lying-in Hospital in Brownlow Street) having been established in 1749. Comparing the first ten years of its existence with the first ten years of the present century, it appears that the deaths of mothers had fallen from 1 in 42 admitted to 1 in 288, and the deaths of children from 1 in 15 to 1 in 77. Dispensaries, for supplying the poor with medicine and advice gratis, are also found in every part of London. Some of them have been in existence about eighty years; but they originated at the close of the last century, and led to those medical squabbles which made the subject of Garth's poem. These institutions are often made use of by persons of a very different class from those whom they are more particularly intended to benefit.

The Lunatic Hospitals and Asylums, though widely differing in most respects from the medical and surgical hospitals, are still institutions of the same class. Above 3200 lunatics and idiots are in confinement within the limits of the metropolitan Lunacy Commissioners, above half of whom are confined in 34 licensed houses, about 300 at Bethlem, above 200 at St. Luke's, 24 at Guy's, and nearly 1000 at Hanwell. Bethlem and St. Luke's only come within our province on the present occasion.

Bethlem Hospital, or the House of Bethlem, as it was originally called, was founded as a convent by Simon Fitz-Mary, a citizen of London, in 1247. The founder directed, that in token of subjection and reverence, one mark sterling should be paid yearly at Easter to the Bishop of Bethlem or his nuncio. The date of this house being converted into an hospital is not known, but in 1330, less than a century after its foundation, it had acquired this designation. In 1346 the brethren of the house were dispersed abroad collecting alms, and an application on their behalf was made to the mayor and aldermen to be received into their protection. The earliest notice which can be found of lunatics having been received at Bethlem is 1403. There were then in the house six men deprived of reason, and three sick persons, as appears by an inquisition taken at the above date. The purchase of Bethlem by the city took place in 1546. In 1555-6 it was for a short time, along with the other hospitals, under the same government as Christ's Hospital; but in 1557 it was placed under the control of the governors of Bridewell, one treasurer being appointed for both houses. This union still subsists, and was confirmed by the act of 1782, for regulating the royal hospitals. The affairs of the two hospitals are transacted at the same courts, and the proceedings are recorded in the same books, as if the two houses were one foundation; but the accounts are kept in separate ledgers.

In 1555, it appears, by an account rendered to the Governors of Christ's Hospital, that the "yerely issues and proffittes" of Bethlem Hospital were 43*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, arising almost entirely from houses. A valuation of the real estates was made

in 1632, and it appears that, if then out of lease, they would have produced about 470*l.* per annum. For many years the funds were inadequate to the maintenance of the hospital; and in 1642 the preachers who were to preach at Easter at the Spittal were desired to make an appeal to the people in its behalf. In 1644, it appears there were 44 lunatics constantly maintained in Bethlem, and the revenues only defrayed two-thirds of the charges. The endowments of the hospital are now very ample, and the greater part of the property is applicable to the general purposes of the institution; but one portion (under the will of Mr. Barkham) has been given exclusively for incurable patients, and consists of 3736 acres of land in Lincolnshire, which, with the tithes, produce 5790*l.* a-year, of which only one-fourth is realised, applicable to the purposes mentioned in the will. The total income of the real and personal estate of the hospital for the year ending Christmas, 1836, was 15,864*l.*, of which above 12,000*l.* was derived from houses and land, and 3600*l.* from stock invested in the public funds. The gross income of the hospital from all sources (the profits made by the reception of criminal lunatics excepted) averaged 16,263*l.* for the ten years ending in 1836.

Stow says that the church and chapel of Fitz-Mary's Hospital were taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and houses built instead by the governors of Christ's Hospital. The Charity Commissioners give an extract, made in the muniment book in 1632, which is the earliest description of the hospital they could find. The old house contained "below stairs a parlour, a kitchen, two larders, a long entry throughout the house, and twenty-one rooms wherein the poor distracted people lie, and above the stairs eight rooms more for servants and the poor to lie in, and a long waste room now being contrived and in work, to make eight rooms more for poor people to lodge where there lacked room before." Besides this, there was "one messuage newly builded of brick, containing a cellar, a kitchen, a hall, four chambers and a garret, being newly added unto the old rooms." Ten years later the question of enlarging the hospital came under consideration, and a committee of view being appointed, it was reported that the ground on which two old ruinous tenements stood would allow of space for a new building to contain twelve rooms on the ground floor, and eight over them for lunatics, and garrets for servants, and another yard for lunatics. This addition to the hospital was effected, but it appears that altogether not more than fifty or sixty patients could be accommodated.

After the Fire of London the governors resolved to build the house on a larger scale, and the City granted them a lease of some ground, 740 feet long by 80 deep, adjacent to London Wall, for the site of their new building, which it was intended should be capable of accommodating 120 lunatics. The lease was granted for 999 years, subject to a rent of 1*s.* if demanded, with a provision that the lease should be void in case the building was devoted to any other purpose. The new hospital (as it was recorded on an inscription over the entrance) was commenced in April, 1675, and completed in July, 1676. This was the centre of Old Bethlem Hospital, and it was similar in design to the Tuileries. Its length was 540 feet, and breadth 40 feet, besides the wall which enclosed the gardens before it, "which were neatly ornamented with walks of freestone round about, and a grass-plot in the middle, beside which garden there was another at each

end for the lunatic people, when they were a little well of their distemper, to walk in for refreshment." Two wings were added to the hospital in 1733, for the reception of incurable patients under the provisions of Mr. Barkham's will. In an edition of Stow, published in 1754, the hospital is described as consisting "chiefly of two galleries one over the other, 193 yards long, 13 feet high, and 16 feet broad, not including the cells for the patients, which were 12 feet deep. These galleries were divided in the middle by two iron gates, so that all the men were placed in one end of the house, and all the women at the other, each having their proper conveniences, as likewise a stone room where, in the winter, they had a fire to warm them, and at each end of the lower gallery a larger grass-plot to air and refresh themselves in the summer, and in each gallery servants lay to be ready at hand on all occasions; besides, below stairs there was made of late a bathing-place for the patients, so contrived as to be a hot or cold bath as occasion required." Towards the close of the last century the hospital had become insufficient for the number of patients requiring an asylum; and in 1793 the City granted a lease for an adjoining piece of ground which would have enabled the governors to enlarge the hospital; but the bad state of the old buildings seems to have prevented any use being made of the space thus acquired. In the Report of a committee, dated April, 1799, it is stated that the whole building was dreary, low, and melancholy, and that the interior arrangements were ill-contrived, and did not afford sufficient accommodation, and the close and confined situation precluded the advantages of air and exercise. In consequence of this Report it was resolved not only to rebuild the hospital, but to transfer it to a new site. Great and unexpected difficulties occurred to delay the erection of a new hospital, and as the eastern wing had been rather too hastily pulled down, a reduction in the number of patients became unavoidable. The discovery of the true bearing of the old lease (by which the lease granted by the City became void, if the site were not used for a lunatic asylum), again protracted the negotiations. Four different sites were fixed upon at Islington; the end of St. John's Street was thought of; and at one period it was in contemplation to improve the site of the Old Hospital and the approach through Old Bethlem to Moorfields. Finally the 2½ acres on which the old hospital stood were exchanged for the present site, containing about 11 acres, the condition of the lease requiring that the new hospital should be capable of accommodating 200 patients, and that not less than eight acres of the land should be appropriated to their use, while the governors were to be at liberty to employ the rest for the general purposes of the hospital and in augmentation of its revenues. The Act for effecting the settlement of this affair was passed in 1810.

A site being thus provided, premiums were offered for designs for the intended building, and thirty-six plans were sent in. The surveyor of the hospital and two architects selected three from this number, and on the basis of these, but with such alterations as he might consider necessary, Mr. Lewis was directed to form a plan for a building to contain accommodation for 200 patients, but with offices on a scale sufficient for twice that number. Further steps were taken to obtain the necessary funds, for the governors had commenced, in 1804, to reserve a portion of their revenues for building purposes. Grants of public money were also obtained to the amount of 72,819*l.*; the benefactions of public bodies amounted

to 5405*l.*, including 3000*l.* from the corporation; 500*l.* from the Bank of England; and various sums from several of the city companies; the amount contributed by private individuals was 5709*l.*; 23,766*l.* were contributed from the funds of the hospital; and a sum of 14,873*l.* accumulated as interest during the progress of the work. The first stone of the new building was laid in April, 1812, and in August, 1815, it was completed and ready for the reception of patients. The total cost was 122,572*l.* It consists of a centre and two wings; the centre is surmounted by a dome, and the entrance is by an Ionic portico of six columns, supporting the royal arms. In the hall are the two figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness, executed by Cibber for the old hospital, and repaired in 1820 by Bacon. The wings, for which the government advanced 25,144*l.*, are appropriated to criminal lunatics, who are supported at the public expense at a cost of 38*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each. In 1837 the male criminal wing was enlarged, and there have been considerable additions made to the hospital since that time. The first stone of some additional new buildings was laid July 26th, 1838, on which occasion a public breakfast was given, at a cost of 464*l.* to the hospital; and a narrative of the proceedings was drawn up and printed with several documents, at a cost to the charity of 140*l.* The length of the building as it now stands is 569 feet. There are galleries, 219 feet 8 inches long, for male and female patients, both in the basement, on the ground-floor, and on the first and second floors. There is a fifth gallery, on the third floor of the central building, which is appropriated to incurable patients, and differs considerably from the other galleries. The sleeping-rooms are partitions divided from each other, and from a passage in front, by bulk-heads about seven feet high, which do not reach to the ceiling. The passage faces the south, and is more lively and cheerful than any of the others. The patients are divided into three classes: the furious and mischievous, and those who have no regard to cleanliness, being placed in the basement; ordinary patients, on their admission, and those who are promoted from the basement, are on the first floor; and the second floor is appropriated to patients who are most advanced towards recovery: and there are two other galleries for the incurable patients.

Under the Act of 1782 the united establishments of Bridewell and Bethlem are governed by a president and treasurer elected by the general courts; the court of aldermen and twelve councilmen; and an unlimited number of nomination governors. The number of governors at present is 343. Bethlem is exempt from the visitations of the Commissioners of Lunacy, a privilege which has not been of much advantage to it, for it has the demerit of having carried into operation, to a period of less than thirty years ago, the unenlightened and brutal system of treatment which distinguished the fifteenth century. In the inquisition of 1403 the iron chains with locks and keys, and the manacles and stocks there spoken of as belonging to Bethlem Hospital, indicate but too plainly the system of that day. There are several passages in Shakspere which show that bonds, darkness, and flagellation were the remedies adopted for the recovery of the lost reason! A passage in 'Lear' alludes to the custom of allowing lunatics whose malady was found to be unattended with danger to leave the hospital with an iron ring soldered about their left arm, and a permission to beg. In 1598 a committee appointed to view Bethlem reported that the place

was so loathsome that it was not fit for any man to enter. It contained only twenty inmates, who were termed prisoners, and of these six only were maintained at the expense of the charity. Coming down to a later period, we find that the Hospital used to derive an income of "at least 400*l.* a-year from the indiscriminate admission of visitants, whom very often an idle and wanton curiosity drew to these regions of distress."* Ned Ward's 'London Spy' shows, indeed, that the lunatics were visited just in the same way as the lions at the Tower. In 1770 the practice was put a stop to. In 1740 it appears that strangers, as well as the friends of the lunatics, paid 1*d.* on admission. The exposure of the wretched system pursued at Bethlem, which took place in 1814, in consequence of the investigation of a parliamentary committee, is probably still fresh in the recollection of most readers. The visitors thus describe one of the women's galleries:—"One of the side-rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall or to sit down again. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket-gown only. The blanket-gown is a blanket formed something like a dressing-gown, with nothing to fasten it in front: this constitutes the whole covering. The feet even were naked." One female in this room was found, who in lucid intervals talked most reasonably, and on being treated like a human being became an entirely different creature. Many women were locked up in cells naked and chained, on straw, with only one blanket for a covering, and the windows being unglazed, the light in winter was shut out for the sake of warmth. In the men's rooms, "their nakedness and their mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel." The patients not being classified, some were objects of resentment to the others. The shocking case of William Norris, a lunatic confined here, excited a deep sensation, and by its exposure led eventually to improvement. At this period, for months together, the committee made no inspection of the inmates! The house-surgeon was often in an insane state himself, and still oftener drunk; and one of the keepers who was frequently in the latter state remained undischarged. Just at this time also the governors spent 600*l.* in opposing a Bill for regulating madhouses!

The improvements in the system of management at Bethlem began about 1816. Patients of both sexes are now set to do such little offices as they are capable of. They assist in household occupations; some employ themselves in knitting, tailoring, and mending the clothes of the other patients. Females find occupation in the laundry and in making up linen, all the ordinary needlework of the house being performed by them; and some are engaged in embroidery. In the airing-grounds many of the men play at ball, trap-ball, leap-frog, cricket, and other games; and the women are encouraged to dance in the evenings. Every case of restraint is now noted down, and must be at once reported to the medical officers, and brought under the notice of the committee.

St. Luke's Hospital for lunatics, in Old Street, was opened in 1751, and was intended for the reception of those who could not obtain admission into old Bethlem Hospital. It has always been favourably distinguished for its manage-

* Rev. Mr. Bowen's Account of the Hospital, 1783.

ment. The average number of inmates for 1842 was 209, and 242 were discharged during the year. The Hospital is a very substantial brick edifice, but it is to be regretted that it is not situated at least in the suburbs. The income (above 8000*l.* a-year) is derived from legacies and donations amounting to 159,956*l.* invested in the funds, and receipts on account of uncured patients.

The great Lunatic Asylum for the county of Middlesex, situated at Hanwell, a short distance to the left of the Great Western Railway, and about seven miles from London, is one of the most remarkable establishments in the country: and though it is somewhat out of our limits, we cannot pass it by without a brief general notice.* The Asylum is intended for one thousand inmates, and accommodation will probably be eventually provided for thirteen hundred. The present number of servants and officers exceeds one hundred. The grounds contain fifty-three acres, twenty of which are cultivated as a farm, four as a garden, two as an orchard, and nearly four are shrubberies. The airing-grounds and courts occupy a space of eighteen acres, and the asylum buildings cover above three and a half acres. The ancient bodily restraints, on which entire reliance was formerly placed, have been disused, and even severity of tone has almost ceased to be employed. We can here only say of the system, that it is in every respect precisely opposite to that which, until within a comparatively short period, was acted upon at Bethlem.

* We take the opportunity (as we have not space for details) to recommend all who are interested in the subject to the admirable Reports of Dr. Conolly, the physician at Hanwell, and also the Reports of the Visiting Justices, by whom his enlightened efforts have been supported in a most excellent spirit.

[Bethlem Hospital.]

[Old Shop, corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane, in 1799.]

CXXV.—LONDON SHOPS AND BAZAARS.

"If you would know and be not known," it has been said, "live in a town; if you would be known and not know, then vegetate in a village." When taken with some qualifications there is a great deal of truth in this apothegm. It is impossible to live long in a town and not speedily "know" much, unless we resolutely shut one's self up within doors. The shops of London are in themselves a very cyclopædia of instruction, in which he "who runs may read," and he who walks may read more. We there place ourselves in communion with artificers and producers from all corners of the earth; the bowls of "souchong" and "twankay" in the window of the grocer introduce us to the millions of the Celestial Empire; the spices in the same window carry us in imagination to Ceylon, to the Moluccas, and to the tropical regions generally; the "Italian warehouse," with its thousand and one seductions for the palate, shows us what sunny Italy, and Greece, and the Levant can do for us: in short, the shops of a busy town are among the most suggestive of all subjects for reflection, if we choose to carry the eye of the mind

a little beyond the mere external appearance of the commodities displayed therein, and think of the productive and commercial agencies by which those commodities have been placed at our disposal.

Different periods of time, and different parts of the town, and different branches of trade, afford very different means for prosecuting our observations on the shops of London; and these differences afford the means for marking the social progress of our townsmen—nay, the commercial progress likewise; for the "division of labour," the "power of combination," and many other elements of political economy, are brought to bear upon the philosophy of shop-keeping as well as upon that of national government. We may view the arrangement of London shops either chronologically, or technologically, or topographically, and we should under each view find remarkable changes observable; but perhaps a little of all these will serve our purpose best.

The general character of the shops in olden London was to have the wares exposed openly to the street, without any barrier of glass between the buyer and seller. Wherever our old topographers and chroniclers give a representation of a London shop—at least anterior to about the time of Queen Anne—this was the observable feature. The shop, too, unlike those of modern days, was generally smaller than the rooms above, on account of the overhanging of each floor or story beyond the one beneath it. There are yet remaining at the south end of Gray's Inn Lane, and in a few other parts of London, specimens of this curious variety of domestic architecture; although most of such houses now display the luxury of a window to the shop.

If we go back to the time of Fitz-Stephen, who wrote in the twelfth century, we find that the *bazaar* system was much more extensively adopted in London than at the present day; that is, that the members of one trade were wont to congregate at one spot, which thence became known as the mart for that particular kind of goods. This system is well known to be very prevalent in the East, where at Constantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, and other large towns, most of the retail shops are assembled in this manner. If we look at the names of some of the older London streets, such as Bread Street, Milk Street, Cornhill, Fish Street Hill, the Poultry, the Vintry, Honey Lane, Hosier Lane, Cordwainer Street, Wood Street, &c., we can scarcely avoid a conjecture that these were, at some distant day, the points of rendezvous for dealers in those commodities. Fitz-Stephen says: "The followers of the several trades, the vendors of various commodities, and the labourers of every kind, are daily to be found in their proper and distinct places, according to their employments." He also has a passage which has given rise to some discussion concerning such of the shops as provided provisions. "On the bank of the river, besides the wine sold in ships and vaults, there is a public eating-house or cook's-shop. Here, according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, or boiled; fish large and small, with coarse viands for the poorer sort and more delicate ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls, and small birds. In case a friend should arrive at a citizen's house, much wearied with his journey, and chooses not to wait, an hungered as he is, for the buying and cooking of meat, recourse is immediately had to the bank above mentioned, where everything desirable is instantly procured." Now, in the first part of this description there is an allusion to wine being sold in *ships*,

a custom which is so different from any now followed that we can only understand it thus—that wine being admitted duty free, purchasers went to the ships with their bottles or vessels, and bought the wine "in draught" at a cheaper price than would suffice if the seller had the expense of keeping a shop. Fitz-Stephen speaks of *a* public eating-house, situated near the river, as if it were the only one of the kind; and it would appear that this was frequented by high and low, as there was a choice between "delicate viands" and "coarse viands."

A Frippery.]

The "frippery" or clothes-stall of Shakspere's time probably represented a large class of shops such as existed in London during the reigns of the Edwards and Henrys. In the fourth act of the 'Tempest,' where Ariel brings in some handsome garments, Prospero says, "Come, hang them on this line." This passage has given rise to much diversity of opinion among commentators, some thinking that "*line*" ought to be taken in reference to the branches of a line, linden, or lime-tree. The editor of the 'Pictorial Shakspere' expresses an opinion that the meaning is rightly rendered in the common reading of the passage. "Had not," he asks, "the clowns a distinct image in their minds of an old clothes-shop—

"'We know what belongs to a frippery'?"

Here is a picture of a frippery, from a print dated 1587, with its clothes hung in line and level. This frippery is evidently something more than an old clothes-shop: the tailor is seated on his board with the implements of his craft about him, and has the aspect of one who could make new clothes as well as sell old ones.

There is a print in Smith's 'Antiquities of London,' of which we give a copy at the head of our paper, of a house which stood at the corner of Chancery Lane so late as the year 1799, where now stands the large and modern residence and shop of a robe-maker. If this house had not undergone alteration, then it would seem to show that shop-windows were tolerably common in the time of Edward VI., the date to which the house was referred. The print presents to view a small double-parted shop, having hanging on the

outside several articles for sale which look like saddles; and over this are five stories of private apartments, each of three projecting beyond the one beneath it, and all decorated in a highly curious manner. But the shop windows do not by any means accord with the general character of the front, and give evidence of having been put in at a later date: indeed, this is rendered certain by a paragraph which Smith quotes from the 'Morning Herald' of May 20, 1799:—"The house in Fleet Street, which the City is now pulling down to widen Chancery Lane, is the oldest in that street, being built in the reign of Edward VI. for an *elegant mansion*, long before there were any shops in that part of the City." Among other plates given by Smith, and illustrating the shop architecture of other days, is one of Winchester Street, London Wall. The houses were built in 1656, and two of them have small-squared glass shop-windows; but many of the others appear to be open shops. In another, representing houses on the north side of Long Lane, Smithfield, said to be built during the Commonwealth, two of the shops appear to have glass windows, with shutters sliding in grooves at top and bottom; while another has an unglazed shop-window. Another represents a house on the west side of Little Moorfields, built in the time of Charles I., and presenting a curious arrangement of scroll ornaments in the front: there is a bow window to the shop below, but we incline to think that it is more modern than the rest of the house. There is another of Smith's prints which represents a more singular-looking assemblage of shops than any of the others: this is a view of part of Duke Street, West Smithfield, as it appeared down to the end of the last century. Here the shops are almost buried; for the upper rooms project considerably beyond them; while, through the gradually raising of the street, the level of the shop has been relatively lowered; till all the shops, some with windows and some without, look nearly as much like cellars as shops.

That sash-windows were not common to shops till towards the beginning of the last century, we may judge from many circumstances. Addison, in No. 162 of the 'Tatler,' while speaking of many changes that had recently occurred in London, says, "As for the article of building, I intend hereafter to enlarge upon it, having lately observed several warehouses, nay, private shops, that stand upon Corinthian pillars, and whole rows of tin pots showing themselves, in order to their sale, through a sash-window." But if the shops of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have possessed that which was wanting in their predecessors, the moderns have fallen off in one very characteristic feature, viz. the *sign-boards* over the shops. We cannot look upon Hogarth's street pictures without remarking the almost universal prevalence of this custom. The signs of the "Golden Key," of the "Golden Fleece," of the "Bible and Crown," &c., are displayed conspicuously before us, in connexion not only with public-houses, as in modern times, but also with most other trading shops. In former times the houses in a street were by no means uniformly numbered, as at present: indeed, the numbering was a rare practice; and, therefore, the owner of a shop was compelled to adopt some symbol by which his shop could be known. This symbol was depicted on a sign-board in front of his house, and was often as incongruous as those of modern taverns. The "Naked Boy" was the sign of a bookseller's shop in Fleet Street, where many works were published in the early part of the last century; and the title-pages of old books would show many equally ludicrous instances.

The shops of the last century differed from those of the present in this circumstance among others,—that many were itinerant shops at that day which are permanent shops now. The wares exposed for sale in the open street are much less numerous than formerly, at least in the better class of streets. The instructions which Gay gives in his 'Trivia,' in relation to the art of walking the streets of London, contain many allusions which point to this state of things, but to which we need not pay much attention here.*

By what steps the shops of the metropolis have arrived at their present positions—how the heavy shapeless window yielded to the light bow window, and the latter to the modern flat window; how small squares of glass have given way to larger ones, crown glass to plate glass, clumsy wooden sash-bars to light brass ones; how the once lowly shop has reared its head so as to include even the next higher floor within its compass—must have been noticed by all who are familiar with the huge metropolis. The result of all these changes has been to give to the London shops a character of magnificence which has drawn forth expressions of wonder from many a pen. Southey, in his 'Letters of Espriella,' has given a graphic picture of the London shops, the "cut-glass glittering like diamonds," the "painted piece of beef swinging in a roaster, and exhibiting the machine which turns it," the "busts, painted to the life, with glass eyes, and dressed in full fashion, to exhibit the wigs which are made within," &c. But to understand the shops of this "world of a city"—the sixteen or seventeen thousand which London is said to contain—we shall do well to glance at a few of the most notable, or at least most conspicuous, retail trades in succession, so far as shop arrangements depend on the nature of the commodities sold.

In the first place, then—and pity 't is that the first place should be so occupied—we have the public-houses, taverns, and gin-palaces. Those shops have been among the first to introduce a decorative style of shop-architecture; and, what seems to many persons most strange, the poorer the neighbourhood, the more splendid do these places become. There are about four thousand regularly-licensed public-houses in London, besides a large number of drinking-houses of various kinds which cannot come under this designation. The change between past and present times is more marked in respect to public-houses than to almost any other kind of retail shop in London. All the descriptions which writers have given of the older houses of this character bear a strong family likeness, as do the pictures which Hogarth and others have left. The tavern-keeper was a jolly, portly man, with a red face, knee-breeches (into the pockets of which his hands were often thrust), and buckled shoes. His shop or "bar" was small but well filled, exhibiting punch-bowls on a shelf, a little gilt Bacchus sitting across a barrel, a bunch of grapes of impossible dimensions, and a sign-board creaking on its hinges outside. But now how great is the change! We are first dazzled with the splendid gas-lamps ranged on the outside of the house, and shedding a ray of surpassing brilliancy (there was a public-house, three or four years ago, whose exterior exhibited a lamp ten feet high, containing seventy jets of gas!). When we come nearer we see that the interior is fully as brilliant as the exterior: elegantly-formed branches of pipes descend from the ceiling, or ascend from the counter, and yield a vast number of gas-flames. The bar-furniture, such as coun-

* 'London:' "Street Sights" and "Street Noises."

ters, beer-machines, spirit-machines, are all of the finest workmanship and highest polish; while behind the counter, instead of the jolly Boniface of old, we see smartly-dressed females, dispensing the pennyworths or small quantities of liquor. It may be that a man or a boy draws the malt-liquor; but the chances are ten to one that one of the other sex—though strange it may seem—is serving those small portions of the burning liquid which so often bring ruin as their attendants. There is one feature in a modern public-house for which our times need not be envied: in front of the counter are the ragged, the depraved, the impoverished, spending perhaps their last penny for gin, and cursing and quarrelling under the influence of the inebriation which it brings. It is, however, only fair to bear in mind that this is not a feature of all these houses: some derive the chief part of their business from serving families with beer, and such are, though much less splendid, much better ordered, than the real "gin-palaces." To arrive at something like a general rule, we may say that those public-houses which are situated in or near the lowest dens of poverty, such as Seven Dials, Whitechapel, and some spots on the south of the river, have been becoming more and more splendid every year; while those situated near the squares and private streets have a decent air of respectability about them, as far removed from the desolating splendour of the former, as from the hearty jollity of the olden taverns.

[Kemble Tavern, Bow Street, Long Acre.]

The Bakers' and the Chemists' shops are among those which have adopted the luxury of plate-glass windows and bright gas-lamps. Twenty years ago most of the bakers' shops had small flat windows, and were very modestly lighted in the evening by a lamp or two: the baker, with his woollen cap on his head, stood behind the counter rasping his loaves and rolls; while his wife, a plain, decent body, served the "quarterns" and "half-quarterns." But now the window displays its large squares of plate-glass, its brightly-blazing gas-jets, and its long array of neat trays filled with biscuits, whose shape would defy Euclid. The Chemists, or, as they ought more properly to be called, the Druggists, have made a notable advance in shop-architecture and arrangements. Most London walkers will remember the time when the large red, and green, and yellow bottles, shedding a ghastly light on the passer-by, were the chief indications of the presence of a Druggist's shop; but now the plate-glass window exhibits a most profuse array of knick-knacks, not only such as pertain to "doctors' stuff," but lozenges, perfumery, soda-water powders, &c.; while the well-dressed shopmen or "assistants" within—one of the most lowly-paid class of respectable persons in London—ply their avocation of semi-chemists and semi-shopmen.

The Butchers' shops are pretty nearly what butchers' shops have always been: they have undergone but little change. They are still open shops, with their stout counters, provided with bins underneath for containing salt-meat, their huge chopping-blocks, their rows of hooks whereon to hang the meat, their rough floors covered with saw-dust, and their window-board next the street. A sash-window to a butcher's shop would be quite a solecism; but still there are at the west-end of the town symptoms of smartness and cleanliness to which the east makes no pretensions. The Grocers' shops—not the Greengrocers, for they remain open-fronted shops, as they were in former days, and in many cases exhibit the same heap of coals in one corner, to be sold in pecks or pen'orths—have advanced in the march of improvement. The grocer is no longer content to place a solitary box of raisins, a chest which may or may not contain tea, and a few other articles, in his window. He has his extensive prairie of moist sugar, crossed with rivulets of preserved lemon-peel; his samples of tea are contained in elegant little polished vases, guarded by mandarins in splendid attire; his coffee is exhibited in various states and qualities; he has a highly polished steam-engine in his window, to imply that he sells so much coffee that he must have steam power to grind it; his loaves of white sugar are broken in half, to show that they are not "dummies," and that they have the right crystalline grain; and he does not fail to inform you that he has taken advantage of the recent intelligence from China to make extensive ready-money purchases, by which he can sell tea lower than his neighbours. His shop is redolent of plate-glass and gas-lights, and is altogether an attractive affair. There are, however, a few old establishments in this line whose celebrity renders these showy displays unnecessary; and there are also two or three new ones which command a large business by advertising rather than by shop-window display.

The shops devoted to the sale of wearing apparel are, however, the most remarkable in London. The principle of competition has been driven further in the drapery business than in most others, and hence the linen-drapers' shops exhibit the effects which this competition produces more strikingly perhaps than most others. The rise of the cotton manufacture in England has had much to

do with this matter; for when woollen fabrics were the staple of English dress, the comparative costliness prevented any very eager competition, and the fabrics themselves were not of so showy a character. It is true the mercer had attractive silken goods to display in his window; but the immense consumption of cotton in female dress has been the chief moving power towards the production of the present remarkable display in the drapers' shops. The mills, the labour, the capital employed in this manufacture have led to so large a production that the manufacturer is anxious to "do business" in any quarter, and this anxiety leads to a constant increase in the number of retail shops.

To whatever part of London we direct our steps, we shall find that the Drapers' shops—including in this term those which sell cotton, linen, silk, and worsted goods—are among the handsomest. We may commence a tour from the East, and we shall find it everywhere pretty nearly alike; that is, in the busy streets, for in the by-streets the shops of this kind, what few there are, are of a much humbler description. In Whitechapel and other wide thoroughfares at the east end, the goods exposed in these windows are generally rather of a humble and cheap kind; but the windows are nevertheless glazed with plate-glass, and lighted with a profusion of gas-jets, such as only the gin-palaces can equal. On approaching Aldgate we find, among many shops of this character, one for the sale of garments for the male sex; and a most extraordinary shop it is, for it may be said to reach from the ground to the roof, every story being fronted with plate-glass, and filled with goods. From Aldgate to St. Paul's, whether we go by way of Fenchurch Street and Lombard Street, or Leadenhall Street and Cornhill, the shops of this character are not particularly observable; but when we arrive at St. Paul's Churchyard we come to a very world of show. Here we find a shop whose front presents an uninterrupted mass of glass from the ceiling to the ground; no horizontal sash bars being seen, and the vertical ones made of brass. Here, too, we see on a winter's evening a mode of lighting recently introduced, by which the products of combustion are given off in the street, instead of being left to soil the goods in the window: the lamps are fixed outside the shop, with a reflector so placed as to throw down a strong light upon the commodities in the window.

We may then enter Ludgate Street and Ludgate Hill—a street which was once said to contain finer shops than any other street in London, and which still maintains an equality, if not a superiority. Here we find a shop which was one of the first to adopt the expedient of giving brilliancy and apparent vastness by clothing wall and ceiling with looking-glass, and causing these to reflect the light from rich cut-glass chandeliers. Farther on we meet with a shop which, not having the means of being so bulky as its neighbours, resolved to make amends by soaring to a double height. This was the first shop in London, as far as we are aware, in which the first floor was taken to form part of the shop itself, and one window carried up to the double height. That the goods are finely displayed by this method there can be no doubt; but its excellence as a point of shop architecture is another matter. A writer in the 'Westminster Review,' about two years ago, while condemning the excessive use of plate-glass in shop-windows, since it "serves only to produce the effect of a vast gap or vacuum, and take away all appearance of support to the upper part of the house," alludes to this shop on

Ludgate Hill, and remarks that "the door being set back and the window on each side curved convexly inwards, the whole front becomes a recess; but as there are no pillars of any kind to support the horizontal architrave or bressumer carried across it, the upper Part of the house seems to stand in need of some prop. What serves not a little to increase, in this instance, the gap-like look and appearance of chasm below is, that it is rendered so strikingly conspicuous by the shop-front being carried up the height of two floors, and made to consist almost entirely of glass." The architecture answers its purpose and defies criticism.

Pursuing our journey through Fleet Street and the Strand, or in a northern route through Holborn and Oxford Street, we pass numerous and splendid specimens of this kind of shop, especially in Oxford Street, where some of the shops present an elegance of design more strictly correct, perhaps, than those already mentioned. Regent Street then offers its display, and, taken from one end to the other, exhibits a larger number of brilliant shops than any other street in London; for the drapers and mercers only share with other tradesmen the possession of brilliantly-lighted and elegantly-fitted "emporiums." At the southern end of the Quadrant is a shop which has attracted much attention for its decorative character. It was thus spoken of in the 'Companion to the Almanac' for

1841:—"As an architectural composition it possesses considerable merit, presenting the appearance of sufficient solidity and strength, and not looking as if likely to be crushed by the upper part of the house; for, though spacious, the windows are of lofty upright proportions and arched, besides which, there is some substance in the piers to which the columns supporting those arches are attached; and where the angle of the building is curved off, that space presents a broad solid pier; not, however, one that produces a blank in the composition, it being

sufficiently enriched with panelling." A shop at the corner of Berners Street in Oxford Street, and erected about the same time as the one just noticed, has also attracted much attention. We may go in almost any direction—in Bond Street, among the aristocracy; in Tottenham Court Road, the Westminster Road, or the Borough Road, among humbler districts—and we shall everywhere find specimens, more or less splendid, of drapers' and mercers' shops.

Nor is the method of conducting business at these shops less remarkable than their appearance. Everything is on the "high-pressure" system of competition; and many of the most notable changes in shop arrangements have originated there. At one time well-shaped gilt letters written on the facia over the window sufficed; but they have been nearly superseded by letters carved in wood and then gilt, or by letters cast in porcelain or glass, and decorated or partly gilt. Then, as well-shaped letters may be feared to attract no notice, others have been invented which shall seduce by their oddness. Some are very thick and short; some thin and lofty; some have thick strokes where there ought to be thin, and *vice versâ*; some are represented perspectively, as if standing one behind another like a file of soldiers; some follow each other vertically up the front of the house; and in one instance that we have seen, the letters are placed upside down. If, instead of looking at the inscription over the window, we read those in the window, we are led almost to believe that man was made to fatten on the misfortunes of his fellow-man:—"dreadful conflagration," "awful inundation," "manufacturing distress," "ruinous sacrifice," "bankruptcy"—are the written horrors which stare the reader in the face, and which are intended to make them believe that those misfortunes happening to other men have been the means of enabling the shopkeeper to sell countless thousands of bales of goods at —— per yard—of course, 50 per cent. under what the raw materials cost. One would think that the joke had become a stale one, that it had been worn to death by such constant usage; but there still seem to be persons willing to be deceived. There are also numberless little catchwords to attract the notice of the passer-by: such as "Look here!"—"Stop!"—"Tariff!"—"Income-tax!"—"Given away!"—"Sale closes to-day!" &c.: anything, in short, which may make the rapid walker stay his, or her, pace. The price of a commodity, too, may be so ticketed as to deceive a reader: thus, two guineas, by a dexterous smallness in the £, may look remarkably like twenty-two shillings. It is only fair to admit, however, that so far as the linen-drapery business is concerned, the higher class of shops do not push this system to so great an extent as those of humble rank. Still the practice is so far general as to constitute a marked feature in retail trade, and to furnish a fair source of reflection on the commercial causes which have led to so keen a spirit of competition. There may be individual instances of competition, apart from that which constitutes a general system; and Defoe, in his 'Complete Tradesman,' very clearly expresses the varieties of these. He says there are three kinds of under-sellers; viz. young tradesmen newly set up, who undersell their neighbours to get a trade; rich old tradesmen who have overgrown stocks, and who undersell to keep their trade; and poor tradesmen, who are obliged to sell low to get money. Defoe makes some judicious remarks on all of these points, and says, "I have seen a brewer in a country town, when another has set up near him, sell all his beer two or three shillings per barrel cheaper,

on purpose to break the new comer, and carry it on till he has brewed himself a thousand pounds out of pocket; and when the other, being overcome, and, perhaps, almost broken, has given it over, then he has raised his price four or five shillings per barrel, till he has made himself whole again, and then go on upon a level as before." Is not this picture as applicable now as it was a century and a half ago?

Many of the particulars into which we have here entered apply to other trades as well as to drapers, in respect both to shop arrangements and to systems of business. The tailors' shops, no longer the open "fripperies" of former times, have their plate-glass windows, and an air of elegance about them; and if we wonder how any human waists can bear the smallness of the coats in the windows, we may be satisfied by knowing that they are only ideal waists, made for the occasion. The hatters have made quite as great a stride as the tailors, and now present shops as smart as most others. We may often see a bright pair of scales in the window, to show that the hat only weighs a certain number of ounces; and by the side of this a glass globe, containing water, on which a hat swims, to show how impervious is the waterproof with which it has been stiffened. Then the 4*s*. 9*d*. is placed so temptingly before the eye of the passenger, that he cannot choose but see it. The bootmakers are another class whose shops exhibit the fanciful arrangements of modern times. The well-polished boots, with arched insteps, pointed toes, and high heels, and named after the great and the noble—Wellington, Blucher, Clarence, Albert—are set off to the best advantage, while shoes are interspersed among them here and there; and though it may seem to imply a want of gallantry to place all the ladies' shoes on one side of the window and the gentlemen's on the other, there is doubtless good reason for the arrangement.

Almost endless would be the task of enumerating the fine and elegant shops presented to view in the streets of London, and the dazzling array of commodities displayed in the windows. The furnishing ironmonger sets off his polished grates, fenders, candlesticks, &c., to the best advantage; the cabinetmaker, with his French-polished mahogany and his chintz furniture, does his best to tempt the passer-by; the tobacconist, abandoning the twisted clay-pipes and the pigtail tobacco of former days, displays his elegant snuff-boxes, cigar-cases, meerschaums, and hookahs; the perfumer decks his windows with waxen ladies looking ineffably sweet, and gentlemen whose luxuriant moustaches are only equalled by the rosy hue of their cheeks, and oils, creams, and cosmetics from Circassia, Macassar, &c. —nominally, at least; and so on throughout the list of those who supply the wants, real and imaginary, of purchasers. But there are, besides these shops, two or three classes of establishments which occupy distinct and separate positions in respect to the mode in which sales and purchases are made; such as bazaars and general dealers, which merit our notice.

A modern English bazaar is, after all, not a genuine representative of the class. It is a mingled assemblage of sundry wares rather than wares of one kind. The markets of London might more fittingly claim the designation of bazaars, in respect to the class of commodities sold in each. Gay, writing above a century ago, says,—

" Shall the large mutton smoke upon your boards?
Such Newgate's copious market best affords;
Wouldst thou with mighty beef augment thy meal?
Seek Leadenhall: St. James's sends thee veal!
Thames Street gives cheeses; Covent Garden fruits;
Moorfields old books; and Monmouth Street old suits."

This, which in some of the items is applicable to our own day, represents the true bazaar principle of the East. However, as our bazaars are retail shops, we will take a rapid glance at them.

The Soho Bazaar stands at the head of its class. It was founded many years ago by a gentleman of some notoriety, and has been uniformly a well-managed concern. It occupies several houses on the north-west corner of Soho Square, and consists of stalls or open counters ranged on both sides of aisles or passages, on two separate floors of the building. These stalls are rented by females, who pay, we believe, something between two and three shillings per day for each. The articles sold at these stalls are almost exclusively pertaining to the dress and personal decoration of ladies and children; such as millinery, lace, gloves, jewellery, &c.; and, in the height of " the season," the long array of carriages drawn up near the building testifies to the extent of the visits paid by the high-born and the wealthy to this place. Some of the rules of the establishment are very stringent. A plain and modest style of dress, on the part of the young females who serve at the stalls, is invariably insisted on, a matron being at hand to superintend the whole; every stall must have its wares displayed by a particular hour in the morning, under penalty of a fine from the renter; the rent is paid day by day, and if the renter be ill, she has to pay for the services of a substitute, the substitute being such an one as is approved by the principals of the establishment. Nothing can be plainer or more simple than the exterior of this bazaar, but it has all the features of a well-ordered institution.

The Pantheon Bazaar is a place of more show and pretensions. It was originally a theatre, one of the most fashionable in London; but having met with the discomfitures which have befallen so many of our theatres, it remained untenanted for many years, and was at length entirely remodelled and converted into a bazaar. When we have passed through the entrance porch in Oxford Street, we find ourselves in a vestibule, containing a few sculptures, and from thence a flight of steps lead up to a range of rooms occupied as a picture gallery. These pictures, which are in most cases of rather moderate merit, are placed here for sale, the proprietors of the bazaar receiving a commission or per centage on any picture which may find a purchaser. From these rooms an entrance is obtained to the gallery, or upper-floor of the toy-bazaar, one of the most tasteful places of the kind in London. We look down upon the ground story, from this open gallery, and find it arranged with counters in a very systematical order, loaded with uncountable trinkets. On one counter are articles of millinery; on another lace; on a third gloves and hosiery; on others cutlery, jewellery, toys, children's dresses, children's books, sheets of music, albums and pocket-books, porcelain ornaments, cut-glass ornaments, alabaster figures, artificial flowers, feathers, and a host of other things, principally of a light and ornamental character. Each counter is attended by a young female, as at the Soho Bazaar. On one side of the toy-bazaar is an aviary,

supplied with birds for sale in cages; and adjacent to it is a conservatory, where plants are displayed in neat array.

The Pantechnicon is a bazaar for the sale of larger commodities. It is situated in the immediate vicinity of Belgrave Square, and occupies two masses of building on the opposite sides of a narrow street. Carriages constitute one of the principal classes of articles sold at this bazaar: they are ranged in a very long building, and comprise all the usual varieties, from the dress carriage to the light gig, each carriage having its selling price marked on a ticket attached to it. Another department is for the sale of furniture, and consists of several long rooms or galleries filled with pianofortes, tables, chairs, sideboards, chests of drawers, bedsteads, carpets, and all the varied range of household furniture, each article, as in the former case, being ticketed with its selling price. There is a "wine department" also, consisting of a range of dry vaults for the reception and display of wines. The bazaar contains likewise a "toy-department;" but this is not so extensive as those noticed in the preceding paragraphs.

The Baker Street Bazaar bears some resemblance to the Pantechnicon, inasmuch as it contains a large array of carriages for sale. But it has somewhat fallen off from its original character; for it was opened as a "horse bazaar" for the sale, among other things, of horses. Horses are, we believe, no longer exposed here for sale; and the chief commodities displayed are carriages, harness, horse-furniture and accoutrements, furniture, stoves, and "furnishing ironmongery." The "wax-work" and the "artificial ice" are exhibitions no way connected with the bazaar other than occupying a portion of the too-extensive premises.

There is, in the upper part of the Gray's Inn Road, a building called the North London Repository, which gained some kind of celebrity a few years ago as a locality where the principle of "labour-exchange" was put to the test. Every article sold had a price fixed upon it, such as would afford sixpence per hour for the time and labour of the artificer who made it, and this was to be bartered for some other article priced in a similar way. The scheme was an utter failure; and the building appropriated to it has been since converted into a kind of furniture and carriage depôt, or bazaar.

If the Burlington or Lowther Arcades contained shops of one kind only, they would bear a closer resemblance to the Oriental bazaars than any other places in London; for they are arranged in the long vaulted manner which pictures represent those of the East to be; but they contain paper-hangers, bootmakers, book and print sellers, music-sellers, besides toy-sellers and others. The Lowther Bazaar, opposite to the Lowther Arcade, is simply a large shop, carried on by one owner, but decked out with a variety of fanciful wares. The Opera Colonnade was once somewhat of a bazaar; but it has been shorn of many of its attractions, and is a spiritless affair.

Next let us glance at the shops where commodities having already rendered service to one set of purchasers are exposed to the view of a second, or perhaps a third. The pawnbroker, the dealer in marine stores, the common broker, the "old-iron shop,"—these are terms which point to our meaning. As to the multifarious articles displayed in the window of a pawnbroker, they have had a probation of a year and a day, and have been brought from the hidden recesses of the

pawnbroker's store-room again to see the light. Each article—whether it be a telescope, a gown, a pair of pistols, a coat, a watch, a Bible—has its own tale of sorrow and poverty, and is suggestive of reflection on the ruinous rate of interest and loss at which the poor borrow money.

But a more remarkable class of such shops includes those which are commonly known as "brokers' shops," and which contain almost every imaginable kind of commodity. Let a pedestrian walk through Monmouth Street and St. Andrew's Street, the New Cut, or any other part of London in a dense and poor neighbourhood, and observe the motley assemblage of articles, some good enough, but not in general requisition, some useful, but shabby, some to all appearance useless, yet all for sale, and he will acquire a general notion of the miscellaneous nature of the lower class of shop trading. Old furniture shops, or curiosity shops, such as we find in Wardour Street, are a new species—and amongst the most interesting. Humbler collections of curiosities are to be found in Monmouth Street, St. Andrew's Street, and the New Cut. We cannot, however, mention Monmouth Street without thinking of its array of second-hand clothing. Gay spoke of it more than a century ago, and it remains the same in principle to the present day. As fashions change, so does the cut of the garments in Monmouth Street change; but the dealers never change: they are the same people, actuated by the same motives, trafficking on the same system, as in by-gone days. In no other part of London is the use of cellar-shops so conspicuous as in Monmouth Street. Every house has its cellar, to which access is gained by a flight of steps from the open street; and every cellar is a shop, mostly for the sale of second-hand boots and shoes, which are ranged round the margin of the entrance; while countless children—noisy, dirty, but happy brats—are loitering within and without.

Holywell Street, in the Strand, and Field Lane, near Saffron Hill, are two other places where second-hand garments are exposed for sale. The former still maintains a character given to it long ago, that a passenger needs all his resolution to prevent being dragged into the shops whether he will or no; so importunate are the entreaties by which he is invited to buy a bran-new coat, or a splendid waistcoat. Field Lane has a reputation somewhat more equivocal. Its open unsashed windows are loaded with silk handkerchiefs, displayed in dazzling array; and if it be asked how they all came there, we may perhaps arrive at an answer by solving the following police-problem: given, the number of handkerchiefs picked from pockets in the course of a year, to find the number exposed for sale in Field Lane in an equal period. In the immediate vicinity of Drury Lane is another curious assemblage of shops for the sale of old commodities: a small street is occupied almost entirely by open shops or stalls belonging to "piece-brokers," who purchase old garments, and cut out from them such pieces as may be sound enough to patch up other garments; whereby a market is furnished which supplies many a "jobbing" tailor.

A word or two respecting the daily economy of London shops. It is curious to mark the symptoms of the waking of huge London from its nightly sleep. Stage-coach travellers, unless where driven to a new system by railroads, have often means of observing this waking when entering or leaving London at a very early hour. There is an hour—after the fashionables have left their balls

and parties, the rakes have reached their houses, and the houseless wanderers have found somewhere to lay their heads, but before the sober tradesmen begin the day's labour—when London is particularly still and silent. Had we written this a year ago, we might have had to allude to the poor sooty boy's shrill cry of "Sweep!" but we may now only speak of the early breakfast-stalls, the early milkmen, and a few others, whose employment takes them into the street at an early hour. Very few shops indeed, even in the height of summer, are opened before six o'clock; but at that hour the apprentices and shopmen may be seen taking down the shutters from the windows. Time has been when these shutters slid in grooves at the top and bottom of the window, but they now rest on a well-polished brass sill at the bottom, and are fastened with much neatness. The splendour of modern shops has in some cases reached to the shutters themselves, which are highly polished, and not unfrequently figured and decorated with gold; while in the recently-constructed windows of large dimensions sliding shutters of sheet-iron are occasionally used. When the shutters, whatever be their kind, are taken down, we soon see busy indications of cleansing operations going on: how sedulously the glass is wiped, the floor swept, the counters dusted, let the busy apprentice tell. Then comes the shopman or the master, who lays out in the window the goods intended to be displayed that day. Some trades, it is true, allow the goods to remain in the window all night; but in many the shop-window is cleared every evening, again to be filled the next morning. There is singular art and dexterity displayed in this part of the day's proceedings, in laying out the commodities in the most attractive form, especially in the mercers' and drapers' shops. Then, hour after hour, as the streets become gradually filled with walkers and riders, the shopkeeper prepares to receive his customers, whose hours of purchasing depend greatly on the nature of the commodities purchased; the baker has most trade in the morning and afternoon, the butcher and the greengrocer in the forenoon, the publican at noon and in the evening, and so on. In occupations relating to the sale of provisions, a small number of persons can transact a tolerably large trade; but in the drapery line the number of hands is remarkably large, there being some of these establishments in which the shopmen, clerks, cashiers, &c. amount to from fifty to a hundred. One of these, called the "shop-walker," has a singular office to fill: his duty being to "walk the shop," with a view to see who enters it, and to point out to them at what counter, or at what part of the counter, they may be served with the particular commodity required.

As the evening comes on, the dazzling jets of gas become kindled in one shop after another, till our principal streets have a brilliancy rivalling that of day. The evening-walkers are often a different class from the mid-day walkers, and make purchases of a different kind: some, too, seem to expect that shops shall be kept open for their accommodation till nine, ten, or eleven o'clock, while others uniformly close at seven or eight o'clock. This question of shop-shutting has been a subject of much discussion lately; the shopmen to drapers, druggists, and many other retail traders, having urged the justice of terminating the daily business at such a time as will leave them an hour or two for relaxation or reading. This does not seem to be unreasonable; but, at the same time, a little caution

seems to be needful in carrying the plan into practice, since the convenience of the purchasers, in respect to the hours at which they make their purchases, must always be an element to be considered.

That some streets should be exclusively private, while others are as exclusively occupied by shopkeepers, is a system for which there is good and sufficient reason. It is, in fact, one mode of exemplifying the bazaar-system, in which, when purchases are to be made, a saving of time is effected by congregating the sellers near together. The sellers, too, serve each other, and each thrives by the aid of his neighbour. The sketch which Defoe, in his 'Complete Tradesman,' made of matters as they existed in 1727, will, with a few modifications, apply to our own day as well:—"The people grow rich by the people; they support one another; the tailor, the draper, the mercer, the coachmaker, &c., and their servants, all haunt the public-houses, the masters to the taverns, the servants to the ale-houses, and thus the vintner and the victualler grow rich. Those again, getting before-hand with the world, must have fine clothes, fine houses, and fine furniture; their wives grow gay, as the husbands grow rich, and they go to the draper, the mercer, the tailor, the upholsterer, &c., to buy fine clothes and nice goods; thus the draper, and mercer, and tailor grow rich too; money begets money, trade circulates, and the tide of money flows in with it; one hand washes the other hand, and both hands wash the face."

[Pantheon Bazaar.]

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI.,

WITH

THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS OF EACH PAPER.

		Page
CXXVI.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.—ANCIENT	J. Saunders	1
CXXVII.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.—MODERN	„	17
CXXVIII.—THE OLD JEWRY	W. Weir	33
CXXIX.—OLD TRADING COMPANIES	J. C. Platt	49
CXXX.—PUBLIC STATUES	J. Saunders	65
CXXXI.—THE COLLEGE OF ARMS	J. R. Planché	81
CXXXII.—HOUSES OF THE OLD NOBILITY	W. Weir	97
CXXXIII.—BUCKINGHAM AND OLD WESTMINSTER PALACES	J. Saunders	113
CXXXIV.—WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT	„	129
CXXXV.—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW	F. W. Fairholt	145
CXXXVI.—THE BRITISH MUSEUM	J. Saunders	161
CXXXVII.—MUSIC	„	177
CXXXVIII.—THE SQUARES OF LONDON	W. Weir	193
CXXXIX.—THE STATIONERS' COMPANY	J. Saunders	209
CXL.—BILLS OF MORTALITY	J. C. Platt	225
CXLI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND THE SOANE MUSEUM	J. Saunders	241
CXLII.—THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS	J. C. Platt	257
CXLIII.—EXHIBITIONS OF ART	J. Saunders	273
CXLIV.—THE STOCK EXCHANGE	J. Bowman & J. C. Platt	289
CXLV.—RAILWAY TERMINI	J. Saunders	305
CXLVI.—MILITARY LONDON	„	321
CXLVII.—CHARITIES OF LONDON	J. C. Platt & J. Saunders	337
CXLVIII.—TATTERSALL'S	W. Weir	353
CXLIX.—LEARNED SOCIETIES	J. Saunders	369
CL.—COURTS OF LAW	J. C. Platt	385

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

CXXVI.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

No. I.—ANCIENT.

	PAGE
Free School at Westminster in the reign of the Confessor	1
Ingulphus and Queen Edgitha	1
First mention of the University of Oxford	2
Augustin the presumed Founder of the Schools at Canterbury	2
Schools in London in the Seventh Century	2
Ireland the chief Seat of European Learning during the Seventh and two or three following Centuries	2
Aldhelm's Complaint of the emigration of Students to Ireland	2
Account given by Alcuin of what he learnt and taught at the School at York	2
Decay of Learning in the Ninth Century	3
Restoration of the Principal Schools in the Reign of Alfred	3
School for the Sons of the Nobility founded by Alfred	3
Decline of Education in the Period from the Reign of Alfred to that of the Confessor	4
Fitz-Stephen's Account of the Schools of London in the Reigns of Stephen and Henry II.	4
Three Principal Schools mentioned by Fitz-Stephen	4
Jewish School in London in the Twelfth Century	5
Number of Students at Oxford at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century	5
Quality of the Education at Oxford and Paris in the Fourteenth Century	5
Chaucer's Character of the Clerk in the 'Canterbury Tales'	6
The Schools of London attached, probably exclusively, to the Religious Houses	6
Grammar Schools appointed by Henry VI.	7
Grammar School founded by John Neil in 1456	7
Effect of the Reformation in England upon Education	7
The Grammar Schools of England mostly founded in the Sixteenth Century	7
Dean Colet, the Founder of the Earliest of the Schools of London	7
Dislike entertained towards Dean Colet by the Metropolitan Clergy	8
Friendship between Colet and Sir Thomas More	8
Friendship of Erasmus and Dean Colet	8
Anecdote of Erasmus and Colet	9
Particulars given by Erasmus of the Domestic Life of Colet	9
Foundation of St. Paul's School by Colet in 1509	9
The Trust of St. Paul's School committed by Colet to the Company of Mercers	9
Lily appointed Head Master of St. Paul's School by Colet	10
St. Paul's School at the present day	10
Eminent Men educated at St. Paul's School	10
The Mercers' School originally a part of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon's	11
Increase in 1804 and 1809 of the number of Scholars at the Mercers' School	11
Foundation of Merchant Tailors' School in 1561	11
Eminent Persons educated at Merchant Tailors' School	12
Practical Rules drawn up by the Founders of St. Saviour's School	12
St. Olave's one of the most valuable of Metropolitan Schools	12
Increase in the Funds of St. Olave's School	12
The Establishment of St. Olave's divided into two Schools	12
Westminster historically the most important of the Schools of London	13
Quarrel between Drs. Busby and Bagshawe	13
Severity of Dr. Busby	13
Anecdote in reference to the wit of Dr. Busby	13
Camden appointed Head Master of Westminster School in 1592	14
Dr. Busby succeeded by Dr. Friend as Head Master of Westminster School	14
Distinguished Men educated at Westminster School	14
Curious points in the management of Westminster School	14
Mode of Election at Westminster School	15
Annual Performance of the Plays of Terence at Westminster	15
Scenery for Westminster School prepared under the direction of David Garrick	16
Expense of education at Westminster School	16
Decline of late years in the prosperity of Westminster School	16
Increase about to be made to the power and influence of Westminster School	16

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
1. St. Olave's School	FREEMAN	BIGGS	1
2. St. Paul's School, St. Paul's Churchyard, as it appeared before the Fire of London	WELLS	HOLLOWAY	8
3. Merchant Tailors' School, Cannon Street	SHEPHERD	BURROWS	11
4. Westminster School	FAIRHOLT	SEARS	16

CXXVII.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

No. II.—Modern.

	Page
The Dame Schools of London	17
Anecdote of the Mistress of a provincial Dame School	18
An English Day School in the Nineteenth Century	18
Ignorance of the Masters of the Common Day Schools of England	18
Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society on Popular Education in London	19
Little estimation in which the Proprietors of Schools in general hold their Profession	19
Inquiry instituted by the Statistical Society into the state of some of the Parishes of London	19
Average Number of Persons receiving Education in the eastern parts of the Metropolis	19
Report of the Inspector of the British and Foreign Schools on the state of the Parish of Bethnal Green	20
Origin of the British and Foreign School, Borough Road	20
Commencement of the Career of Joseph Lancaster	20
Support given to Lancaster by George III. and the Duke of Bedford	20
Institution in 1813 of the British and Foreign School Society	21
Mode of Instruction practised in the Institution in the Borough Road	21
Normal Seminaries at the Institution in the Borough Road	21
Education given to the Students at the Normal Schools	21
Grand evil attending the Normal Schools	22
Formation of the National Society for the Education of the Poor by Dr. Andrew Bell	22
Different fortunes of Dr. Bell and Joseph Lancaster	22
The Old Sanctuary, Westminster, the Headquarters of the National Society	23
Normal School of the National Society at Stanley Grove, Chelsea	23
The Poor now likely to be the enjoyers of a thoroughly genuine Education	23
Extract from a Letter of the Principal of Stanley Grove	24
Account of the daily proceedings at Stanley Grove	25
Female Training School at Whitelands	26
The progress of Education entirely depending upon the progress and efficient management of the Normal Schools	26
Number of the Metropolitan Schools of the National Society	26
Metropolitan Schools of the British and Foreign Society	26
National and Parochial Schools	27
Excellent and practical principles on which Infant Schools were commenced	27
First Infant School on a large scale established by Mr. Owen in 1818	27
Description by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth of the state of the Juvenile Pauper Population of England	28
School at Norwood formed by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth	28
Increase in the number of Workhouse Schools	29
Disposal of the Funds annually voted by Parliament, by the Committee of the Council of Education	29
System of management in the Schools for the Poor proposed to be established by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth	29
Educational Establishments of London belonging exclusively to the Middle and Higher Classes.	29
The University of London created by Charter of William IV.	30
Duties and power of the Senate of the University of London	30
Examination for Degrees held at the London University	30
Distinctive characteristics of King's College and University College	31
Power of conferring honours granted to University College in 1836	31
Average number of Students at the London University	31
King's College founded in 1828	31
Expenses of a Metropolitan University Education	31
The City of London School	32

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
5. British and Foreign School, Borough Road	Anelay	Jackson	17
6. Chapel and Practising School, Stanley Grove, Chelsea	Brown	"	23
7. Camberwell National Schools	B. Sly	Murdon	27
8. Infant School, Holloway	"	Holloway	28
9. University College, Gower Street	Brown	Jackson	32

CXXVIII.—THE OLD JEWRY.

Historical Associations of the Old Jewry	33
Murder of Dr. Lambe in the Old Jewry	33
House in the Old Jewry in which Thomas-à-Becket is said to have been born	33
Banishment of the Jews from England in the reign of Edward I.	34
Straggling remnant of Jews probably existing in England during the Fourteenth Century	34
The appearance of the Jews in England towards the latter end of the Seventeenth Century	34
Probable limits of the Jewry	34
First Synagogue of the Jews in England	34
Extent of the Jewry	35
Burying-place of the Jews in London before their banishment by Edward I.	35
Jewry in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., situated in the Liberties of the Tower	35
Robbery and murder committed in the Eastern Jewry in the reign of Henry III.	35

PAGE

Extract from the Records of the Tower relating to the Eastern Jewry 36
Immigration of Jews into England under William the Conqueror 36
Traces of the Jews in England before the Conquest 36
The City probably the Court-end of London under the Saxon Monarchs 36
General Massacre of the Jews in London in 1189 37
The Jews of London sentenced to pay twenty thousand marks to the King in 1241 . . 37
Massacres of the Jews in London in the years 1262 and 1264 37
Destruction in 1264 of the Jews' first Synagogue in London 37
Refuge taken by the Jews and the Pope's Legate in the Tower in 1266 37
The Jews throughout England seized and imprisoned in 1278 38
Laws passed in the reign of Edward I. to restrain the alleged Usury of the Jews 38
Account in the 'Parliamentary History of England' of the banishment of the Jews from England 38
The 'Jews' Garden' the only burying-place of the Jews in England until the year 1177 . . 39
Light thrown on the Wealth and Business of the Jews in 1158 by Richard de Anesty . . 39
The Usury of the Jews of good service to the Kingdom 39
Learning and Accomplishments of the Jews in England before their banishment in 1290 . 40
Polemical War waged in England between Jewish and Christian Missionaries in the time of William Rufus 40
Passage from Mr. Blunt's 'History of the Jews in England' 40
Irrational Hatred nourished by the English against the Jews 41
No organised body of Jews in England from the year 1290 to the year 1655 41
Shakspere's 'Shylock' and Marlowe's 'Barnabas' 41
The Jews of Amsterdam invited by Cromwell to settle in England 42
Petition of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel to Cromwell 42

PAGE

Unchanged character of the Jews during the period of their exile from England . . 43
Conferences of the Council and Ministers of Cromwell on the subject of the admission of the Jews into England 43
Pamphlet published by Prynne, opposing the admission of the Jews into England . . 43
Relinquishment by Cromwell of his project of admitting the Jews into England . . . 44
Synagogue erected in King's Street, Duke's Place, in 1656 44
Rabbi Isaac Usiri succeeded in the Synagogue of Amsterdam by Manasseh-Ben-Israel . . 44
Death of Manasseh-Ben-Israel in 1657 . . 44
Laudable care taken by the Jews on their first settlement in England to secure the due celebration of Divine Service 44
School called "The Tree of Life" founded by the Jews in 1664 44
Reformation of "The Tree of Life" by Moses Mocatta, Esq., in 1821 44
First German Synagogue built in 1691 . . 45
The present Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks built in 1701 45
The Hamburgh Synagogue erected in Fenchurch Street in 1723 45
Attempt to pass a Jewish Naturalisation Bill . 45
Disabilities under which the Jews in London labour 45
The Metropolis of the Jews in London . . 46
Jewish Synagogues in London 46
Saturday afternoon in the Jewish quarters of the Metropolis 46
The Westminster Jews 46
Parts of the Metropolis occupied by the wealthy Jews 46
Charitable Institutions of the Jews in London . 47
Jewish Hospital at Mile End 47
Jewish Schools in London 47
The Jews' College 47
Institutions in London for ministering to the necessities and comforts of the Jewish Poor . 47
Weekly Papers published by the London Jews . 47
Controversy waging between the British Jews and the adherents of 'The Association for Preserving Inviolate the Ancient Rites and Ceremonies of Israel' 48

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
10. Interior of Synagogue at Great St. Helen's . . .	TIPPIN	JACKSON	33
11. Old Clothesman, from Tempest's 'Cries of London'. .	"	"	48

CXXIX.—OLD TRADING COMPANIES.

Struggles in England for Freedom of Trade . 49
Laws enacted by King Hlothaere of Kent . . 50
Commercial State of England during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries . . . 50
Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries 50
Monopoly of the Wool Trade in England by the Italian Merchants 51
The Cistercian Monks the greatest Wool-Merchants in England previous to the year 1314 . 51
English Merchants excluded from the Wool Trade in 1390 51
Right possessed by the Crown of restricting all Mercantile Dealings for a time to a certain place 51
Fair held at Westminster in 1245 . . . 51
Regulations of the Staple 52
Restrictions on Commerce in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries 52
Societies of Foreigners in London enjoying important Commercial Immunities and Advantages 53
The German Guildhall 53
Bishopsgate rebuilt in 1479 at the cost of the German Merchants 53
Charter granted in 1505 to the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England . . . 53
Dispute in 1551 between the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchants of the Steelyard . 54
House occupied by the Merchants of the Steelyard closed in 1597 54

	Page
Origin of the Company of Merchant Adventurers	54
Attempt of the Merchant Adventurers to control the whole Foreign Trade of the country	54
Bruges in the Fourteenth Century the greatest resort of Foreign Merchants in Europe	55
Antwerp the greatest Commercial Emporium in Europe after the Middle of the Fifteenth Century	55
House of the Merchant Adventurers of England at Antwerp	55
The spirit of mercantile adventure in England roused by the Discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards	55
Establishment of Joint-Stock Companies in England	55
Expedition in 1553 to discover a North-East Passage to China	55
Privileges obtained by Richard Chancellor for carrying on a Trade with the Muscovites	55
Trade with Russia secured to the Merchant Adventurers by a Charter granted in 1555	56
Arrival in England of the first Ambassador from Russia	56
Commercial Intercourse with Persia commenced in 1557	56
The Trade with Russia, Persia, and the Caspian Sea secured to the Merchant Adventurers	56
Summary by Sir Walter Raleigh of the state of the English Trade with Russia in 1603	56
Disputes between the Dutch Whalers and the Company of Merchant Adventurers	56
Union of the East India and Russia Companies for the prosecution of the Whale Fishery	57
The English Company placed on the same footing as the Dutch by the Czar in 1669	57
The English Factory in Russia	57
Charter granted to the Turkey Company in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth	57
Commercial Operations of the Turkey Company	57
Renewal of the Charter to the Turkey Company in 1593	58
Charter granted to the Turkey Company by King James in 1605	58
Dispute between the East India and Turkey Companies in 1681	58
Bill brought into Parliament for abolishing the privileges of the Turkey Company	59
Important changes made in the constitution of the Turkey Company by an Act passed in 1753	59
The Turkey Company abolished in 1825	59
Trade to Africa commenced in the Year 1530	59
The African Company broken up in the reign of James I.	59
Second African Company formed in 1631	59
Third African Company set on foot in 1662	59
Formation of a Fourth African Company	60
Attack on the African Company's Privileges by the West India Planters and Free Traders	60
Attempts of the African Company to obtain an exclusive Charter	60
The African Company in 1750 formed into a regulated Company	60
The African Company abolished in 1821	61
The Eastland Company	61
Minor Trading Companies existing at different times	61
The Hudson's Bay Company first incorporated in 1670	61
Adventurous life of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company	61
Prosecution of the Fur Trade by the French Canadians	61
Union of the Fur Traders of Canada in 1783, under the name of the "North-West Company"	62
Recent acquisition to Geographical Knowledge made by Messrs. Simpson and Dease	62
Establishment of Fort William, on Lake Superior	62
Life of the Fur Traders at Fort William	62
Jealousy between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies	62
Open War between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies at the commencement of the present Century	63
Union of the North-West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in 1821	63
Forts of the Hudson's Bay Company	63
Number of Furs exported from Canada	63
Sales of the Hudson's Bay Company in Fenchurch Street	63
At one time the Use of Furs in England a distinguishing mark of Rank	64

ILLUSTRATION.

	Designer.	Engraver.	
12. Hudson's Bay Company's House, Fenchurch Street	Tiffin	Jackson	49

CXXX.—PUBLIC STATUES.

The Statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross	65
Charing Cross the last Resting Place of the Body of Queen Eleanor	65
Derivation of the Name of Charing Cross	66
Statue of Queen Eleanor in Westminster	66
Able Men tempted to England by the Taste and Liberality of Charles I.	66
Statue of Charles I. cast in 1633 by Hubert le Sœur	66
History of Charles I.'s Statue during the Commonwealth	66
Restoration of Charles I.'s Statue	67
Barbarities committed at the Execution of the men of the Commonwealth	67
Lampoons against the Government written by Andrew Marvell at the restoration of the Statue of Charles I.	67
Equestrian Statue of Charles II. erected by Sir Robert Vyner	68
Allusions contained in the lampoons of Marvell	68
Verses by Marvell in the form of a Dialogue between the statues of Woolchurch and Charing	68
Statue of James II. at Whitehall	69
Character of James II.	70
Statue in Soho Square	70
Discussion on the subject of the statue in Soho Square	70
Statue of William III. in St. James's Square	71
Reminiscences connected with the equestrian statue of George I. in Leicester Square	71
Warfare between George I. and his Son	71
Equestrian Statue of George I. in Grosvenor Square	71

	Page
Anecdote relating to the statue of George II. in Golden Square	72
Statue of the Duke of Cumberland in Cavendish Square	72
Atrocities committed in the Highlands by the Duke of Cumberland	72
Rage for Sculpture in the early Part of the Eighteenth Century	72
Shops of Statuaries in Piccadilly	73
Importation of Foreign Artists at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century	73
Statue of Sir Hans Sloane in the Gardens of the Apothecaries' Company, Chelsea	73
Sir Hans Sloane's Benefactions to the Apothecaries' Company	74
Works of Bacon, the Sculptor	74
Bacon's allegorical figure of the Thames in the Court of Somerset House	74
Passage from Cunningham's Life of Bacon	75
Large proportion of statues by Westmacott erected in the present Century	75
Figure of Major Cartwright in Burton Crescent	75
Evidence of the purity of Cartwright's Intentions	75
Westmacott's statue of the Duke of Bedford in Russell Square	76
Statue of Fox in Bloomsbury Square	77
Observations on the Achilles in the 'Quarterly Review'	77
Erection of the Achilles in 1822	78
The Duke of York's Column	78
List of the statues of London	78
Tablet at Allhallows Church commemorating the Birth of Milton	79
Letter of Sir Robert Peel to the Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission	79

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
13. Statue of Charles I., with the unfinished Nelson Testimonial	Tiffin	Jackson	65
14. Sir Hans Sloane	"	"	73
15. Pitt's Statue, Hanover Square	C. Landseer	Sly	76
16. Statue of Major Cartwright in Burton Crescent	"	"	77
17. Statue of George Canning	"	"	79
18. Statue of the Moor in Clement's Inn	Tiffin	Jackson	80

CXXXI.—COLLEGE OF ARMS.

Heralds of the Present Day	81
Incorporation of Heralds in 1483	82
Possessors of Pulteney's Inn until the occupation of it by the Heralds in 1483	82
Removal of the Heralds to the Hospital of our Lady of Roncival	82
Derby House granted to the Heralds in 1555	83
Present Heralds' College erected on the Site of Derby House	83
Interesting Curiosities preserved in the Library of the Heralds' College	83
Interior of the Heralds' College	84
Practice of the Court of the Earl Marshal in the middle ages	84
Title of Garter King of Arms given by Henry V. to William Bruges	84
First regular Chapter held by the Heralds in a collegiate capacity in 1420	84
Salaries of the Members of the Heralds' College	85
Fees and Allowances obtained by the Members of the Heralds' College	85
Emoluments of the Heralds before the Sixteenth Century	85
Chief Employment of the Heralds after their Incorporation	85
A Visitation of each County decreed by the Earl Marshal	86
Essential consequence of incorruptible truth in the detail of Genealogies	86
Purchase of Armorial distinctions as early as the reign of Henry VIII.	86
Mandate circulated in 1536 for the general Registration of Births and Deaths	86
Commission of Visitation directed to Thomas Hawley, in 1555	87
Generally allowed Jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court	87
Validity of the Earl Marshal's Authority questioned by repeated appeals to the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery	87
Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court duly recognised and published	87
Regular Officers of the College of Arms	87
Marked Respect shown by Charles I. to the Heralds individually	88
Academic Honours accepted by some of the Members of the College of Arms in the reign of Charles I.	88
Cromwell's taste for Pageantry	88
Decline of the Court of Chivalry in the reign of Charles II.	89
Dissolution of the Court of Chivalry proposed by Clarendon in 1640	89
Endeavours made to reconcile the public mind to the re-establishment of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chivalry	89
Last cause concerning the Right of Bearing Arms tried in the Year 1720	89
Cause between the Scrope and Grosvenor Families tried in the Court of Chivalry in the reign of Richard II.	89
Degradation of Sir Francis Michell from the honour of Knighthood	89
Memoranda of one of the latest Visitations of the Heralds	90
Value and importance of authentic and minute Genealogical Records	90
The Officers of Arms, from the earliest Periods, the Bearers of Letters and Messages to Sovereign Princes and Persons in Authority	91
The Office of bearing important Dispatches transferred from the Officers of Arms to Persons appointed by the Secretary of State	91
The Heralds gradually deprived of all Important Offices	92
Sixth Article of the admonition given to Heralds on their creation	92
Eminent Men who have been members of the College of Arms	92
Birth and Education of Camden	92

PAGE

Camden created Clarencieux King of Arms in 1597 93
Death of Camden, in 1623 93
Birth of Sir William Dugdale in 1605 . . 93
Offices in the College of Arms held by Sir William Dugdale 93
Elias Ashmole 93
Birth and Education of John Anstis . . 94
Works of John Anstis 94
Francis Sandford's Genealogical 'History of England' 94
Francis Sandford admitted into the College of Arms at the Restoration 94
The Office of Clarencieux King of Arms presented to Sir John Vanbrugh for his services as an architect 94
Situation in the College of Arms obtained by Francis Grose 95
Edmund Lodge created Lancaster Herald in 1793 95
Sir William Betham the only Officer of Arms now living whose Name is connected with British Literature 95
List of Heralds who have written on their own science only 95

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
19. Cold Harbour	BROWN	JACKSON	81
20. Heralds' College, Exterior of	"	"	83
21. Heralds' College, Interior of	"	"	96

CXXXII.—HOUSES OF THE OLD NOBILITY.

Aristocratic Mansions in London to which associations of social or public history cling . . 98
City Residences of the Aristocracy 98
House in Silver Street belonging to the Neville Family 98
The Erber 98
House of the Dowager Duchess of York, in the Parish of St. Peter's Parva, Paul's Wharf . 98
Occupation of Crosby House by Richard III. when Duke of Gloucester 99
Passage from Sir Thomas More's 'Pittiful Life of King Edward the Fifth' 99
Palace at the End of Crooked Lane supposed to have been the Residence of Edward the Black Prince 99
Winchester House and Gardens 99
Noblemen's Houses in the Ward of Castle Baynard 99
The King's Wardrobe 99
Beaumont's Inn 100
Baynard's Castle granted by Henry I. to Robert Fitz-Richard 100
Baynard's Castle in the possession of Robert Fitz-Water in 1198 100
Rights ceded by the Commonalty of London to Robert Fitz-Water 100
Castle Baynard destroyed by Fire in 1428 . 101
Castle Baynard rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester 101
Castle Baynard occupied by the Duke of York in 1457 101
Baynard's Castle repaired and embellished by Henry VII. 101
Last great business of state transacted within the walls of Baynard's Castle 101
Alliance contracted between a Portion of the Nobility and the City after the War of the Roses 102
The City in the Reign of Henry IV. the Westminster of the present day 102
Gradual Removal of the Nobility from the City to the West-End of London 103
Residences of the Bishops in the City . . 103
Possessors of Ely House during the Reign of Elizabeth 104
Proceedings instituted by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, for the Recovery of Ely House . . 104
Bill in Chancery exhibited by Bishop Wren against Lord Hatton for the Redemption of Ely House 104
Dilapidation effected by Protector Somerset previous to the building of Somerset House . 104
Episcopal Residences, Churches, &c., pulled down to supply materials for the Erection of Somerset House 105
Execution of Protector Somerset in 1552-3 . 106
Unsuccessful attempts to change the name of Somerset House 106
Scenes and Incidents associated with Somerset House 106
Occupation of the Inns of the Bishops by the Nobility after the Reformation 106
'Thomas Shakespeare's Bill' 106
Covent Garden granted to the Earl of Bedford in 1552 106
Hospital or Chapel formerly standing on the site of Northumberland House 107
Various possessors and names of Northumberland House 107
Alterations and additions made to Northumberland House in 1749-50 107
Social and political associations of Northumberland House 107
Horace Walpole at Northumberland House . 107
Conferences of the Royalists at Northumberland House 107
Residence of the Queen of Bohemia at Craven House 108
Importance of the City of London during the Commonwealth 108
Warwick House supposed to have been built in the Reign of Elizabeth 109
Origin of the title 'Lady Holland's Mob.' . 109
Shaftesbury House 109
Newcastle House built by Sir Thomas Challoner 109
Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle 109
Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle 110
Residences of the Nobility in the City as late as the commencement of the Eighteenth Century 110
Montague House 110
Houses of the Nobility surrounding St. James's Palace 111
Conduct of the wife and daughters of the Duke of Marlborough on his Quarrel with Queen Anne 111
Samuel Johnson in the ante-chamber at Chesterfield House 111
External Appearance of the existing Mansions of the Nobility in London 112

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
22. York or Stafford House, St. James's Park	TIFFIN	JACKSON	97
23. Craven House, Wych Street, 1800	"	"	108
24. Shaftesbury House, Aldersgate Street, now General Dispensary	"	"	110
25. Spenser House, Green Park	"	"	112

CXXXIII.—BUCKINGHAM AND OLD WESTMINSTER PALACES.

	Page
The King of Bavaria's instructions to his Architect	113
The Palace at Munich	113
House built by the Duke of Buckingham, formerly standing on the Site of Buckingham Palace	114
Domestic life of the Duke of Buckingham	114
Commencement of Buckingham Palace in 1825	114
Completion of Buckingham Palace by W. Blore	114
Impression conveyed to the Mind in examining the front of Buckingham Palace	114
Exterior of Buckingham Palace	114
Hall of Buckingham Palace	115
The Library	115
The Sculpture Gallery	115
The Green Drawing-Room	116
The Throne Room on State Occasions	117
Works of the Flemish and Dutch Schools in the Picture Gallery of Buckingham Palace	117
Range of Rooms occupying the Garden Front of Buckingham Palace	117
The Yellow Drawing-Room	117
Series of Sculptures in Relief by Pitts in Buckingham Palace	117
Private Apartments of the Queen in Buckingham Palace	118
Decorations of the Palace at Munich	118
Paintings in the King's Apartments at Munich	119
Decorations of the State Rooms in the Palace at Munich	119
Notices of the Palace at Munich by Mrs. Jameson	119
Decoration of Her Majesty's Summer-House at Buckingham Palace	120
Conduit or Fountain formerly standing in New Palace Yard	120
History of the Clock Tower which formerly stood in New Palace Yard	120
Chapter House of Westminster Abbey	120
House of the Gunpowder Conspirators in Old Palace Yard	121
Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh in Old Palace Yard	121
Earliest notice of a Royal Residence at Westminster	121
Earliest parts of Westminster Palace probably built by Edward the Confessor	122
Discovery of the Paintings on the Walls of the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace	122
Warrant for the Execution of Charles I. signed in the Painted Chamber	122
The Old House of Lords part of the Confessor's building	122
The House of Lords designated the Little Hall after the erection of Westminster Hall by Rufus	123
Anecdote of Richard Cœur-de-Lion	123
The name of Little Hall changed to White Hall in the reign of Richard II.	123
Court of Requests instituted in the reign of Henry VII.	123
The Court of Requests converted into the House of Lords at the time of the Parliamentary Union with Ireland	123
Tapestry representing the Victories over the Spanish Armada, destroyed at the burning of the Houses of Parliament	123
Westminster Palace supposed to have been enlarged by the Conqueror	123
Erection of St. Stephen's Chapel by King Stephen	124
St. Stephen's Chapel destroyed by fire in 1298, and rebuilt by Edward III. in 1363	124
St. Stephen's Chapel fitted up for the Commons in the reign of Edward VI.	124
Side Walls of St. Stephen's Chapel taken down in 1800	124
Discovery of the Decorations of St. Stephen's Chapel	124
Architectural Beauty of the Vestibule, Crypt, Cloisters, and Oratory of St. Stephen's Chapel	125
Collegiate Establishment of St. Stephen's Chapel, as settled by Edward III.	125
The Little Hall consumed by fire in 1263	125
Removal of the Court to the Archbishop of York's Palace at Whitehall in the reign of Edward I.	125
Chaucer appointed Clerk of the Works in 1389, at the Rebuilding of Westminster Palace	125
Proofs of Chaucer's Architectural ability	126
St. George's Chapel, Windsor, repaired under the direction of Chaucer	126
House occupied by Chaucer on the Site of Henry VII.'s Chapel	126
Fire at Westminster Palace in 1512	127
Gradual Restoration of Westminster Palace until its destruction by Fire in 1834	127
Permanent settlement of the Courts of Law at Westminster Palace	127
New Courts erected by Sir John Soane in 1820-1825	127
Story connected with the Legal Reminiscences of Westminster	127
The Star Chamber	128

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
26. Throne Room, Buckingham Palace	SHEPHERD	SEARS	113
27. Garden Front, Buckingham Palace	"	HOLLOWAY	116
28. Doorway from the Old Palace, Westminster	"	"	121
29. From the Painted Chamber, Westminster	FAIRHOLT	"	122
30. Windows from the Old Palace, Westminster	POYNTER	SEARS	124
31. The Star Chamber, Westminster Palace	"	"	128

CXXXIV.—WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

	Page
Contrast between Buckingham Palace and the New Houses of Parliament	129
Recent change in public Feeling on the subject of Art	129
The Modern Public Buildings of London	130
Growth of artistical Knowledge and Taste among the People	130
Exhibition of the Cartoons	131
Harmonious simplicity of the arrangement of the New Houses of Parliament	131
Plan of the New Houses of Parliament	131
St. Stephen's Hall	131
The Commons' Corridor and Lobby	131
The House of the Commons	131
The Corridor, Lobby, and House of the Peers	131
The Victoria Tower and Gallery	131
The Conference Hall	131
Dimensions of the Houses of Parliament	131
Sumptuous character of the Architectural and Sculpturesque Decorations of the New Houses of Parliament	132
Statues on the East and West Fronts of the Houses of Parliament	132
Smaller Statues on the river front of the Houses of Parliament	133
Proposed extension of the original site marked out for the New Houses of Parliament	133
Extract from Mr. Barry's Report to the Commissioners on the Fine Arts	133
Proposed alteration of Westminster Bridge	133
Improvements proposed by Mr. Barry in the Buildings and Streets surrounding the New Houses of Parliament	134
Sublime architectural views of William Rufus	135
Proposed minor Decorations of the New Houses of Parliament	135
Plans for the Decoration of those parts of the New Houses of Parliament which will admit of extensive artistical operations	136
Proposed Decoration of the Victoria Gallery	136
Decoration of the Central Hall	136
Paintings in St. Stephen's Hall to be Commemorative of great Domestic Events in British History	136
Paintings in Westminster Hall to be devoted to the Representation of the Warlike Achievements of English History	136
Proposal of making Westminster Hall the Depository of Trophies obtained in War	136
Objections to the proposed Arrangement of the Paintings and Sculpture in the New Houses of Parliament	137
Decoration of the Speaker's Apartments	138
St. Stephen's Hall a fitting place for Paintings commemorative of the Events in the local history of the Lords and Commons	138
Decoration of the Octagon Hall	138
The Robing Room a suitable Place for Paintings representing the personal histories or incidents relating to the Monarchs of England	139
High and important associations of Westminster Hall	139
Statues to occupy the central space of Westminster Hall	140
Purpose for which Rufus built Westminster Hall	140
Anecdote told by Holinshed of Henry II. and his Son	140
Feast given in Westminster Hall by Henry III. in January, 1241-2	140
Feast given by Henry III. on the Marriage of his Brother	141
Parliaments held in Westminster Hall before the division into Two Houses	141
Westminster Hall the Scene of an awful Exhibition in 1253	141
Entry of John of France and the Black Prince into London	141
Attempts of Edward III. and his Family to console King John	141
The Reign of Richard II. a noticeable one for Westminster Hall	141
Renunciation of the Crown by Richard II. in Westminster Hall	142
Instance of the duplicity of Richard III. related by Holinshed	142
State Trials in Westminster Hall	142
Trial of Chancellor More in 1535	142
Important Trials in Westminster Hall since the Time of Charles I.	142
Westminster Hall newly fronted and largely repaired in the Reign of George IV.	143
Dimensions of Westminster Hall	144

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
32. Westminster Hall, with the ancient surrounding Buildings restored	Poynter	Holloway	129
33. Sketch of the Decorations of the unfinished South Wing of the New Houses of Parliament	Tiffin	Jackson	132
34. Trial of Charles I. From a Print in Nalson's Report of the Trial, 1684	Fairholt	Holloway	143
35. Interior of Westminster Hall, as seen during the Trial of Lambert before Henry VIII.	"	"	144

CXXXV.—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

	Page
Ancient Commemoration of the Installation of a Lord Mayor	145
Origin in the Thirteenth Century of the Ridings	145
A Mayor first granted to the City of London by King John in 1215	145
Introduction of the Water Procession on Lord Mayor's Day	146
Water Procession from Greenwich to the Tower on the Coronation Day of Anne Boleyn	146
Description given by Hall of the Barges of the Lord Mayor and Company on Anne Boleyn's Coronation Day	146
Punning allusions to the Name of the Mayor in the Pageants formerly exhibited on Lord Mayor's Day	147

PAGE

Earliest notices of Pageants exhibited on Lord Mayor's Day 147
Pageant exhibited at the Installation of Sir William Draper in 1566-7 147
Savages and Green-Men 148
Mayoralty Shows during the Reign of Elizabeth 148
Whifflers and Hench-Boys 149
Pageant composed by George Peele in 1585 . 150
Pageant entitled 'Descensus' composed by Peele in 1591 150
Increase in the Display of Pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day during the Reign of James I. . 150
'The Triumphs of Truth' 150
Description by Anthony Munday of two Pageants on the Thames 151
Allegorical allusions to the Lord Mayor and his Company contained in the Pageants exhibited on Lord Mayor's Day 151
Munday's Pageant for 1616 152
Devices and Impersonations in 'Chrysalaneia' 152
Drawing in the possession of the Fishmongers' Company 153
The incongruities occasionally displayed on Lord Mayor's Day satirized by Shirley in his 'Contention for Honour and Riches' . . . 153
Entire cessation of Pageants from 1639 to 1655 153
Reformation practised in the City by Isaac Pennington in 1643 154
Restoration of Pageantry during the Mayoralty of Sir John Dethick 154
Increase in the Number of Pageants yearly exhibited until 1660 154
Compliments to Charles II. contained in the Pageants for 1661 and 1682 . . . 154

PAGE

Series of woodcuts representing the Pageants exhibited at Antwerp 154
Various Pageants exhibited until their final discontinuance in 1702 155
Pageant produced for Sir William Hooker in 1673 155
Jovial Song composed in praise of the King and Queen by Thomas Jordan in 1673 . . 156
Pageant composed by Thomas Jordan in 1677 exhibited on the Mayoralty of Sir Francis Chaplin 157
Dissension between Charles II. and the Citizens prejudicial to the annual civic Displays . 157
Election of Sir John Moore in opposition to the Citizens in 1681 157
Injustice of Sir John Moore towards the Sheriffs Papillion and Dubois 158
Arrest of Alderman Cornish in the Reign of James II. 158
Revival of Pageantry during the Reign of William III. 158
Last public Exhibition by a City Poet in 1702 158
Vivid Picture of the Lord Mayor's Day in the City given by Hogarth in the concluding plate of 'Industry and Idleness'. 159
Revival of the Ancient Pageants on Lord Mayor's Day in 1761 159
Introduction of the Coach into the Mayoralty Procession 159
Men in Armour in the Mayoralty Procession . 159
Introduction of Gog and Magog into the Lord Mayor's Show 159
Introduction of a ship into the Lord Mayor's Show in 1841 160

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
36. The Lord Mayor's Show, 1750, after Hogarth	FAIRHOLT	JACKSON	145
37. Wild-Men and Green-Men	"	"	148
38. Whiffler and Hench-Boy	"	"	149
39. The Triumph of Neptune	"	"	155

CXXXVI.—THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Sir Hans Sloane the Founder of the British Museum 161
Number of Visitors to the British Museum annually 162
Growth of the British Museum 162
Opening of the Museum in January, 1759 . 163
Addition of George III.'s Library and the Elgin Marbles to the British Museum . . 163
Arrival of the Egyptian Monuments in 1801 . 163
Montague House before its Destruction by Fire in 1686 163
Restoration of Montague House 163
Interior Arrangements of the New Buildings at the British Museum 163
Architectural character of the new works at the British Museum 164
Statues in the Hall of the Museum . . 165
Country Visitors to the British Museum . 165
The Mammalia Saloon 165
Ornithological Department of the Museum . 166
The Dodo 166
Excellence of the arrangements that prevail throughout the Museum 166
Collection of Shells in the Museum . . . 167
Portraits in the Long Gallery of the Museum . 167
Collection of Reptiles in the Northern Zoological Gallery 167

The Collection of Minerals in the British Museum superior to any in Europe . . . 167
Stone used by Dr. Dee and his assistant, Kelly, preserved in the British Museum . . 167
The Egyptian Room 167
The Etruscan Room 167
Mummies and Mummy-cases 168
The Egyptian Saloon 169
Head of Sesostris in the Egyptian Saloon . 169
Difficulties encountered by Belzoni in transporting Sesostris from Thebes to the Nile . . 169
Important Works in the Egyptian Saloon . 170
Xanthian Marbles in the Grand Saloon . . 170
Head of Minerva in the Grand Saloon . . 171
Statue of Venus or Dione in the Grand Saloon 171
The Phigaleian Marbles 171
Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ . . 171
The Phigaleian Marbles probably from the Designs of Phidias 172
Statue of Minerva by Phidias in the Parthenon 172
The Elgin Marbles obtained chiefly from the remains of the Parthenon 172
The Metopes of the Elgin Marbles . . . 172
The Panathenæa, a Procession in honour of Minerva 172

	Page
Portions of the Panathenaic Frieze preserved in the British Museum	173
Chariots and Horsemen on the Northern Panathenaic Frieze	173
Principal Statues in the Elgin Collection	173
The Townley Collection commenced at Rome in 1768	173
Copies of the eastern and western extremities of the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius	174
Roman Sepulchral Antiquities in the Ante-Room of the Townley Gallery	174
Anecdote of Mr. Townley	174
The Discobolus in Room XI. of the British Museum	174
Sir William Hamilton's Miscellaneous Collection of Antiquities	174
Torso of Venus and Statue of Cupid in the Townley Collection	174
Anecdote of Praxiteles and Phryne	175
The Medal Room in the British Museum	175
The Manuscript Department	175
The General Library of Printed Books in the Museum	175
The Banksian or Botanical Department of the British Museum	175
Number of Persons employed in fulfilling the duties attached to the Museum	175
Entire Expenses of the British Museum	176

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
40. Statue of Theseus, Back View	Harvey	Jackson	161
41. Back of the New Entrance to the British Museum	Tiffin	„	164
42. Mummy Case, or Coffin of Otaineh	Blunt	Landells	168
43. Side View of the Bust of Rameses the Great	—	—	170
44. Slab from the Phigaleian Marbles	H. Corbould	Jackson	171
45. The Panathenaic Frieze	„	„	173
46. Torso of Venus	—	—	175
47. Statue of Cupid, Townley Collection	W. Clark	Jackson	176

CXXXVII.—MUSIC.

	Page
Earliest known pieces of English Musical Composition	177
Music more universally appreciated and enjoyed in former times than in the present day	178
Music formerly considered a necessary part of the education of persons of rank	178
The Harp in common use amongst the English in the time of Bede	178
The Clergy essentially a musical class in the Middle Ages	179
Person sent from the Pope in 678 to teach Music to the English Clergy	179
Instance of the value attached to Musical knowledge in the Eighth Century	179
Minstrels and Waits	179
Music in Ireland	180
Passage from Giraldus Cambrensis	180
Gradual Introduction of the Italian Style into Music during the Thirteenth Century	180
Description of a Lady's singing in Chaucer's 'Romaunt of the Rose'	181
Musical Instruments possessed by the Anglo-Saxons	181
The Organ the chief Church Instrument in the time of the Anglo-Saxons	181
Decline of Music after the Fifteenth Century	182
Origin of Modern English Music to be dated from the Reformation	182
Tye, the first Musician after the Reformation	182
Madrigalian Composers in the reign of Elizabeth	183
Cromwell's appreciation of Music	183
Music and Musicians proscribed during the Commonwealth	183
Introduction of French Music into England after the Restoration	183
Rise of Concerts in the reign of Charles II.	184
Music amongst the Lower Classes in the Seventeenth Century	184
Thomas Britton, the Founder of Modern Concerts	184
Thomas Britton's friends	184
The Duchess of Queensberry	185
Circumstances attending the death of Britton	186
Establishment of Music Shops after Britton's Concerts	186
Establishment of the Academy of Ancient Concerts in 1710	186
Services rendered to Music by the Academy of Ancient Concerts	186
First Public Performance of Handel's Oratorios in 1732	186
Lines by Pope on the occasion of the quarrel between Handel and the Nobility	186
Performance of Handel's Oratorios at Covent Garden, after his return from Ireland in 1742	187
Foundation of the Madrigal Society by John Immyns	187
Foundation of the Catch Club in 1762	187
Services rendered to Music by the early exertions of the Catch Club	188
Establishment of the Glee Club in 1787	188
Evidences of the rapid progress of Music after the establishment of the Catch Club	188
Commencement of Subscription Concerts in London in 1763	188
Abel's Performances on the Viol di Gamba	189
Anecdote related by Dr. Walcot, of Abel the Composer	189
Establishment of the Pantheon and Professional Concerts	189
Salomon's Engagements with Haydn and Mozart	189
Performance of the 'Creation' at the Opera Concert Room in 1798	189
Subscription Concerts in London after the establishment of Salomon's	189
Musical Societies of the present day	189
Establishment of the Royal Academy of Music in 1822	189
The Sacred Harmonic Society	190
The Promenade Concerts	190
The Ancient Concerts Established in 1776	190
The Handel Commemoration	190
Formation of the Philharmonic Society in 1813	190
Early Members of the Philharmonic	191
Decline of the Philharmonic	191
Performance of Beethoven's 'Eroica' by the Philharmonic Band	191

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
48. Hanover Square Rooms, as arranged for a Private Concert	TIFFIN	JACKSON	177
49. Anglo-Saxon Illumination, showing various Musical Instruments, from the Cotton MSS.	FAIRHOLT	BIGGS	178
50. Anglo-Saxon Illumination, representing a Dance with Musicians, from the Cotton MSS.	,,	WHEELER	180
51. Anglo-Saxon Illumination, from the Cotton MSS.	,,	,,	181
52. Dulcimer and Violin	,,	,,	182
53. Thomas Britton	BROWN	JACKSON	185

CXXXVIII.—THE SQUARES OF LONDON.

	Page
The Square peculiar to England	193
The Square in great measure an accidental invention	193
Covent Garden the oldest of London Squares	194
The Square of Covent Garden completed after the Restoration	194
Erection of Squares in the reign of Charles II.	194
Objections made to the word Square	194
Number of Squares in London in 1734	194
The Fashionable Squares of London	195
The City Squares	195
Great Difference in the extent of the Squares of London	195
Dimensions of the larger London Squares	195
Bridgewater Square	196
Gloomy appearance of Charterhouse Square	196
Wellclose Square	196
Associations connected with the City Squares	196
Meetings of Hogarth's Club in Covent Garden	197
Ghost at the Old Hummums	197
Lincoln's Inn Fields, in point of antiquity, the next Square to Covent Garden	197
Newcastle House	197
Soho Square formerly called Monmouth Square.	197
Soho the gayest Square in London in the beginning of the Reign of George III.	197
Coruely's Masquerades and Balls held in Soho Square	197
Interior of the Houses in Soho Square	198
Leicester House	198
Golden Square	199
Mansion of the Bedford Family in Russell Square	199
Bloomsbury Square the Residence of Lady Rachel Russell	199
Squares in the neighbourhood of Bedford Square	199
Fitzroy Square	199
Red Lion Square	200
The West-End Squares	200
St. James's the most truly aristocratic Square in London	200
Residences of the Bishops in St. James's Square	200
Mansion of the Wyndham Club in St. James's Square	200
Houses of the Erectheium and Navy and Army Clubs in St. James's Square	201
Mansion once inhabited by Sir Philip Francis occupied for a time by the Colonial Club	201
Inequality of the Ground in Berkeley Square	201
Lansdowne House	201
Statue of George III. in Berkeley Square	201
Death of Lady Mary Wortley Montague in Berkeley Square	201
Scarcity of Historical Associations connected with Berkeley Square	201
Architectural Character of the Houses in Grosvenor Square	201
Equestrian Statue of George I. in Grosvenor Square	202
Grosvenor Square a favourite Residence of the oldest titled families	202
Commencement of Portman Square in 1764	202
Residence of Mrs. Montague in Portman Square	202
Montague and Bryanstone Squares	202
Manchester House commenced in 1776	203
Completion of Manchester Square in 1788	203
Purchase of Manchester House by the King of Spain in 1788	203
Cavendish and Hanover Squares	203
Mansion in Cavendish Square occupied by the Duke of Portland	203
Death of the heir of the *Grand* Duke of Chandos	203
Associations of Cavendish Square	204
Hanover Square	204
The British and Foreign Institute in Hanover Square	204
The Five Fields	204
Belgrave the most gorgeous of London Squares	205
Uniformity of the Architecture of Belgrave Square	205
Peculiar Character of Eaton and Euston Squares	205
Terminus of the Birmingham Railway in Euston Square	206
Railway Termini in London	206
Suburban Squares	206
Kennington Oval	206
Kennington Common and Camberwell Green	206
Hoxton the oldest of Suburban Squares	206
Dorset Square	206
Kensington Square probably a place of Fashion at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century	206
Hans-Town	207
Squares in Chelsea	207
Edward Square, Kensington	207
Waterloo Place	207
Trafalgar Square	207
Excavations round the Mansion House	208

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
54. Belgrave Square	BROWN	JACKSON	193
55. Soho Square	,,	,,	198
56. Bridgewater Square	,,	,,	208

CXXXIX.—THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

PAGE

Avocations of the Members of the Stationers' Company prior to the Fifteenth Century . 209
Effect produced by the Introduction of Printing 209
Trade Arrangements in the Reign of Elizabeth. 209
Printing considered a Matter of State on its First Introduction into England 210
Literary Constables 210
Privileges possessed by the Stationers' Company previous to the Introduction of Printing . 210
Accession of Members to the Stationers' Company during the Reign of Elizabeth . . 211
Exterior of Stationers' Hall 211
Signs of Business in the Stationers' Hall . . 211
Almanacs published by the Stationers' Company 212
The Almanac History of the Stationers' Company 212
The Exclusive Right of publishing Almanacs conferred on the Stationers' Company and the Universities by James I. 212
Gratitude of the Stationers' Company to Astrology and Astrologers 212
Attacks on Astrology in the Almanac of Allstree 213
Portraiture, by Butler, of Lilly, the Astrologer . 213
Birth and Education of Lilly 214
Evidence of Lilly's Popularity and the State of Public Feeling in 1634 214
Horoscope of Charles I. published by Lilly in 1633 214
Circumstance following the Promulgation of one of Lilly's Prognostications 214
Powers assigned to Astrologers by Butler. . 215
Changes in Lilly's Political Opinions . . 215
Unsuccessful applications made by Lilly for employment after the Restoration . . 215
Death of Lilly in 1681 215
Aubrey's illustration of the method of Almanac-making 215
Attack upon the Astrologers by Swift in 1709 . 215
Swift's Persecution of Partridge, the Astrologer 216
Extract from the 'London Magazine' . . 216
The Stationers' Company's Patent of Monopoly declared worthless 217
Despotic Power exercised by the Crown over the Press 217
Number of Printers restricted to twenty by a Decree issued from the Star Chamber in 1637 217
Publication of Milton's 'Areopagitica, a speech for unlicensed Printing' 217

PAGE

The Question of the Monopoly of publishing Almanacs argued in the Court of Common Pleas 217
Bill brought into Parliament by Lord North for preserving the patent of monopoly to the Stationers' Company 217
Erskine's speech on the Subject of the Stationers' Company's monopoly 218
Erskine's inquiry into the state of the Almanacs under the supervision of the Stationers' Company 218
Erskine's review of the Almanacs' Claims to Correctness and Scientific Learning . . 218
The Monopoly of the Stationers' Company decided against by a Majority of 45 . . . 218
Purchase of Almanacs by the Stationers' Company 219
Endeavour of the Stationers' Company to reform their publications 219
Publication of the British Almanac in 1828 . 220
Improvement in the Almanacs published by the Stationers' Company 220
Extent of Business now done by the Stationers' Company 220
Number of Freemen and Liverymen of the Stationers' Company 221
Investment of the Capital of the Stationers' Company 221
Receipts and Expenditure of the Stationers' Company 221
Interior of the Stationers' Hall 221
The Court Room 221
West's Picture of Alfred and the Pilgrim . . 221
Portrait of Boydell in the Court Room of the Stationers' Company 223
Noticeable Pictures belonging to the Stationers' Company 223
Humanity of the Stationers' Company to Bowyer, the Printer 223
Charities of the Stationers' Company . . 223
Successful Speculations and Money Investments of Guy the Printer 223
Custom of entering the Titles of all new Publications on the Books of the Stationers' Company 224
All assignments of Copyrights registered by the Stationers' Company 224

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
57. Hall of the Stationers' Company	ANELAY	JACKSON	209
58. Alfred and the Pilgrim	DICKES	SEARS	222

CXL.—BILLS OF MORTALITY.

Increase in the Number of Deaths in the Metropolis in November, 1843 225
Bills of Mortality commenced in 1592 . . 225
Account given by Captain Grant in 1662 of the Manner in which Bills of Mortality were prepared 225
Licence obtained in 1625 from the Star Chamber by the Company of Parish Clerks . . 226
Erroneous notions respecting the Population of London 226
Parishes comprised within the Bills of Mortality in 1605 227
Parishes at present included within the Weekly Bills of Mortality 227
Nosology of the Old Bills of Mortality . . 227
Warning afforded by the Bills of Mortality as to the Existence or Progress of the Plague . 228
Ravages of the Plague in London during the Seventeenth Century 228
General influence of the Excessive Mortality occasioned by the Plague on the Ordinary Course of Life 229
Yearly Supply of Strangers to London . . 229
Havoc made by the Spasmodic Cholera in London in the Year 1348 229
The Great Plague of 1665 229
Notices of the Plague in Pepys's 'Diary' in 1663 229

	Page
Gradual Increase of the Plague in London from December, 1664	230
Entries relating to the Plague in Pepys's 'Diary'	230
Rapid Increase in the Mortality occasioned by the Plague in June, 1665	230
Committee formed in May, 1665, for the Prevention of the Spreading of the Plague	230
Directions drawn up by the College of Physicians containing Instructions for the Treatment of the Plague, and the Prevention of Infection	230
Preservatives and Remedies administered by Quacks during the Ravages of the Plague	231
Regulations established by the City Authorities during the Raging of the Plague	231
Regulations issued for the speedy Burial of the Dead	231
Pest Houses	232
Rapid Progress of the Plague in August, 1665	232
Predisposing Causes of the Plague	232
Tract by the Rev. Thomas Vincent, entitled 'God's Terrible Voice in the City'	232
Awful Calamities predicted during the Continuance of the Plague	233
Proclamation issued by the Lord Mayor enjoining Fires to be kindled to purify the pestilential Air	233
Slight Decrease in September, 1665, in the Number of Deaths from the Plague	234
Gradual Decrease in the Mortality occasioned by the Plague from October, 1665	234
Total Deaths of the Year 1665	234
Picture of the external Appearance of London during the Period of the Plague	234
Extracts from Pepys's 'Diary'	234
Value and Importance of the Bills of Mortality in the Time of the Plague	235
Number of Births in London in the Year 1842	235
The Bills of Mortality now utterly valueless	236
Parishes which have ceased to make returns of Mortality to the Company of Parish Clerks	236
'Table of Mortality in the Metropolis'	236
New system of Registration commenced July, 1837	236
Notice attached to the Bill of Mortality for 1837	236
Weekly Bills prepared at the Registrar-General's Office	237
Articles on 'Nosology' and 'Statistical Nosology' in the Reports of the Registrar-General	237
Table of the Mortality in the Metropolis during the Week ending Saturday the 18th of November, 1843	237
Limits of the Metropolitan Registration District	238
Population and Number of Deaths in the Five great Divisions of the Metropolitan District	238
Advantages of an accurate Registration	238
Remarkable Accuracy of the Mortality Bills of the Registration Office	239
Irregularities incidental to the Preparation of the Mortality Bills	239
'The Dance of Death'	239
Painting of the 'Dance of Death' in St. Paul's destroyed by Protector Somerset	239
Painting of a 'Death's Dance' in the Church of Stratford-on-Avon	239
Poem by Lydgate, entitled 'The Daunce of Machabree'	239
Death and the Child in Lydgate's Poem	240

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
59. Death and the Old Man, from Holbein's 'Dance of Death'	Jackson	Jackson	225
60. Pest-House in Tothill Fields, Westminster, from a print by Hollar	Fairholt	Slader	232
61. Death and the King, from Holbein's 'Dance of Death'	"	"	240

CXLI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND SOANE MUSEUM.

Purchase of the Angerstein Pictures by the Ministry in 1823	241
Number of Pictures in the National Gallery for which the Public are indebted to Private Munificence	241
Collections of Pictures in the Public Galleries abroad	242
Average daily Number of Visitors to the National Gallery	242
Arrangement of the Pictures in the National Gallery	242
Cartoons at the Top of the Staircase of the National Gallery	242
Examination of Mr. Seguier by a Parliamentary Committee on the Subject of the arrangement of the Pictures in the National Gallery	243
General Management of the National Gallery	244
Entire annual Expense of the National Gallery	244
Contents of the National Gallery	244
'Christ disputing with the Doctors'	244
'The Raising of Lazarus'	244
Rivalry of Michael Angelo and Raphael	245
Exhibition at Rome in 1520 of the 'Raising of Lazarus' and the 'Transfiguration'	245
Specimens of the Florentine School in the National Gallery	245
Francia's Pictures in the National Gallery	245
Perugino's 'Virgin and Child with St. John'	246
Works of Raphael in the National Gallery	246
Raphael's Portrait of Pope Julius	246
Giulio Romano's 'Charity'	246
Works of Garofalo in the National Gallery	246
Works of the remaining Painters of the Roman School in the National Gallery	246
Titian and his followers	247
Titian's 'Venus and Adonis'	247
Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne'	247
The 'Death of Peter the Martyr' in the National Gallery ascribed to Giorgione	247
Works of Sebastian del Piombo in the National Gallery	248
Story related of Tintoretto	248
Productions of the Venetian School in the National Gallery	248
Correggio's 'Mercury and Venus'	248
Correggio's Feelings at the Sight of Raphael's 'St. Cecilia'	249
Parmegiano evidently an Imitator of Correggio	249
Effect of Parmegiano's 'Vision of St. Jerome' upon the Troops of Constable Bourbon	249
Pictures of the Ferrara School in the National Gallery	249
State of Art at the Time of the Reformation	250
Foundation of the Eclectic School of Bologna by the Carracci	250
Works of the Carracci in the National Gallery	250

	Page
Characters of the three Carracci	250
Guido and Domenichino, Pupils of the Carracci	250
Guido's 'Andromeda'	251
Patient industry of Domenichino	251
Paintings of Van Eyck	251
The School of Flanders raised by John Van Eyck and his Brother to the highest pitch of Eminence	251
Works of Rubens in the National Gallery	251
Rubens's Discovery of the genius of Vandyke	251
Pictures in the National Gallery by Vandyke	252
Productions of Rembrandt in the National Gallery	252
Works of the Dutch School in the National Gallery	252
Works by Claude Lorraine in the National Gallery	252
Works by the Poussins in the National Gallery	253
Salvator Rosa's 'Mercury and the Woodman'	253
Pictures by Murillo	253
Velasquez the greatest of Spanish Painters	253
Specimens of English Art in the National Gallery	254
Collection of Pictures in Devonshire House	254
The Bridgewater Collection	254
The Grosvenor Gallery	255
The Soane Museum	255
Interior of the Soane Museum	256
Contents of the Soane Museum	256
Pictures in the Soane Museum	256
Egyptian Sarcophagus preserved in the Soane Museum	256

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
62. The Soane Museum	TIFFIN	JACKSON	241
63. The Picture Gallery, Grosvenor House	,,	,,	255

CXLII.—THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS.

Rapid Increase in the Population of London at the close of the Seventeenth Century	257
Conjectures of Sir William Petty respecting the Population of London	257
Act passed in 1592 prohibiting the erection of new Buildings in London	258
Anxiety of James I. to repress the growth of London	258
Proclamations issued by Charles I. to check the further increase of London	258
Measures adopted by James I. to prevent an increase of Population in the Metropolis	258
Fear and Apprehension with which the increase of London was regarded	259
Extent of the City of London Within the Walls	259
London Without the Walls	259
Population of London Within the Walls	260
Population of London Without the Walls	260
The Borough of Southwark	260
The Exchequer of Receipt removed from Winchester to Westminster in the Reign of Stephen	260
Westminster the seat of Government from the Time of Edward I.	260
London in 1560	260
Union of the Cities of London and Westminster in the Reign of James I.	261
Increase of the Suburbs of London in the time of James I.	261
Causes of the increase in the Population of London pointed out by Sir William Petty	261
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields a Town separate from the Capital until after the Reign of James I.	262
Names of the older Streets around Covent Garden	262
Increase of the Metropolis towards the close of the Reign of Charles II.	262
Golden and Leicester Squares inhabited by the Aristocracy up to the middle of the Eighteenth Century	262
Extent of London in 1720	262
Parishes of Paddington and St. Mary-le-bone	263
The Village of Tyburn	263
Lord Mayor's Banqueting-House at Tyburn	263
The Place of Execution for Malefactors transferred from Tyburn to the Old Bailey in 1783	263
Mary-le-bone Gardens	263
Commencement in 1716 of the increase in the Parish of Mary-le-bone	264
Extent of the Parish of St. Pancras	264
St. Pancras New Church	264
The Parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury	264
Great Russell Street a fashionable Part of London in the middle of the Eighteenth Century	264
Bedford House	264
Interesting circumstances connected with the Growth of the Metropolis	265
Boundaries of the Fen or Great Moor	265
Finsbury Fields	265
Attempts made to drain the Fen in 1512 and 1527	265
The Manor of Finsbury	266
Erection of Finsbury Square at the close of the Eighteenth Century	266
Fields round London enclosed in the Reign of Henry VIII.	266
Instances of rapid Growth in the Metropolitan Suburbs	266
Yearly increase in the size of London	267
Maitland's enumeration of the Boroughs and Villages "engulphed" by London	267
The Privilege of electing Representatives in Parliament exercised by the City of London for Six Centuries	267
Two Members sent to Parliament by the Borough of Southwark since 1295	267
The Westminster Elections famous in the annals of Electioneering	268
Eminent Men who have represented Westminster in Parliament	268
The Westminster Election of 1741	268
The Westminster Election of 1784	268
Passage in a Letter from Hannah More relating to the Westminster Election	268
Active Canvass for Fox carried on by the Duchess of Devonshire	268
Election and Chairing of Fox	269
Déjeûner given by the Prince of Wales in honour of Mr. Fox's Election	269
Ball given by Mrs. Crewe to celebrate Fox's return for Westminster	269
Comparative Wealth of the Boroughs of London	270
Population and Number of Electors of the Boroughs of London	270

	Page
Contrasts between the seven Boroughs of the Metropolis	270
Situation and Boundaries of the Borough of Marylebone	271
Borough of Finsbury	271
Situation of the Borough of the Tower Hamlets	271
Extent of Lambeth Borough	271
Parishes included within the Borough of Southwark	272

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
64. Marylebone, 1720. From the Basin in Marylebone Park, near Regent's Park	Fairholt	Nugent	257
65. Finsbury Fields in the Reign of Elizabeth	"	Welch	272

CXLIII.—EXHIBITIONS OF ART.

	Page
Progress of Art in England since the Days of Hogarth, Reynolds, &c.	273
Establishment of the Shakspere Gallery by Alderman Boydell	274
Success of the Shakspere Gallery	274
Pecuniary Difficulties experienced by Boydell	274
Disposal of the Shakspere Gallery by Lottery	274
Gilray's Print of the Shakspere Gallery travestied	274
Difficulties attending the discovery of the true origin of Institutions	275
Schemes of West for the Encouragement of Art	275
The British Institution founded in 1805	275
Benefits rendered to Art by the British Institution	275
Exhibition of Reynolds's Works in 1813	276
Exhibition of the Works of Hogarth, Wilson, Gainsborough, and Zoffany	276
Cruel neglect with which Wilson was treated	276
Anecdote of Wilson's independence of feeling	276
Exhibition at the British Institution of the Works of Rembrandt, Vandyck, and Rubens	277
Exhibition of the Works of the deceased British Masters in 1817	277
Exhibition at the British Institution of the Works of Reynolds, West, and Lawrence	277
The Wilkie Exhibition	277
Exhibition at the British Institution in 1822	278
Martin's 'Belshazzar's Feast'	278
Circumstances attending the Production of Bird's Picture of 'Chevy Chase'	278
Bird's 'Death of Efi'	278
Annual Exhibitions at the British Institution	280
Piece of Sculpture by Banks decorating the exterior of the British Institution	280
Banks's Colossal Statue of Achilles	280
Sudden growth of the School of Painting in Water-Colours	280
Establishment of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours	280
Introduction of Oil-Colours by Van Eyck	281
Anecdote told of Girtin, one of the Founders of the modern Water-colour School	281
Founders of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours	281
First Water-Colour Exhibition in Lower Brook Street	282
One of the earliest productions of Mr. Edwin Landseer exhibited at the Water-Colour Exhibition in Spring Gardens	282
Formation of a New Society of Painters in Water-Colours in 1832	282
Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours in Pall-Mall	282
Establishment of the Society of British Artists in 1823	282
The Artists' Annuity Fund	283
The Artists' Benevolent Fund.	283
Panorama in Leicester Square.	283
The Colosseum in the Regent's Park	283
First Exhibition of the Diorama in London	283
Interior of the Diorama in the Regent's Park	283
Representation of the Church of St. Paul exhibited at the Diorama	285
Representation of Notre Dame at the Diorama	285
De Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon	286
'Storm at Sea' exhibited at the Eidophusikon	287
Sir Joshua Reynolds's Admiration for the Eidophusikon	287
Disposal of the Eidophusikon by De Loutherbourg	287

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
66. British Gallery, Pall-Mall	Anelay	Jackson	273
67. The Battle of Chevy Chase—Bird	Dickes	Green	279
68. The Colosseum	Brown	Jackson	284

CXLIV.—THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

	Page
District in which the largest Monetary and Commercial transactions of London take place	289
Tesselated Pavement discovered in Fenchurch Street	290
Antwerp the Centre of the Money Power of Europe in the Sixteenth Century	290
Sums of Money lent to Queen Elizabeth by the Merchants of London.	290
Growth of the National Debt	290
Excess of Expenditure over Income during the American War	291
Loan demanded by Mr. Pitt in 1796	291
Plan proposed by Mr. Pitt for raising the Loan demanded.	291
Subscription opened in December 1796 for the Loyalty Loan	291

	Page
Prejudice against Speculators created by the South Sea Bubble	292
Artifices resorted to for Raising or Depressing the prices of Stocks	292
Jonathan's Coffee House, in 'Change Alley, the great Resort of Speculators	292
Erection of the Stock Exchange in 1801	293
Regulations of the Stock Exchange	293
Jobbers and Brokers	293
Transactions at the Stock Exchange	294
Fluctuations in the Rate of Interest	295
Extent of the Transactions of a Firm of Stock Brokers	295
'Time Bargains'	296
The Bull and the Bear	297
Circumstances producing a Rise or Fall in the Funds	297
Foreign Stocks subject to greater Fluctuations than the English Stocks	297
Facilities for Speculation afforded by the London Stock Exchange	297
Letter of a Jew of Mogadore desirous to go on the London Stock Exchange	297
Risk incurred by Members of the Stock Exchange	298
The Life of a Member of the Stock Exchange apparently one of continual Excitement	298
Fall of the Funds in 1797	299
Fraud committed on the Stock Exchange in February, 1814	299
Fall of the Funds after the Battle of Montmirail	299
Letter of De Berenger, the principal in the Fraud executed on the Stock Exchange	300
Failure of part of the Plot conceived by De Berenger and his accomplices	300
Fluctuation in the Funds consequent upon the reports circulated by De Berenger and his confederates	301
Discovery of the Plot and Arrest of the Parties implicated	301
Trial of De Berenger and others	302
Effects of the great Panic of 1825 upon the Public Funds	302
Forgery of Exchequer Bills by Smith and Rapallo	302
Periods of the issue of Supply Bills	302
Mode of operation adopted by Smith and Rapallo	303
Discovery of the Forgeries committed by Smith and Rapallo in October, 1841	304

ILLUSTRATION.

	Designer.	Engraver.	
69. Stock Exchange, Capel Court	Shepherd, Jun.	Wragg	289

CXLV.—RAILWAY TERMINI.

Travelling in Modern Times	305
Number of the Metropolitan Termini	306
Annual Income of the Birmingham Railway Company	306
Revolution wrought by the Introduction of Railways	306
Attempt to explain the Vision of the Chariot by the Prophet Ezekiel	306
Striking Individual Features of the Metropolitan Railways	306
The London and Birmingham the earliest and greatest of Metropolitan Railways	307
Act obtained for the Greenwich Railway in 1833	307
Improvements in the formation of Railways introduced by Mr. Brunel	308
The Great Western Railway	308
Speed attained by the Engines on the Great Western Railway	308
Parliamentary Opposition to the Formation of the Great Western Railway	308
Examination of an Engineer on the subject of a proposed Railroad	308
Noticeable characteristic of the Southampton Railway	309
Government Patronage enjoyed by the Southampton Railway Company	309
Branch Railways to Epsom and Salisbury about to be undertaken by the Southampton Railway Company	309
Railway Termini at the Foot of London Bridge	309
Works on the Dover Railway	309
Branch Railway now in Progress from the Croydon Line	310
Difficulty experienced in obtaining the Act for the Establishment of the Brighton Railway	310
Works on the line of the Eastern Counties Railway	311
Expense of the Eastern Counties Railway	311
Union of the North-Eastern and Eastern Counties Railway Companies	311
Peculiar features of the London and Blackwall Railway	311
The Electric Telegraph	312
Excavations on the Line of the London and Birmingham Railway	312
Stations on the Birmingham Railway	312
Wolverton	313
The Camden Town Station	313
Plan adopted on the Birmingham Railway respecting the Transport of Luggage	313
Number of Engines employed on the Birmingham Railway	314
Investigation made into the Respective Powers of Passenger Engines	314
The Railway Whistle	314
Perfection of the Arrangements on the Birmingham Railway	315
The Pilot Engine	315
Decrease in the Average Number of Railway Accidents	315
The Gate of the Euston Square Station the grandest Specimen of Grecian Architecture existing in England	315
Arrangements and Regulations at the Euston Square Station	316
Annual Sale by the Birmingham Railway Company of the unclaimed Property left by Passengers	317
Friendly Society formed among the Parties connected with the Birmingham Railway	317
Number of Persons employed on the Birmingham Railway	317
Carriage built for the use of the Queen by the Birmingham Railway Company	317
Rooms at the Euston Square Station for the use of Her Majesty	317
The Railway Post Office	318
Various particulars connected with the Metropolitan Railways	318
West London Railway	319
Atmospheric Railways	319
Speed of the Trains on the Dalkey Extension of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway	319

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	Page
70. Terminus of the Blackwall Railway	B. Sly	Sears	305
71. The London Terminus of the Dover, Brighton, and Croydon Railway, London Bridge	,,	Welch	310
72. Entrance to the London and Birmingham Railway	—	Jackson	316
73. Bridge, Canal, and Railway at Wormwood Scrubbs	Thompson	Whiting	320

CXLVI.—MILITARY LONDON.

	Page
Moorfields Seven Centuries ago	321
Associations connected with Bunhill Fields	322
Milton's House in Artillery Walk	322
The Artillery Company	322
Alfred the Great's Treatment of the Wife and Sons of Hastings	323
Influence of London on all Occasions of great Importance	323
Metropolitan Support of King Stephen	323
Flight of the Empress Matilda from London	323
Efforts of the London Citizens during the contention between Henry III. and the Barons	324
Support given to Edward III. in his French Wars by the Citizens of London	324
The Military Citizen	324
Sir John Hawkwood	324
Depredations committed by John Mercer	324
Capture of Mercer by John Philpot	324
Sir William Walworth	325
The Wat Tyler Insurrection	325
Death of Wat Tyler	325
Arrest and Execution of the Insurrectionists	326
Reception of Jack Cade by the London Citizens	326
Robberies committed by Jack Cade	326
Determination of the Citizens to oppose Jack Cade's Entrance into London	327
Engagement between the London Citizens and Jack Cade and his followers	327
The Martial Exercises of Old Military London	328
Muster or Review of the Citizens before the King in 1532	328
Dress of the Lord Mayor and the City Authorities on the Occasion of the Muster in 1532	328
Military Exercises in use amongst the Citizens in the Sixteenth Century	328
Establishment of the Artillery Company in 1585	329
Field Strength supplied by the City at the Time of the expected Arrival of the Spanish Armada	329
Ships supplied by the City in 1587	329
Decline of the Artillery Company after the Discomfiture of the Spanish Armada	329
Revival of the Artillery Company in 1610	329
The Armoury of the Artillery Company	330
Description of the Artillery Garden	330
Removal of the Artillery Gardens from Bishopsgate Street to Bunhill Fields	330
Annual Musters of the City Militia	331
The Meetings in the Artillery Gardens regarded with Abhorrence by the Puritans	331
Attempts of Charles I. to keep the People of London to his Cause	331
Muster of the Citizens in Finsbury Fields in May, 1642	331
Attempt of Prince Rupert to force his Way into London	332
Address of Skippon to his Soldiers	332
Determination of the Londoners to Fortify the City	332
Conduct of the London Citizens at the Battle of Newbury	332
Act passed for the raising of Two Regiments of Militia in the City	333
Volunteer Force raised by the Citizens of London during the Period of the Wars with Napoleon	334
The Hall and Armoury of the Artillery Company	334
Regulations and Arrangements of the Artillery Company	334
The Artillery Gardens the chief Place for the Settlement of Cricket Matches during the Eighteenth Century	334
Ascent of a balloon from the Artillery Gardens in 1783	334
Account of the Ascent of M. Lunardi in a Balloon from the Artillery Gardens in 1784	334
Influence exerted over the destinies of England by the Citizens of London	335
Fortification of the City during the quarrel between Henry III. and his Barons	335
Answer of the Citizens to Edward II.'s Request of supplies of Men and Money	335
Attempt of Falconbridge to rescue Henry VI. in 1471	335
Behaviour of the Citizens on the Occasions of the attempted Insurrections of Wyatt and Essex	335

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
74. The Council Chamber of the Artillery Company	Shepherd	Welch	321
75. Review of Volunteers by George III. at Hounslow	Fairholt	Holloway	333
76. Soldier of the Trained Bands, 1638	,,	Horner	336

CXLVII.—ENDOWED AND MISCELLANEOUS CHARITIES.

Annual Income in London set apart for Public Purposes	337
Income of the Royal Hospitals	337
Income of the City Companies	337
Income of the Parochial Charities	337
Amount of the Endowments for the purposes of Education	337
Numerous Endowments founded by the Citizens of London in every County in England	338
Endowment of a Grammar School at Rugby by Lawrence Sheriff	338
Grammar School at Tunbridge founded by Sir Andrew Judd	338
Charities established in London before the Reformation	338
Origin of the Custom of celebrating Obits	339
Chantry Services maintained by the Merchant Tailors' Company	339

	Page
Bequest of Sir John Percival for securing the Services of the Church	339
Custom observed in keeping the Obits of the Drapers' Company	339
Ordinance made by the Goldsmiths' Company in 1521 respecting the keeping of Obits	340
Estates of the Goldsmiths' Company given up to the Crown in 1546	340
Objects to which the Endowments of the City Companies were generally applied after the Reign of Edward VI.	340
Ordinary Parochial Charities of the City	340
Number of Almshouses in London	340
Foundation of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine by Queen Matilda in 1148	341
The perpetual custody of St. Katherine's granted to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity	341
Suit brought against the Monks of the Holy Trinity by Queen Eleanor in 1255	341
Charter granted to St. Katherine's by Queen Eleanor in 1273	341
Privileges granted to St. Katherine's in 1442	341
Revenues of St. Katherine's in the Reign of Henry VIII.	342
Rules for the better government of St. Katherine's drawn up in 1698	342
Establishment of a School at the charge of St. Katherine's in 1705	342
Construction in 1824 of the Docks on the site of the Chapel, Hospital, and entire Precinct of St. Katherine	342
Site on the east side of the Regent's Park granted for the erection of the new Hospital of St. Katherine	342
Restoration of the Monuments in the new Chapel of St. Katherine	342
Affairs of St. Katherine's Hospital managed by a Chapter	343
Establishment of the Drapers' Almshouses in 1522	343
Almshouses of the Merchant Tailors	343
St. Peter's Hospital	343
Whittington's College	344
Morden College	344
Number and Magnitude of the miscellaneous Charities of the Metropolis	345
Orphan Societies in London	346
The National Guardian Institution	346
School for the Indigent Blind	347
Deaf and Dumb Asylum in the Kent Road	347
Naval Charities of London	347
The Charitable Sisters and the Widows' Friend Society	347
The Prison Discipline Society in Aldermanbury	348
Refuge for the Destitute at Hackney	348
Female Penitentiary at Pentonville	348
The National Benevolent Institution	348
Charities in London whose operations are based upon a local principle	348
Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress	349
The Mendicity Society the most important of its kind in London	349
Amount of Mendicancy in the Metropolis	349
Houses of Nightly Relief for the Poor	350
West-End Nightly Institution in the Edgeware Road	350
New Institution lately established under the auspices of the Bishop of London	350
The Humane Society	350
Incident related by Chateaubriand at the Literary Fund Dinner in 1822	351
Operations of the Literary Fund during the Year ending February, 1843	351
Curiosities preserved in the Rooms of the Literary Fund Society	351
Translation of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' into the Icelandic Tongue	351
Society for the Relief of Distressed Schoolmasters	352
Letter from the King of the French to Dr. Kelly	352

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
77. Royal Hospital of St. Katherine, Regent's Park	Anelay	Jackson	337
78. Bedesman	Sly	Sly	339
79. Procession of Freemasons' Orphans at Freemasons' Hall. From Stothard	Tiffin	,,	345

CXLVIII.—TATTERSALL'S.

Early Regulations of Tattersall's	353
Richard Tattersall	354
Highflyer the foundation of Richard Tattersall's fortune	354
Portraits of Richard Tattersall in the possession of his Family	354
John Watson, training and riding-groom to Captain Vernon	355
Extracts from Holcroft's Autobiographical Sketch	355
Heavy responsibilities of the training-groom	356
Qualities required to make a first-rate training-groom	357
The Subscription Room at Tattersall's	357
The Court-Yard at Taftersall's	357
Portrait of Reay in the Old Subscription Room at Tattersall's	357
The Counting-House at Tattersall's	358
Servants of Tattersall's	358
Pump in the Court-Yard of Tattersall's	358
Bust of George IV. in the Court-Yard	358
Stables at Tattersall's	359
Tattersall's on a Public Day	359
Attendants at Tattersall's on Show and Sale Days	360
Character of the company at Tattersall's	360
The Jockey	361
Casual Visitors at Tattersall's	361
Situation of Tattersall's	362
The Prince of Wales one of the earliest and most regular Visitors at Tattersall's	362
Strange variety of Personages associated within the walls of Tattersall's	362
Lord Wharncliffe a frequenter of Tattersall's	362
Good service done to the Country Gentlemen by Lord Wharncliffe in 1819	362
Sir Francis Burdett	363
Opening of Tattersall's in 1779	363
Crabbe's first visit to London in 1780	363
Philip Astley's exhibitions in 1780	363
Death of Samuel Johnson in 1783	363
Extension of the range of business under the direction of the present proprietor of Tattersall's	363
Mr. Tattersall's Stud-Farm at Willesden	363

PAGE

The Auction Mart originally instituted by Richard Tattersall 364
Death of Richard Tattersall in 1795 . . 364
Death of the first Edmund Tattersall in 1810 . 364
Slang of the Turf and Hunting-Field . . 364
Beneficial effects of Tattersall's . . . 364
Horse-Racing a passion with the people of England 365
Holcroft's Love for Horses 365
Commencement of the career of Philip Astley . 365
Races in England 366
Introduction of Sweepstakes in the beginning of the Reign of George III. 367
The Derby Clubs 367
Attempts making to purify the provincial Race-Courses 368

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		Designers.	Engravers.	
80. 'Highflyer not to be Sold.'	Richard Tattersall, ob. 1795, æt. 72	TIFFIN	JACKSON	353
81. Court-Yard, Tattersall's		HARVEY	,,	368

CXLIX.—LEARNED SOCIETIES.

Societies formed in London since the middle of the Eighteenth Century 370
Origin of the Royal Society of Literature . 370
Full powers received by Bishop Burgess to make the necessary arrangements for the formation of the Royal Society 371
Difficulties attending the permanent settlement of the Royal Society 371
Statement in the Royal Charter granted by George IV. of the views of the Royal Society 371
Pensions and Medals annually bestowed by the Royal Society 371
Persons who have received the Pensions and Medals bestowed by the Royal Society . . 371
Cessation of the Pensions on the Death of George IV. 372
Increasing prosperity enjoyed by the Royal Society 372
Legacy bequeathed to the Royal Society by Dr. Richards 372
Valuable Works published by the Royal Society 372
Important Works published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge . . 372
Foundation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826 . . . 372
Formation of the Linnæan Society in 1788 . 373
Library and Herbarium of Linnæus in the possession of the Linnæan Society . . . 373
The Royal Astronomical Society . . . 373
Calculating Machine invented by Mr. Babbage 373
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society 373
Expeditions sent out by the Geographical Society 374
Discourse by Mr. Faraday delivered at the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street . . . 374
Letter from Southey to William Taylor in 1799 374
Sir Humphry Davy's principal motive in coming to London 374
The Laboratory of the Royal Institution . . 375
Sir Humphry Davy's boldness in experimenting 375
Extract from the 'Memoirs of Sir Humphry Davy' 375
Lecture on Galvanism delivered by Sir Humphry Davy in the Year 1801 376
Lectures on Poetry delivered by Coleridge at the Royal Institution 376
Objects of the Royal Institution . . . 376
The Invisible or Philosophical Society . . 377
Society formed at Oxford during the Commonwealth 377
Lectures delivered at the Gresham College in 1659 377
Formation of the Royal Society on the Restoration 377
Resolutions drawn up on the formation of the Royal Society 377
Outline of the original views of the Royal Society 378
Division of the Royal Society into Committees in 1644 378
Distinguished Members of the Royal Society . 379
Description by Sorbière of a Meeting of the Members of the Royal Society . . . 379
The Royal Society at the present Day . . 380
Sir Humphry Davy's scheme for the extension of the Royal Society 381
Subjects at present engaging the attention of the Royal Society 381
Antarctic Expedition under Captain James Ross 381
Medals conferred at the Anniversary Meetings of the Royal Society 382
Private Re-unions of the Members of the Royal Society 382
Amount of the entrance-money and yearly subscription to the Royal Society . . . 383
Newton excused, in 1674, from making the customary payment to the Royal Society . . 383
Advantages accruing to the Members of the Royal Society 383
Attempts of the Society of Antiquaries to obtain a Charter of Incorporation previous to the Year 1617 383
New Society of Antiquaries Established in 1707 383
Charter obtained by the Society of Antiquaries in 1750 384
Works Published by the Society of Antiquaries 384

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
82. Royal Institution, Albemarle Street	TIFFIN	JACKSON	369
83. Sir Humphry Davy	,,	FOLKARD	376
84. Seal of the Royal Society	FAIRHOLT	SLY	378
85. Royal Society's Apartments	TIFFIN	JACKSON	380

CL.—COURTS OF LAW.

	Page
The Law Quarter of London	385
London and Country Attorneys	385
Geographical Distribution of the London and Country Attorneys	386
Offices attached to the Courts of Law	386
Situation of the Courts of Law	386
Origin of the Courts of Law	386
The Aula Regis	386
The Great Council essentially a Legislative Body in the Reign of Edward III.	387
The Office of Chief Justiciar abolished in the Reign of Edward III.	387
The Court of Exchequer the lowest in rank of the Superior Courts	387
Act passed in 1832 for Assimilating the Practice of the Common Law Courts	387
The Court of Exchequer Chamber erected in 1358	387
The Courts of Equity	388
Two additional Vice-Chancellors appointed by Act of Parliament in 1841	388
The Lord Chancellor usually an Ecclesiastic before the Reformation	388
Duties and Functions of the Lord Chancellor	388
The Master of the Rolls	388
Associations connected with the Courts of Law	389
General Appearance of the Courts at Westminster	389
Inconvenience of the Arrangements in the Courts of Law	389
Career of Earl Camden	390
Lord Loughborough	390
Eccentricities of Lord Thurlow	391
Thurlow made Lord Chancellor in 1778	392
Lord Mansfield's Powers as an Advocate	392
Lord Mansfield's Retirement from the Bench in 1788	393
Parliamentary Talents of Erskine	393
Lord Brougham's Sketch of Erskine in his 'Statesmen of the Reign of George III.'	393
Erskine's Argumentative Powers	393
Erskine's Qualifications as a Nisi Prius Advocate	394
Character of Erskine	394
Erskine appointed Lord Chancellor in 1806	395
Judicial Qualifications of Lord Ellenborough	395
The Peculiarities of Lord Eldon's Professional Life as sketched by Lord Brougham	396
Superiority of Lord Eldon over Coke	396
Lord Stowell	397
The Consistorial Courts	397
Sir William Grant Master of the Rolls during the Chancellorship of Lord Eldon	397
Lord Brougham's notice of Sir William Grant as a Parliamentary Speaker	398
Lord Brougham's picture of the Rolls' Court in the Time of Sir William Grant	398
Habits of Sir William Grant	399
Career and Merits of Sir Samuel Romilly	399
Examination of Lord Langdale before a Parliamentary Committee	399
Sites proposed as suitable for the erection of New Courts of Law	399
Mr. Barry's Design for the New Courts of Law	400

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Designers.	Engravers.	
86. Lord Chancellor's Court, Westminster Hall	ANELAY	JACKSON	385
87. Earl Camden, from a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds	,,	,,	390
88. Lord Loughborough	,,	WAKEFIELD	391
89. Lord Thurlow	,,	GRAY	391
90. Lord Mansfield (from a Medal)	CLARKE	JACKSON	392
91. Lord Ellenborough	TIPPIN	,,	395
92. The Earl of Eldon	,,	,,	396
93. Lord Stowell	,,	,,	397
94. Sir William Grant	,,	,,	397
95. Lord Chancellor Bathurst and the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery Lane (from a Medal)	CLARKE	,,	400

[St. Olave's School.]

CXXVI.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

No. I.—Ancient.

It is fortunate, in one respect at least, that our ancient English historians had not the same view as the moderns of the dignity of history, for if they had we should have been often *told of* men and things, instead of having them vividly *shown* to us; we should have had polished periods, and critical acumen, and weighty philosophy, but we should have lost the gossip, frequently so instructive, and generally so entertaining and characteristic. That there was, for instance, a free school at Westminster so early as the reign of the Confessor, in which grammar and logic were taught, and that the Queen Edgitha took a personal interest in it, are valuable facts when we consider that they are the very earliest of which we have any cognizance relating to the great subject of education in the metropolis, and derive interest, however told, from that consideration, whenever the subject is before us; but if they are to remain with us at all times in the memory, and be frequently recalled with pleasure to the thoughts, they must be made interesting in themselves; we must learn them, as in the present case, from such relaters as Ingulphus. This writer, the well-known monk of Croyland, having spoken of himself as an humble servant of God, born of English parents, in the most beautiful city of London, and told us that to attain to learning he was put to Westminster School, further informs us, "I have seen how, often, when being but a boy, I came to see my father, dwelling in the King's court, and often coming from school, when I met the queen, she would oppose me touching my learning and lesson. And falling from grammar to logic, wherein she had some knowledge, she

would subtilly conclude an argument with me. And by her handmaiden give me three or four pieces of money, and send me unto the palace, where I should receive some victuals, and then be dismissed."* From Westminster School, Ingulphus went to Oxford, where he studied the Aristotelian philosophy, and the rhetorical writings of Cicero: the first express mention also, by the way, of the famous university. How long before this period the school in question may have existed, what other schools were contemporary with or may have preceded it, or what was the nature of the studies generally pursued, are questions that can be only answered by a glance at the general state of education in England during these early ages.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the man to whom we owe the establishment of Christianity among us, Augustin, should also be the presumed founder of our earliest schools, those at Canterbury, where the golden book of the learning in philosophy of the ancients was, it is supposed, first opened to the eyes of our countrymen. Augustin's successor in the archbishopric, Theodore, greatly improved and enlarged these schools, and, with his friend Adrian, as Bede tells us, personally instructed crowds of pupils in divinity, astronomy, medicine, arithmetic, and in the Greek and Latin languages. The impulse thus given spread. Schools multiplied until in a very short space of time they were to be found generally in connexion with monasteries, and more particularly at the different seats of the bishops. London therefore, in the seventh century, had doubtless schools of some kind, most probably the original foundations of the present St. Paul's and Westminster. But good teachers could no more be created suddenly then than now; and, in consequence, the relations of the sister island and England assumed an aspect curiously opposed to all that has since characterised them. Ireland, strange as the statement seems to us, was the chief seat of European learning during the seventh and the two or three following centuries: thither, accordingly, in common with students from different parts of the continent, flocked our English youth; and the circumstances under which they were received appear still more extraordinary. Bede, having told us it was customary for English *of all ranks*, from the highest to the lowest, to retire to Ireland for study and devotion, adds, that they were hospitably received, and supplied *gratuitously* with food, with books, and with instruction. This was, indeed, making tuition a labour of love;—learning, and the diffusion of it, its own reward. Bede's statement is corroborated by his contemporary Aldhelm, whose remarks are the more significant that they come in the shape of a complaint of such a state of things. "Why," says he, "should Ireland, whither troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be had to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned like the poles of the world with innumerable bright stars, it is Britain has her radiant sun, her sovereign pontiff, Theodore;" who, it may be as well to observe, was a patron of Aldhelm. It was probably to check this wholesale emigration, as well as from a conviction of their superiority, that Irish teachers were obtained for some of the more eminent of the English schools. Alcuin, one of the most learned men of the eighth century, has given us an interesting account of what he learnt

* Transcribed from Stow's Survey, ed. 1633, p. 63.

at the school at York, where he was educated, and what he himself afterwards taught, when he had become eminent as a teacher. The former comprised, in addition to grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, in which Alcuin was evidently a proficient, "the harmony of the sky, the labour of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets, the laws, risings, and settings of the stars, and the aërial motions; of the sea, earthquakes, the nature of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts, with their various kinds and forms, and the sacred Scriptures;" whilst as to the latter Alcuin tells us, "To some I administer the honey of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety. I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace." Alcuin's instruction combined, in short, what in the phraseology of the time was called the *totum scibile*, or entire circle of human learning.

The impulse, however, originally given by Augustin and Theodore to learning in England, was gradually subsiding even at this time; and before the piratical Danes appeared to level learning, religion, civilization, and freedom, in one common ruin, scarcely a single school of the highest class seems to have been preserved in its integrity. It is well known that Alfred, in the second half of the ninth century, could find no masters to instruct him in the higher branches of knowledge. This simple fact tells us all we can need to know with regard to the state of education in the metropolis at the time. That truly great monarch, however, had scarcely obtained peace in his dominions before he set himself earnestly to the task of removing the dreary state of ignorance in which he found his country, and of which he had himself so seriously felt the disadvantages. He invited to his court the best scholars of the period from all quarters. At the age of forty he began the study of Latin; with what admirable object let his own words to Wulfsig, Bishop of London, declare:—"I think it better," he says, "if you think so, that we also translate some books, the most necessary for all men to know, that we may all know them; and we may do this with God's help very easily, if we have peace; so that all the youth that are now in England, who are freemen, and possess sufficient wealth, may for a time apply to no other task till they first well know to read English. Let those learn Latin afterwards, who will know more, and advance to a higher condition." It is most probable that the principal schools of a former time that had been destroyed with the monasteries by the Danes, or which had sunk into decay with the previous decay of learning, were now restored, and animated by a new spirit. But Alfred's biographer, Asser, only expressly mentions the one he founded for the sons of the nobility, and for the support of which he devoted the enormous amount of one-eighth of his kingly revenue. This school must have presented an interesting scene. In it were to be found the nobleman of mature age almost commencing his education side-by-side with the youthful son of the wealthy burgher (for Asser expressly says the school was attended by many of the inferior classes), and with the servant of some other man of rank, who, having neither son nor kinsman, thus availed himself of the final alternative which could alone excuse his own absence: the King was determined they should read one way or another, either with their own eyes, or with the eyes of those who would be generally about them, and ordained accordingly. This school has been supposed

to have been the commencement of the University of Oxford, a supposition, however, utterly unsupported by any evidence of weight, and which has therefore been rejected by some of our best writers. Is it not then most probable that the seat of this important establishment was London, which we know to have enjoyed Alfred's especial care and attention? If he did not, like the Roman Emperor, find a city of brick and leave it of marble, he found it of wood, and left it of brick and stone. The period from Alfred's reign to that of the Confessor, when Ingulphus was a scholar at Westminster, was marked by a second decline of education, in consequence of the wars that preceded the conquest by Canute, and then a new rise, through the liberality and wisdom of that monarch, when he was firmly settled upon the throne.

The next direct record that we possess, with regard to the early schools of London, is no less interesting than that left us by Ingulphus, and somewhat more detailed. This is Fitz-Stephen's, the secretary of Thomas A'Becket, whose account of London, during the reign of Henry II., we have so often had occasion to mention in our pages. "In the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II.," he writes, "there were in London three principal churches which had famous schools, either by privilege or ancient dignity, or by favour of some particular persons, as of doctors, which were accounted notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy. And there were other inferior schools also. Upon festival days the masters made solemn meetings in the churches, where their scholars disputed logically and demonstratively; some bringing enthymems, others perfect syllogisms; some disputed for show, others to trace out the truth; and cunning scholars were brave scholars when they flowed with words. Others used fallacies; rhetoricians spoke aptly to persuade, observing the precepts of art, and omitting nothing that might serve their purpose. The boys of divers schools did cap or pot verses; and contended of the principles of grammar. There were some, which, on the other side, with epigrams and rhymes, nipping and quipping their fellows, and the faults of others, though suppressing their names, moved thereby much laughter among their auditors." We see here very plainly that love of wrangling, and disputation for its own sake, which was so characteristic of the learned men of the middle ages, and which one of them, John of Salisbury, contemporary with Fitz-Stephen, so pleasantly ridicules in his treatise *Metalogicus*, where he describes them as exerting their intellects in the discussion of such knotty questions as Whether a person in buying a whole cloak bought the cowl also; or as When a hog was carried to market with a rope about its neck, held at the other end by a man, whether the man or the rope was really the carrier. The scene of the discussions to which Fitz-Stephen refers, was the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew, where the scholars sat on a "bank boarded about under a tree," as described by Stow, in whose time the custom still existed.* The three principal schools mentioned by Fitz-Stephen are supposed by Stow to be those respectively attached to the Cathedrals of St. Paul and Westminster, and to the Abbey of Bermondsey: the ordinance of the General Council of Lateran, in 1179, that there should be a school with a head teacher in every cathedral, who should have authority over all the scholars of the diocese, making it tolerably certain that there must have been a school then established at St. Paul's, if there

* See our account of the Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew, No. XXVIII. p. 43.

had not been one previously in existence,—Ingulphus's notice having determined the fact of the existence of a school at Westminster, and there being no other great religious house then founded in London to which the third school could have belonged but Bermondsey. From these notices we may judge that education was progressing upon the whole, though with many pauses and goings back. About this very time, or at least but a few years before, namely, in 1164, the Earl of Arundel, having been associated with other noblemen, and some ecclesiastical dignitaries, in an embassy from Henry to the Pope, found it necessary at the close of the Latin harangues, delivered by his clerical companions, to commence his own address in the mother-tongue thus:—"We, who are illiterate laymen, do not understand one word of what the Bishops have said to your Holiness," &c. As an incidental feature of Metropolitan Education at the period in question, it may be mentioned that the Jews had now a school in London as well as in several other large towns of England; and the fact, taken in connexion with the superior character of the education given in these schools—arithmetic and medicine being generally taught with such higher branches of study as Hebrew and Arabic—forms an instructive comment on the opinion which our nobles and others made it the fashion to hold of the Jews, as to their debased and avaricious nature. It is farther noticeable that the Jewish schools were open to the children of Christians, and that the latter did not hesitate to allow their children to participate in the advantages offered. Knowledge was then even more emphatically power than now, because restricted to a smaller number: that any particular class of persons, but especially the Jews, who needed all available weapons both of offence and defence against the oppressions to which they were subject, should have been ready to impart their knowledge, does seem to be a highly honourable circumstance. Only last century, the governors of a school not many hundred yards distant from the locality where the ancient Jews resided, and where, no doubt, was their school, excluded Jews by express ordinance from the benefit of an institution founded for the children of all nations and countries indifferently: we allude to the Merchant Tailors!

Again, for a century or more, the history of Metropolitan Education is a blank; but there are satisfactory and interesting evidences that the education itself must have been progressing rapidly during a part at least of the period. At the beginning of the fourteenth century we are told, and the statement seems all but incredible, that there were 30,000 students at Oxford, and probably still more at Paris: it has been truly said that this looks something like an almost universal diffusion of education. Ingulphus's brief personal history shows us that Oxford, even in the eleventh century, had assumed the character it has ever since maintained, that of a place for instruction in the higher branches of learning in their highest stages of development only. How numerous and how efficient then must have been the preliminary schools of England and France in the fourteenth century to supply such an army of students! And what was the quality of the education whilst the quantity was so extraordinary? We may partly answer by a little anecdote. In 1362 the Rector and Masters of the Faculty of Arts, in the University of Paris, petitioned for the postponement of the hearing of a cause in which they were concerned, on grounds that a dignitary of Oxford or Cambridge of the present day would certainly never guess: "We have," said they, "diffi-

culty in finding the money to pay the Procurators and Advocates, whom it is necessary for us to employ—*we whose profession it is to possess no wealth.*" When men of learning devoted themselves to the business of education, and could think and speak thus, who can doubt that education must have been essentially high? Chaucer, who, after receiving in all probability the rudiments of knowledge in a London school, passed through the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris, will satisfy us that such sentiments were by no means confined to the other side of the Channel; indeed, we may observe in passing, that the two countries were evidently engaged in a very different and thousand times more glorious kind of contest than that which, at the same time, was draining the blood and treasure of both; and a most interesting feature of the period it is—this contest—this under-current of sympathy, such as kindred tastes, objects, and success must have caused between the men of learning of France and England, under circumstances so adverse to their existence. To return: Chaucer's character of the Clerk in the 'Canterbury Tales,' to which we referred, is decisive both as to the honourable and cheerfully-accepted poverty, which was the lot of a scholar in the fourteenth century, and of the high standard of moral as well as intellectual perfection which Universities then must have had in view.

"A Clerk there was of Oxenford also
That unto logic hadde long ygo;*
As lené was his horse as is a rake;
And he was not right fat, I undertake,
But looked hollow, and thereto soberly.
Full threadbare was his overest courtepy,
For he had getten him yet no benefice,
Ne was nought worldly to have an office;
For him was lever have at his bed's head
A twenty bookes, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle, and his philosophy,
Than robes rich, or fiddle, or sautrie;
But all be that he was a philosópher,
Yet had he but little gold in coffer;
But all that he might of his friendes hent, †
On bookes and on learning he it spent;
And busily gan for the soules pray
Of them that gave him wherewith to scholay.
Of study took he moste care and heed:
Not a word spake he moré than was need;
And that was said in form and reverence,
And short and quick, and full of high sentence.
Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

Much difference exists in the present day as to both the end and the means of education; for our part we should desire no better evidence of one good system at least, than that it leaves men in the position described in the last of these noble lines.

The schools of London still continued attached (probably exclusively) to the religious houses, and increased as they increased. A proof of the regular nature of the connexion is to be found in the circumstances attending the gradual dissolution of the latter from the time of Henry V. downwards. Stow, alluding

* Gone. † Borrow.

to that monarch's suppression of the alien Priories, does not think it necessary to state formally that those of London had schools attached to them, but goes on to speak of the schools that were then broken up as a natural consequence, and to point out that Henry VI., to remedy the evil, appointed that there should be Grammar Schools at St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, St. Dunstan's in the West, and St. Anthony's Hospital. The year following this ordinance, or in 1446, four other Grammar Schools were added by Parliament, namely, in the parishes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Allhallows the Great, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. Thomas-of-Acon's Hospital, Cheapside. It may be doubted whether this last measure proceeded beyond the stage of enactment; certain it is that, ten years later, we find four clergymen of the City petitioning Parliament for the power of providing each a Grammar School "*to teach all that will come:*" one of these was John Neil, the Master of St. Thomas-of-Acon's. The petitioners complained at the same time that teaching had become a monopoly, and observed, "Where there is a great number of learners and few teachers, and all the learners are compelled to go to the few teachers, and to none others, the masters wax rich in money, and the learners poor in learning, as experience openly showeth, against all virtue and order of public weal." Comparing the state of things here revealed, with that of the preceding century, we have another striking evidence of the exceedingly fluctuating character of the history of education in this country. The prayer of the petition having been granted, a school was founded by John Neil and his associates in connexion with their establishment; from that the present Mercers' School may be said to be descended.

The Reformation in England had a two-fold effect upon education; by breaking up the religious houses it destroyed nearly the whole of our schools; on the other hand the general awakening of intellect which characterised the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which the Reformation itself may be said to be but one effect, was evidently in the highest degree favourable to the inculcation of knowledge. The intense desire for classical learning (which, preceding the religious movement, was afterwards strongly acted upon and forwarded by it, chiefly through the circumstance that the Greek Version of the New Testament became the universal standard of authority to which the Reformers appealed in all their religious contests) was a still more direct influence tending to the establishment and diffusion of education. New Colleges at the Universities sprang into existence with startling rapidity; new schools were established almost as fast as the reforming king had destroyed them. Hence it is that of the exceedingly numerous body of grammar-schools scattered over every part of the country, nearly the whole were founded in one century, the sixteenth; hence it is that the whole of the older schools of the metropolis, with the single exception of the Charter House, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth, date their establishment on the present basis from the same period. Of these, Christ's Hospital, and the Charter House, having been already treated of at length in our pages, need not further be referred to here.

We may infer from the personal history of Colet, the founder of the earliest of these last-mentioned establishments, that the ordinary motives of a religious Reformer of the sixteenth century for desiring the extension of education, acted upon him with so much force as to lead in a great measure to the foundation of

the school. His appointment as Dean of St. Paul's was soon distinguished by his vigorous and searching discipline; among other matters recorded of him, it appears, he introduced the practice of preaching himself on Sundays and

[St. Paul's School, St. Paul's Churchyard, as it appeared before the Fire of London.]

great festival days. The more luxurious of the clergy could perhaps have forgiven this inroad upon their habits; but the use to which he directed his public preachings, as well as his private influence and conversation—his freedom of opinion—his contempt for the abuses of the religious houses—his aversion to clerical celibacy—above all his inclination to the new principles of which he was indirectly one of the most active promoters;—all this they could not forgive. Dean Colet very naturally, as his biographer tells us, became highly obnoxious to the metropolitan clergy. They even had a notion of honouring him by a Smithfield martyrdom. No man could better afford such dislike, for no man had truer or better friends. Linacre, the eminent physician, the founder of the College of Physicians, and one of the best scholars of the age, was one of them. Latimer was another. Both these, with Lyly, the first master of Colet's school, he had become acquainted with in Italy, where the three were all studying Greek, and where Colet himself had gone for general improvement. Of the relations between Colet and the illustrious author of the 'Utopia,' the following passage from one of More's letters, written to the former while he was abroad, will give the best idea. "Return, therefore, my dear Colet; either for Stepney's sake [where Colet then resided], which mourneth for your absence, no less than children do for the absence of their loving mother; or else for London's sake, in respect it is your native country, whereof you can have no less regard than of your parents; and, finally (though this be the least motive), return for my sake, who have wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the mean time I pass my time with Grocine, Lanacer [Linacre], and Lily; the first being, as you know, the director of my life in your absence; the second, the master of my studies; the third, my most dear companion. Farewell, and see you love me as you have done hitherto.—London, 21st Oct., about 1510." The delightful spirit that pervades these sentences needs no comment. They come from the heart, and therefore speak directly to it. Lastly, Erasmus was, if possible, even more than any of these the constant companion of Colet, when in

England, his constant correspondent when abroad. And the unflinching nervous intellect and irrepressible enthusiasm of the Dean must have finely contrasted with the subtler but more temporising spirit of the eminent Reformer. Colet's biographer, Knight, has given us a pleasant peep into the privacy of their society, on an occasion when their respective characteristics were happily shown. He refers to a period immediately following the commencement of their intimacy. "These two friends, being now happy in each other's acquaintance, were not wanting to improve it to the mutual benefit of one another, particularly at a public dinner in the University, after a Latin sermon; where the table talk was scholastical and theological, Master Colet sitting as Moderator. Among other discourse, Colet said that Cain's greatest offence, and the most odious in God's sight, was his distrusting the bounty of our great Creator, and placing too much confidence in his own art and industry, and so tilling the ground; while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, was only feeding sheep. Upon this argument the whole company engaged; the divine arguing by strict syllogisms, while Erasmus opposed in a more loose and rhetorical manner. 'But in truth,' said Erasmus, 'this one divine, Master Colet, was more than a match for us all. He seemed to be filled with a Divine Spirit, and to be somewhat above a man: he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour.' When the disputation grew too long, and was too grave and severe for such a cheerful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off by telling an old story of Cain, from a pretended ancient author, though purely of his own invention on the spot; and so they parted friends."*

Is not this Erasmus all over?—the man who led the way to the Reformation by his witty exposure of the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church, but left others to undertake the business of reformation; the man, in short, who, as it was said, laid the egg of the Reformation, but left Luther to hatch it? To the foregoing particulars of Colet, we must add a few derived from Erasmus, who gives us some interesting particulars of the domestic life of his friend;—of his dining without state among his family, but always, if possible, with some strangers for his guests,—of his short sitting at meals, that there might be more time after for the discourses which pleased only the learned and the good,—of the preliminary reading of the chapter from the Bible by some boy with a good voice, as suggestive of the matter of the discourse,—of his servant reading to him when he had no companions to his mind,—of his dress, plain black, while the clergy generally of his rank wore purple,—of his hospitality in handing over regularly to his steward the entire receipts of his offices in the church for the maintenance of his household, whilst he kept his own private estate for charitable uses. Such was Dean Colet, the man who, in 1509, devoted nearly the whole of that private estate to the admirable purpose of founding St. Paul's School; where children of every nation, country, and class were to be educated free, to the number of 153: the number, with that fondness for conceit peculiar to the time, is borrowed from the number of fish taken by St. Peter. This school he endowed with lands and houses to the value of 122*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*, now worth between 5000*l.* and 6000*l.* That a clergyman should have stepped out of his class to find trustees among laymen, and more particularly with regard to a school founded upon an older establishment

* Knight, p. 39.

that had always been under the direction of the Cathedral dignitaries, is of itself a significant feature of Colet's views with relation to the religious differences of the period, and agrees in the main with Erasmus's statement. "After he had finished all," he says in a letter to Justus Ionas, "he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court, but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing the trust, he answered to this effect—that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind." If ever trustees were solemnly called upon to discharge their duties with fidelity, and in a mode that should at the same time animate them with the best possible spirit for so doing, it was surely in such words. We are afraid, however, that if the Dean were aware that his property had increased so greatly, whilst the scholars remained at the magical number of 153, and that the classics, then in many respects so much more important than now, were all that these 153 are taught, he would hardly compliment the trustees on their observance of the spirit of his wishes: he might be apt to ask even what attention had been paid to their letter, considering that he had expressly empowered the Company of Mercers to make such other regulations for the governance of the school as time and circumstances might render necessary, with the advice and assistance of "good, lettered, and learned men." The first head master appointed by the Dean was William Lily, the eminent grammarian, "the most dear companion" of Sir Thomas More. The choice was probably determined by that high idea of the value of classical and especially of Greek learning and literature, which the Reformers in particular among our learned men had at the time in question, Lily being the first teacher of Greek in the metropolis after the revival of letters. The success of the school under Lily showed the Dean's selection to have been a wise one. During the twelve years that he lived to conduct it, a host of excellent scholars were sent forth into the different departments of public life, including such men as Sir Anthony Denny, privy counsellor to Henry VIII., Sir Edward, afterwards Lord North, and the eminent antiquary, Leland. It was not, however, without considerable opposition and some obloquy, it would seem, that he and the founder were allowed to carry out their wishes of teaching the classics freely; the latter, in a letter to Erasmus, relates, that one of the prelates of the church, esteemed among the most eminent for his learning and gravity, had, in a great public assembly, accused him in the severest terms for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in his new seminary, which, on that account, he styled a house of idolatry. Lily died of the plague in 1523, six years after his friend and patron, Colet. The school at present consists of eight forms or classes, the first receiving the pupil for instruction in the rudiments, the last dismissing him with a sound classical and mathematical education, including the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. The school is strictly a free one. The age of scholars at admission must not exceed fifteen. The Mercers' Company are the admitters. There are numerous exhibitions at the University in connexion with the school. Of the eminent men since Lily's time, who have been educated here, we must not forget such names as John Milton, the physician Scarborough, the gossip Pepys, the divine Calamy, and the

warrior Marlborough. We have given an engraving of the school as built by Colet. The present building was erected in the years 1823-1824.

The principal other old metropolitan schools were established in the following order:—the Mercers' own free-grammar school, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.; the Merchant Tailors' in 1567; St. Saviour's, 1562; St. Olave's, 1570; and Westminster, 1590. The Mercers' School originally, as we have seen, formed a part of the Hospital of St. Thomas-of-Acon's, a religious establishment of such great wealth and rank that its master, at the time of the dissolution, was a mitred abbot, and the revenues truly princely. Henry VIII. sold the buildings and a part of its land to the Mercers' Company, stipulating for once that the school should be maintained. But the merit of this precaution seems to belong to Sir Thomas Gresham, who, Strype says, was instrumental in the making of the arrangement. From this period the school became a regular free-school. In 1804 the Company wisely departed from the strictly classical system previously pursued, by including the other branches of a sound general education; and in 1809 increased the numbers of its scholars from 25 to 35, and since then again to 70: a circumstance highly creditable to the Company, and the more necessary to be mentioned inasmuch as we have alluded to the different mode in which they have dealt with the foundation of Dean Colet, at St. Paul's. There are no restrictions as to age or place of residence of scholars, but a certain amount of proficiency is deemed indispensable. The instruction is perfectly gratuitous; and there is attached to the school the farther advantage of two University exhibitions of 50*l.* per annum each, for five years, to reward occasionally the most meritorious students. Of this school Colet was a member, also Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Lionel, afterwards Lord, Cranfield, and Bishop Wren. The masters are four in number. The school, like that of St. Paul's, is constantly full.

The school of the Merchant Tailors is an honourable instance of the application of surplus funds by a City company, assisting, as it does, to a considerable extent, in the education of no less than 250 pupils. It was founded in 1561 for children of all nations and countries indifferently, which in 1731 was interpreted to mean that Jews were to be excepted, or else the Company had grown in the interim less tolerant in its views. Notwithstanding the Company's assistance, the education is still expensive, averaging, on the whole, not less than ten pounds

[Merchant Tailors' School, Cannon Street.]

yearly. Attached to the school are thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas White for its scholars: in consequence, several of the best are yearly sent to the University. A long list of eminent names graces the pages of the school-records of Merchant Tailors': we read there Lancelot Andrews, Juxon, Charles I.'s spiritual companion on the scaffold, William Lowth the elder, and who is said to have been a profounder scholar even than his better known son, the translator of Isaiah, Sandys, the traveller, Dr. Schomberg, Sir James, and Bulstrode Whitelock, Robert, the first Lord Clive, with archbishops, bishops, &c., too numerous to mention. The education here is strictly classical and mathematical; and conducted by four masters.

The school of St. Saviour deserves respectful mention, were it only for the admirable practical rules drawn up by its founders. According to one of these, the Master is to be a man of a wise, sociable, and loving disposition, not hasty or furious, nor of any ill example; he shall be wise and of good experience, *to discern the nature of every several child;* to work upon the disposition for the greatest advantage, benefit, and comfort of the child; to learn with the love of his book: unfortunately, it was necessary then as now to add, "if such a one may be got." The sports of the scholars, by the same rules, were directed to be shooting with the long-bow, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping. Scholars pay, according to Carlisle,* 1*l.* entrance-money, and 2*l.* per annum; the present expense, we are informed by authority, is about the same. This agrees but ill with one part of the intentions of the founders in 1526, that the school should be for children, as well of the poor as of the rich. The founders of St. Olave's, in 1570, seem to have had these words in view when they formed their establishment for "children and younglings as well of rich as the poor," being inhabitants of the parish. Elizabeth consented, it seems, to become the patron, and it was, consequently, called her school; but her name and a legal status seem to have been all she gave to it. An excellent general education was provided, which was to be so truly free that not even books were to be paid for, and the masters were not to receive any fee or reward, directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever. The age of admittance is six or seven, and the boys remain generally till fourteen, when those of humbler condition are apprenticed; others, who are studying for the learned professions, may remain an almost unlimited time. Two exhibitions of 80*l.* each at the Universities are connected with the school. St. Olave's is now one of the most valuable of metropolitan schools. The funds have been so greatly increased in progress of time, that they amount at present to about 3000*l.* a-year. With the enlargement of the means the ends have been pursued, of late years at least, in a correspondingly liberal spirit. The school is exclusively for the parish, or rather the two parishes, into which the old St. Olave's has been divided, and is only the more efficient from that very exclusiveness: since the number of children taught (limited only by the capacity of the buildings) is so large, nearly six hundred, that undue preferences, whether of persons or of classes, become alike unnecessary and impracticable to any important extent: the parish therefore is and must be done justice to. The establishment is divided into two schools—the classical, forming, with the head master's house, the chief portions of the exceedingly elegant and appropriate

* Endowed Grammar Schools.

architectural pile shown in our engraving, and the English, or branch, situated at a little distance in the neighbourhood. The tuition in the two schools merely differs in this, that whilst all the ordinary branches of English education, with the classics, are taught in the one, in the other the classics are omitted. This difference points to the practical difference that exists between the classes of society to which the children of the schools respectively belong, the classical school receiving generally those of the middle, the English those of the poorer inhabitants of the parish. The number of boys in the first is now about 320, in the second about 250; taught, in each case, by three masters.

The last, best known, and historically the most important, of all the old schools of London remains yet to be noticed. Who has not heard of the Westminster boys, of their plays and disputations, of their illustrious roll of great men who have been educated within the Old Abbey precincts, and of the Masters who have made the world ring again with the fame of their learning, almost as much as they have made the school walls reverberate with the sounds of the lash and the cries of the lashed? Personify all the awful visions that ever shook the nerves of the youthful dreamers of punishment yet to be received for hours of unlicensed absence, or tasks too late taken in hand, and whose but Dr. Busby's terrible shadow rises to the view? It is said that much of the traditional character of this exemplar of pedagogues is exaggerated; we hardly think it. When the great quarrel took place between Dr. Busby and his second master, Bagshawe, which ended in the latter's dismissal, the severity of the former's discipline was one of the chief points urged by Bagshawe against him. He has "often complained to me," observes the latter, "and seems to take it ill, that I did not use the rod enough." In the Life of some Schoolmaster in 'Nicholl's Literary Anecdotes,' it is observed that he would chastise pretty severely; but it is still pointed out to his credit that he never did what it is stated was a common habit with Busby—send boys home with a piece of buckram appended to a particular part of their apparel, as a necessary temporary substitute for the part that had been flogged away by the master's zeal for his young friend's intellectual welfare. But to do the Doctor justice, we have no doubt whipping with him was a piece of honest enthusiasm, and not by any means a mere ebullition of impatience or ill temper. Pointing to a scholar, he said one day, "I see great talents in that sulky boy, and I shall endeavour to bring them out." Dr. South was the result of the discipline that followed. How could the physician help having faith thenceforward in his medicine? Some boys, to be sure, could not perhaps pass through the ordeal, and these he frankly acknowledged had no business at Westminster. He said his rod was his sieve, according to Dr. Johnson, and whoever could not pass through that was no boy for him. Busby, it appears, had his "white boys," or favourites. Witty in himself, it is creditable to him that he is said to have liked wit in others, even though they were his own scholars, and the joke was at his own expense. It must have been a terrible piece of business though for a boy to have committed himself to a bad joke in such experiments. The only trustworthy anecdote of Busby that has been received in reference to the wit of which we spoke, seems to be this. Sitting once in company between Mrs. South and Mrs. Sherlock, the conversation turned on wives; Dr. Busby said that he "believed wives in general

were good, though, to be sure, there might be a bad one *here* and a bad one *there*." For fifty-five years did Dr. Busby rule the destinies of the school; and during that time so many able scholars passed through his "sieve," that he was able at one time to boast that sixteen out of the whole Bench of Bishops had been educated by him. The "rod" must have been in glorious occupation after these recollections. Of the Masters prior to Busby, the most worthy of notice is Camden, who was made Under-Master in 1571, and whilst in that position composed his great work, the 'Britannia.' In 1592 he received the appointment of Head-Master. Ben Jonson was one of his scholars. As to the Masters since Dr. Busby, the first was the brother of the eminent Physician, of whom we have had occasion, in the 'College of Physicians,'* to relate an interesting anecdote referring to his confinement in the Tower: the following verses were published in consequence of this appointment:—

> Ye sons of Westminster, who still retain
> Your ancient dread of Busby's awful reign,
> Forget at length your fears—your panic end;
> The monarch of your place is now a *Freind*.

This Dr. Freind caused much speculation in the school on the occasion of his brother's arrest, by giving for a theme, *Frater ne desere Fratrem*. To give any adequate idea of the number of the scholars who, by their subsequent career, have shed a glory over the school that educated them, is all but hopeless. Embarrassed apparently by too much wealth, the historian of the school does not attempt to mention any but those who have been distinguished by their election to the Universities. Among these we find Dryden, in 1650, who signalised himself at the school by translating the Third Satire of 'Perseus,' for a Thursday night's exercise; as he has informed us in a prefatory advertisement to the published Satire. Next comes Locke, who was elected to Oxford in 1652. Then a batch of poets, Smith, Prior, Rowe, and Dryden's rival, Elkanah Settle. Smith's election was marked by a very unusual compliment. His performances as a candidate were so remarkable, that a contest ensued between the electors of the two Universities as to which should have him; those of Cambridge had that year the preference, and they elected him; but the Oxford people, no less determined, did what they could; they offered the young scholar a studentship in one of the colleges, and he accepted it. Bishop Newton follows, and then two more poets, the friends Churchill and Lloyd. The last was for a short time an usher in the school. As to Churchill, when he applied for matriculation at Oxford, on leaving the school, he was, according to some, rejected on account of his deficiency, whilst others relate the matter in a very different manner, saying that he was so hurt at the trifling questions put to him by the Examiner, that he answered with a contempt which was mistaken for ignorance. He was subsequently admitted at Cambridge. Warren Hastings, and a host of more recent men, continue the list of distinguished Westminster scholars. There are some curious points in the management of this school. The mode of election of boys upon the foundation is one of these. We must premise that the present school forms a constituent part of the establishment of the Cathedral, and dates therefore from the final settlement of the latter in 1560, when it was determined, as

* See the College of Physicians, No. XXVII. p. 28.

regards the school, that there should be two Masters, and forty King's or Queen's scholars. These are distinguished by a peculiar garb, an academical-looking cap and gown; and enjoy peculiar and highly estimated advantages. Owing to the high patronage under which such a school necessarily existed, admission into it has always been greatly desired by parents of the highest rank for their children. Hence the necessity for a less restricted admission. "Town boys" are therefore received as well as Queen's scholars, and from the first the second are elected. No one who has once witnessed the mode of election will ever forget it. At the commencement of Lent, a certain number of boys, generally from twenty to thirty, announce themselves to the Master as candidates for college. An arduous training is passed through by each boy before the day of contest arrives, under the care of one who has already passed the ordeal, and a most interesting feature of the business is the zeal of these assistants for their "men," as they call them. Morning, noon, and eve they are constantly by their side, teaching them all the tactics of the intellectual carte and tierce for which they are preparing. The great event commences at last. The candidates are arranged according to their forms in the school, and their places in the forms. The "helps" are at hand to give all possible assistance. A lesson, some Greek epigrams, perhaps, is set, and the two lowest boys, figuratively speaking, enter the arena. The lowest of these is the challenger, and now calls upon his adversary to translate one of the epigrams, to parse any particular number of words in it, and to answer any grammatical questions connected with the subject. Demand after demand is made and correctly replied to. Baffled, but still determined, the challenger pursues, and at last some unlucky mistake is made; the head master, who sits as judge, triumphantly appealed to,—"It was a mistake" is the decision; the challenger and the challenged change places on the form, and then the latter, with a fierce eagerness, repeats the process by putting his questions. This continues till one of them is exhausted, feels he is beaten, and resigns the contest. The conqueror, flushed with victory, now turns to the boy above him, and supposing him to be one of those heroes who occasionally "flash amazement" on all around, will pass step by step upwards, taking ten, fifteen, aye, twenty places in succession, before he too is stopped and quails under a greater spirit. The result is, that from seven to ten of the boys are elected into the college, according to their precedence on the list of the most successful competitors, to take the places of those sent to the Universities. There are four studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, and three or four scholarships at Trinity, Cambridge: election to the former involves the important privilege of a living on quitting the University, to all who choose to accept it. The selection of Queen's scholars to fill the University vacancies is made yearly, after an examination by the heads of the two Colleges. In looking at the character of the foregoing examination, we are so strongly reminded of the meetings on the bank boarded about at St. Bartholomew's that the question naturally occurs, whether the one custom is not a remnant of the other? and on referring to Stow's notice to see what schools shared in those ancient disputations, we find the boys of "St. Peter's, Westminster," expressly mentioned with those of St. Paul's, the Mercers' (or St. Thomas-of-Acon's), and St. Anthony's. The plays of Terence, annually performed in the large dormitory erected in the time of Atterbury's deanship, from a design by

the Earl of Burlington, are grand events in the histories of Westminster boys, and of their parents, who are regularly invited;—it might also be added, of the world also, if we are to judge by the long accounts which usually appear in the newspapers on such occasions: a circumstance that makes it the less necessary for us to dwell upon the performances here. One or two matters connected with them are, however, worth mentioning. The early scenery of the school, which was the gift of William Markham, Archbishop of York, was prepared under the direction of no less an authority than David Garrick. Another set of scenery was presented by Dr. Vincent. During performance, the pit is set apart for "old Westminsters," who, as may be anticipated, contribute liberally to the "captain's cap," which is handed round at the end of the play. As much as 400*l*. have been collected on some occasions, from which the expenses, generally heavy, having been deducted, the remainder is divided among the senior Queen's scholars, who have that evening fretted their hour upon the stage. This school, though partially supported from the cathedral revenues, is anything but a free-school. Both Town boys and Queen's scholars pay for their education, and that pretty handsomely. There is an entrance fee of ten guineas, and the annual payments after are for the Queen's scholars seventeen guineas, the Town boys twenty-three. Many of the Town boys, and of course the whole of the Queen's scholars, are boarders; the former pay fifty-three guineas per annum, the latter twenty-four. The Queen's scholars sleep in the dormitory before mentioned, and dine in the fine old hall, formerly the Abbot's refectory; and then, in less degenerate times, they also breakfasted, on bread and cheese and beer, at six o'clock in the morning. The prosperity of the school has somewhat declined of late years. When Carlisle wrote, in 1818, he spoke of the number of boys as about three hundred; now one hundred is about the average. A magnificent increase, however, we understand, is about to be made to the power and influence of the school, in connexion with the University endowments for its scholars, through the liberality of its late master, Dr. Carey, the present bishop of St. Asaph, who has left a large sum in his will for that purpose—it is said twenty-five thousand pounds. This must do much to bring back to Westminster School all its former prosperity. The number of assistant masters varies with that of the scholars; there are two now, making, with the head master and the second master, four in all. The education here, we need hardly mention, is essentially classical.

[Westminster School.]

[British and Foreign School, Borough Road.]

CXXVII.—EDUCATION IN LONDON.

No. II.—Modern.

What is Education? is a question we may not unfitly pause a moment to ask, in passing from the scholastic establishments—originated in an earlier—to those of the present time; for never before did the spirit of improvement, fast spreading on all sides, promise to work more radical changes of principle, as well as of detail, in all our educational arrangements, because never before did the necessity of improvement appear to be so vitally connected with all the best interests of society. What is Education? then, we ask, and for answer step into one of the lowest class of schools, such as are to be found in all parts of the metropolis, from Westminster to Bethnal Green, the Dame Schools; and we see there that education means the keeping out of the streets the children of those who are not able, or who are unwilling, to take care of them at home, and that the educator is a person who, being utterly unfit for anything in the world else of any importance, naturally resorts to this. It is true that at such intervals of time as the mistress can spare from her needle-work, her washing-tub, or her culinary operations—perhaps even during these avocations—she teaches reading and spelling; but her labours are more meritorious than successful: "I have not," says the Inspector of the British and Foreign Metropolitan Schools, "met with any of

these children who could read."* Religious instruction, we apprehend, fares no better in their hands than secular. One worthy mistress of a provincial dame-school being asked the number of her scholars, replied, "It was unlucky to count them. It would be a flat flying in the face of Providence. No, no, you shan't catch me counting: see what a pretty mess David made of it when he counted the children of Israel."

Ascending a step in the educational scale, let us seek in the humbler order of day-schools for a similarly practical answer to the query, What is Education? Not cleanliness, it should seem, nor health, nor enjoyment, at all events. Here is a picture of an English day-school in the nineteenth century:—"In a garret, up three pair of dark broken stairs, was a common day-school, with forty children, in the compass of ten feet by nine. On a perch forming a triangle with the corner of the room, sat a cock and two hens; under a stump bed, immediately beneath, was a dog-kennel in the occupation of three black terriers, whose barking, added to the voices of the children and the cackling of the fowls on the approach of a stranger, were almost deafening; there was only one small window, at which sat the master, obstructing three-fourths of the light it was capable of admitting." This, which occurred in Liverpool, was, no doubt, an extreme case; but when we know from the partial examinations that have been made in London, that the dame and day schools (of the class referred to) are *generally* confined and badly ventilated, it becomes tolerably evident that particular cases must abound in the poorer districts, similar in kind, however they may differ in degree from that we have mentioned. The tuition in such schools includes reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, but the results are, no doubt, what they have been described, "very middling." Considering indeed the character of the masters, who have in most cases filled some other profession, and not succeeding, have taken up that of schoolmaster, we need not be surprised that some odd mistakes will occur. One master, ambitious to distinguish himself above the ordinary teachers of geography, was found in possession of a pair of globes, and being asked if he used both, or only one, replied, "Both: how could I teach geography with one?" It appeared he thought they represented the two different halves of the world, and when the relator of the story explained the error, turned him out of the room. Negative merits sometimes deserve record; that the teachers in such schools do *not* attempt to teach anything beyond the commonest rudiments of knowledge, is a decided merit, for which we cannot be too thankful. Morality, for instance, with them is looked upon in a light quite as original as that in which the dame before referred to seems to have beheld religion. To the inquiry, Do you teach morals? One master replied, "That question does not belong to my school, it belongs more to girls' schools." Another answered to the same question, pointing to his ragged flock, "Morals! how am I to teach morals to the like of these?" Who, after this, can help sympathising in the views of such men, as expressed by one of their number: "I hope the Government, if they interfere, will pass a law that nobody that is not high larnt shall teach for the future; then we shall have some chance." "Of 540

* Report from the Select Committee on Education of Poorer Classes in England and Wales, 1838. We may here observe, to prevent a multiplicity of references, that the illustrations in the above and subsequent pages are, unless it is otherwise stated, drawn from this, the most trustworthy publication on the subject of late years.

schoolmasters and schoolmistresses (in Westminster and Finsbury, says the Report of the Committee of the Statistical Society on Popular Education in London), who were asked whether they had any other occupation than their schools, 260 (or 48·1 per cent.) answered that they kept a shop, or took in washing or needle-work, or had other laborious employment: the rest answered that they had no other occupation than their schools. But although they might not have any other ostensible occupation, it can hardly be supposed that they were in a condition to devote their whole energies to their scholastic duties. On the contrary, the mistresses of the common day-schools were sometimes young persons unable to go to service from ill-health, or desirous of staying at home with a sick or aged parent, and glad to add something to their means of maintenance: some, again, were mothers of large families; and, in all cases, even the most favourable, the female teachers had their own household work to attend to. A very large portion of the masters of common day-schools, and still more of middling day-schools, were men in distressed circumstances, or who had, at some time or another, failed in trade, and seemed to have taken up the profession of schoolmaster as a last resource. The little estimation in which the proprietors, and more especially the mistresses, of schools hold their profession is shown by the circumstance, that whenever they had any other trade or calling, they entered that other trade by preference at the census of 1841. Thus a woman who took in needle-work would be almost certain to describe herself as 'dress-maker,' not as 'schoolmistress.' When the whole of the census of 1841 is published, it will probably be found that the figures under the head of 'Schoolmasters, &c.' will bear a very small proportion to the real number. An inspection of the census schedules leads us to believe that the same kind of prejudice holds good for and against many other professions also. Your Committee *hardly ever* entered, for any length of time, into conversation with the proprietor of a common or middling day-school but he or she began to talk of having been '*in better circumstances*' and of '*unforeseen difficulties*.' " We need not ask what is education in the better order of day-schools, or in those old foundations which engaged our attention in the preceding number, since the views of their supporters and directors are so well known; being, in short, the views generally held, or at least acted upon, by society at large, that education means a certain amount of knowledge simply, which the schools in question, no doubt, give.

The incidental notices contained in the foregoing passages will have given our readers some slight notion of the general quality of the education hitherto afforded for the children of the poor in the metropolis, as well as in all the other great towns of England; the quantity demands a few words of direct notice. In 1837, an inquiry was instituted by the Statistical Society of London into the state of the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Paul, Covent Garden, and the Savoy; when the result showed that but one in fourteen of the population received any education at all; and that of those who did nominally receive instruction, one-fourth were the attendants merely of the dame and common day-schools. If we go from the western to the eastern parts of the metropolis, we find matters, as we might expect, worse. About one in twenty-one of the population seems to be there, the average number of those who attend any sort of school. The Inspector of the British and Foreign Schools

remarked to the Committee for Education, "I know a gentleman who recently visited the parish of Bethnal Green on Sunday; and he walked about the neighbourhood, and counted in different groups about three hundred boys, who were gambling on the Sabbath-day; and on inquiring of many of these youths, he ascertained that they could not read, and their appearance was very rough and degraded." But really this is a trifle to speak of in connexion with the locality. A committee of its inhabitants* state that, "after making allowance for such as must at all times be prevented from attending school, there are at this moment from 8000 to 10,000 children in Bethnal Green alone, not only without daily instruction, but for whom no means of daily instruction are provided." Spitalfields, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, Wapping, Newington, Bermondsey, St. George-in-the East, Christchurch (Surrey),—the same state of things characterizes them all. Omitting from the returns for these parishes laid before the Committee the number of children attending the dame and common day-schools, which are intrinsically worthless, the result is that one in twenty-seven of the population alone was instructed: the nature and agencies of the instruction given belong to that department of our subject to which we now address ourselves, the educational movements of recent years.

In looking at the stately building in the Borough Road, and meditating upon the importance of the influences with which it is connected, one cannot but feel a deep interest in tracing back to its origin, in the same locality, the powerful society whose operations, radiating from this spot, extend over a large portion of England, we might almost say, of the world. Nothing could be humbler than that origin. A youth, the son of a soldier in the foot guards, residing here, moved by deep compassion for the ignorance and helplessness of the poor children around, obtains a room from his father to open a school, exerts all his energies to get it fitted up, and then throws wide the doors for general instruction. By his novel mode of tuition, and by the earnestness which can hardly fail with any mode, the school is speedily filled. The new teacher has ninety children under his care, long before he has himself reached the years of manhood. Such was the commencement of the career of Joseph Lancaster. Anxious to overcome the difficulty attending the expense of the education of the poor, he, for some years, endeavoured with great ardour to devise and perfect a system which should enable one master to teach several hundred children; and though it would be difficult to attribute any great excellence in the abstract to the monitorial system, which was the result of his labours, there can be no doubt that comparatively it has done great good. Inefficient as the education given by it may, and we think, must be, where the monitors are not first thoroughly trained, and then used merely for very subordinate objects, there seems no reason to doubt but that it was an improvement on that which it superseded, whilst it at the same time brought a large increase to the numbers of the instructed. So benevolent and enlightened a man was not likely to remain long without supporters. The Duke of Bedford gave an early and cordial assistance, and in 1805 royalty itself deigned to smile on the labours of the schoolmaster: it was during Lancaster's interview with George the Third that the wish before referred to was expressed. In this age of self-seeking, it is gratifying to read of Lancaster's single-mindedness and devotion to

* Referred to in the Report of the Committee on Education.

principle. The most flattering overtures were made to him in connexion with the proposition that he should join the established church; all which, as a dissenter, he respectfully but firmly declined. About this very time his affairs were so embarrassed, through the rapid extension of his plans of teaching, that in 1808 he placed them in the hands of trustees, and a voluntary society was formed to continue the good work he had begun. Hence the Society, which, in 1813, designated itself the "Institution for promoting the British [or Lancasterian] System for the Education of the labouring and manufacturing Classes of Society of every religious persuasion;" but now known simply as the "British and Foreign School Society." The institution in the Borough Road may be looked upon in a threefold aspect. It is, first, the Society's seat of government: secondly, here are held the model schools, one for each sex, in which the Society desires to have at all times examples for imitation by the branch schools; and in which accordingly improved modes of tuition are from time to time introduced. The mode of instruction is partly monitorial, partly simultaneous—that is, a large number are taught at once by a teacher, where the subject admits of such an arrangement. For this the children are disposed on ranges of seats, rising in succession one above another, and narrowing and receding as they rise, in the angle of the room, like the one side of a pyramid. The master's eye thus readily embraces the whole of the gallery. Thirdly, there are Normal Seminaries here, for the instruction of future masters and mistresses, who, whilst teaching in the model school classes, are students themselves in the art of tuition, the most important branch of their studies. The account of the latter, with the qualifications demanded before entrance, and the discipline observed after, as described in the pamphlet issued by the Society last year, is a most cheering document; at length we seem to have arrived at a point from whence a glimpse at least of the promised land is opened to us. Religious principle without sectarian feeling, health, activity, and energy, moderate talents and information, kindness, and great firmness of mind combined with good temper—such are the qualifications expected in an applicant. Suppose him admitted, he then, in addition to the study of teaching by teaching in the Model School, enters upon a scheme of instruction, which, besides the ordinary branches of education taught in our schools generally, aims to make him able also to teach elocution, natural philosophy, natural history, botany, chemistry, drawing—from the mechanical map upwards to the artistical landscape—the elements of physics, and vocal music. Nor is this all. In the list of lectures, or conversational readings on the art of tuition, we find such subjects as the following set down for study and discussion by the pupils: on the philosophy of the human mind as applicable to education; on the promotion of a love of truth, honesty, benevolence, and other virtues among children; on the ventilation of school-rooms and dwellings; on the elements of political economy; on machinery and its results; on cottage economy, and saving banks, with a host of other matters no less practically valuable to those who are to become the teachers of the poor. Although, as yet, much of this must be looked upon as prospective, and as what ought to be done, and that thoroughly, rather than what is yet in any case accomplished, still the scheme of instruction given in the same publication for the Model School shows that this array is by no means a mere show of learning, which the pupils are seldom or never expected to acquire, and at no time

to teach. Some of the features of that scheme are peculiarly gratifying, when contrasted with the practical neglect of all such matters that generally characterises our schools of every rank. We see that kindness to animals, speaking the truth, love to brothers and sisters, obedience to parents, and a recognition of the goodness of God, or what we may call the first rudiments of morality and religion, keep steady and regular company in the junior class with the rudiments of intellectual learning, and so on upwards as the learners progress. It is only just to mention that the Society's past labours in the normal-schools have not been altogether unrewarded. Of the two thousand and more masters already sent forth by the Society, many have, it appears, distinguished themselves by their patience, diligence, and piety; and thus given earnest of what might be accomplished, could the grand evil attending their normal schools be got rid of, namely, the shortness of the period that the pupils generally stay in them, only a few months on the average. To make the funds of the Society large enough to admit of its bearing the entire expense of the board and training of pupils, instead of leaving a part to be defrayed by the latter as it is now compelled to do, seems the only sure remedy; and this Government should do. It is evidently poverty rather than will that induces many to leave before they have passed through the preliminary stages of a sound educational apprenticeship, and who would be glad, no doubt, if the Society could really make apprentices of them for a certain period. In that case some method might probably be devised of rendering the latter part of the term profitable to the Society, and so to partially liquidate the previous costs.

About the same time that Lancaster brought his views prominently before the world, and thus, as we have seen, led the way to the establishment of one of our two great Educational Societies, Dr. Andrew Bell was similarly engaged, and his exertions ended in the formation of the other. Whilst superintendant of the Male Asylum at Madras, his attention was directed to the Hindu mode of writing in sand, and other peculiarities of their tuition, with which he was so pleased, that on his return to this country he strongly recommended them as suitable for a system of general education. After a sharp controversy on the merits of the plans respectively proposed by the two educational reformers, and in which the supporters of education gradually became divided into two distinct parties, holding different views as to the mode and the extent to which religious instruction should be mixed with secular, the British and Foreign Society became the representative of that which desired to make the Bible the basis of religious instruction, but without doctrinal comments, and the National of that which advocated the inculcation of the tenets of the Established Church. This is now the grand distinctive difference between the two Societies. Without for a moment questioning the purity of Dr. Bell's views, it is not uninstructive to mark his and his rival's very different fortunes. Lancaster, after passing from difficulty to difficulty, and being at one time insolvent, was solely indebted for the means of his existence in his latter days to a few old and faithful friends, who purchased an annuity for him, and in that position he died in 1838; on the other hand, Dr. Bell may be said to have stepped from honour to honour, with constantly increasing emoluments, and when he died in 1832, it was as a very rich man even in a country of rich men. Never, however, were rewards bestowed upon one who knew better how to exhibit his gratitude to the cause for which they had been given: 120,000*l.*

was Dr. Bell's most magnificent bequest for the encouragement of literature and the advancement of education. 'The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales' was established in 1811, and from that period has, like its rival, exercised a beneficial effect within the sphere of its operations; but in both cases it is the impulse given within the last three or four years, and which has been increasing in power up to the present moment,—it is this, and the prospects in consequence *now* open, that form their most truly gratifying features. The head-quarters of the National Society are in the Old Sanctuary, Westminster. This has also its Model or Central Schools, its Branch Schools all over the country, and its schools for teaching masters, both adults and youths, the last on a scale of imposing splendour at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, where the male pupils are trained. Here eleven acres of ground have been purchased, and beautifully laid out in lawn, shrubberies, kitchen garden, and pasture; magnificent buildings erected in the Italian style, in addition to that already standing upon the estate, for the purposes of dormitories, halls, chapel, and practising school: and already about fifty of the sixty students that are to form the complete number of the establishment have been received, and are steadily passing through the educational processes marked out for them, under the direction of an establishment of masters, comprising, or intended to comprise, a Principal, Vice-Principal, and two Assistants.

Chapel and Practising School, Stanley Grove, Chelsea.]

There is one view of the present educational movements peculiarly interesting, and suggestive of something like what we call poetical justice. The poor, who have suffered from ignorance and the culpable neglect of their better informed and better circumstanced brethren so long, are now likely to be the first enjoyers

of a thoroughly genuine education. Unquestionably, there is no comparison between the essential value of such schemes of instruction, carried on in the spirit in which they are proposed, as that we have already had occasion to mention in connexion with the Society in the Borough Road, and the schemes of any of the older, more famous, and more wealthy educational foundations. These last may, and do, make excellent scholars; the others will aim at making excellent men, when at least equally favourable opportunities are afforded for their development. This view is still more forcibly impressed upon us in reading the letter of the Principal at Stanley Grove (the Reverend Derwent Coleridge), in which the objects and arrangements of that establishment are described: a letter, admirable alike in the lofty views it inculcates, the practical knowledge that gives earnest of their realization, the devotional but unsectarian spirit, and the thorough kindliness of feeling towards the objects of all the Society's operations, the poor, which knows how to raise instead of to depress those whom it assists, and while it assists; which, like Mercy,

> " is twice bless'd;
> It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes."

Let the reader give his best attention to the following eloquent passage, and then say whether it is not, indeed, a matter of congratulation to see, that—whatever the difficulties that have yet to be surmounted before an education can be obtained, at once excellent and universal—those who are to be among the guides have a clear perception of the right path, have the right spirit for pressing on in it, despite all obstacles.—" The truth is, that the education given in our schools (I speak of those open to the poor for cheap or gratuitous instruction, but the remark might be extended much more widely) is too often little more than nominal; imparting, it may be, a little knowledge, sometimes hardly this,—but leaving the mental powers wholly undeveloped, and the heart even less affected than the mind. Of course there are exceptions and limitations to this statement. It does not apply to every school, and is less true of some districts than of others; but the fact, as a whole, stands upon what may be called statistical evidence: is this owing to an accidental or to an inherent defect? Are the means employed inadequate merely; or essentially unfit? If the former, we may trust to time and gradual improvement. We may proceed, if possible, more carefully, but in the old way. If the latter, a different course must be pursued—we must do something else. I venture to take the latter position. To what end do we seek to educate the poor man's child? Is it not to give him just views of his moral and religious obligations—his true interests for time and eternity, while, at the same time, we prepare him for the successful discharge of his civil duties—duties for which, however humble, there is surely some appropriate instruction? Is it not to cultivate good habits in a ground of self-respect? habits of regular industry and self-control; of kindness and forbearance; of personal and domestic cleanliness; of decency and order? Is it not to awaken in him the faculties of attention and memory, of reflection and judgment?—not merely to instil knowledge, or supply the materials of thought, but to elicit and to exercise the powers of thinking? Is it not to train him in the use of language, the organ of reason, and the symbol of his humanity? And while we thus place the child in a condition to look onward and upward,—while we teach him his relationship to the

eternal and the heavenly, and encourage him to live by this faith, do we not also hope to place him on a vantage ground with respect to his earthly calling —to give to labour the interest of intelligence and the elevation of duty, and disarm those temptations by which the poor man's leisure is so fearfully beset, and to which mental vacuity offers no resistance?" It were presumption to add one word of comment on such a passage. Of course in hands like these the intellectual powers and acquirements of our future masters are not likely to be neglected; therefore we shall not dwell upon that portion of the studies at Stanley Grove. But, in other respects, there are some points which will not, we think, be without interest to the readers of our paper. These may, perhaps, be best shown by following the proceedings of a single day:—At half-past five the students rise, in order to commence operations at six; when, dividing according to a regular and systematic plan well known to all, they go, some to the household work, such as cleaning the shoes and knives, some to the pumps required for different purposes, some to feed the animals, or to fulfil the necessary duties of the farm. Part of this may sound humiliating; the spirit in which it is required prevents its being so in reality. Whatever is useful cannot be essentially mean. The "dignity of labour," sometimes talked of, will here, it is to be expected, become something more than an enthusiast's dream. It now wants but a quarter to seven, the time for the commencement of the morning religious studies, which are followed by prayers and a short lecture. At eight those whose business it is to prepare breakfast, consisting of bread and butter and milk and water, leave the main body for that purpose, and, in ten minutes after, all are seated at their simple and frugal repast. The value of time is here too carefully inculcated to allow of its practical waste by long sittings at meals; twenty minutes is allotted for breakfast, which has scarcely elapsed before the hum of industry is again heard from the farm, the gardens, the lawns, the shrubberies, where an hour and a half are spent in cheerful and health-giving labour. Before this can weary, the bell rings—it is ten o'clock—tools and implements are laid aside, hands washed, the strong out-door shoes changed for the more comfortable ones of the house, the agriculturist is forgotten in the student. One morning in each week, the chief of the subjects that engage attention is the very interesting one of Botany, which is taught not merely as a science, or as adding to the intellectual stores or the enjoyments of the pupil, but with a view to the advantage of those whose friend as well as teacher it is hoped he will become. "Looking forward," observes the Principal, "to the future position of our students, almost every country schoolmaster might be, with much advantage both to himself and to his neighbourhood, a gardener and a florist. The encouragement lately afforded to cottage-gardening has been already attended with the most pleasing results. The parochial schoolmaster who shall be able to assist, by example and precept, in fostering a taste so favourable to the domestic happiness, and, in fact, to the domestic virtues, of a rustic population—a taste by which an air of comfort is communicated to the rudest dwelling, and a certain grace thrown over the simplest forms of humble life, will, it is trusted, in this as in so many other ways, be made an instrument of good, and an efficient assistant to the parochial clergyman." At half-past twelve the morning studies terminate, and from thence till dinner at one, and subsequently for half an hour after dinner, the students are

released from the wholesome restrictions as to the use of their time, which a wise system imposes, for a no less wholesome freedom: recreation—voluntary study—converse—refresh the mind, and exhilarate the spirits—the bow is unbent for the moment, but it is to acquire new elasticity and vigour. The dinner is plain, but good and substantial. The afternoon studies commence at two, to last for two hours, and to be followed once more by garden or field labour. A portion of this time, twice in each week, is devoted to the more direct development of that strength and activity which the varied character of the labours in question is calculated to give—gymnastics being then taught. Tea, the same as breakfast, is taken at ten minutes after six, followed by practices in singing for half an hour, evening studies one hour, prayers and lecture three-quarters of an hour, when the remainder of the evening, or from a quarter to nine to half-past nine, is devoted to the study of the subject that will engage attention on the following morning. The books are then put by, the readers retire to bed, and at ten the lights of the corridor, which are so arranged as to illumine the separate rooms of the students through small glass panes, are extinguished by one of the older youths, and profound darkness and silence and peace reign throughout the place. How many of us can flatter ourselves, and how often, that we have spent a better day? It will be only necessary to add to the foregoing particulars that the entire expense of the board, clothing, and training to the students themselves is twenty-five pounds yearly; the cost to the college is of course very much larger: the annual expense of the establishment beyond the receipts is estimated at 2000*l.* without any reference to its original cost, amounting, we believe, to between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* The female training-school, conducted on the same principles, is situated at Whitelands, in the neighbourhood. We have occupied a large portion of our space, limited as that is, with the account of the normal-schools of the two Societies, because we believe the progress of education entirely depends upon the progress and efficient management of such institutions. Show us your masters, and there will be no difficulty in telling what is the character of your education; which is but saying in other words there will be no difficulty in understanding the physical and intellectual, and moral and religious state of the people. The future forest is not more surely enclosed in the handful of acorns scattered about by the husbandman, than is the education of the people in its normal-schools. It is also important to observe that the two societies have already an immense amount of materials ready to work upon, and needing but the efficient master's hand, to be moulded to good purpose. When the National Society made the last examination (three or four years ago), into the state and number of its Metropolitan Schools, there were 25 infant-schools, with 3768 scholars; and 153 ordinary daily schools, with 13,039 boys, and 8475 girls. These numbers must be now considerably increased, as the numerous churches of late erected in the metropolis have all National Schools attached to them, and other schools have also been erected; some of these buildings, we may observe by the way, as the one here shown, are becoming architectural ornaments of London.

Of the metropolitan schools of the British and Foreign Society, we are able to give an accurate account of their present numbers, from the Report just published. There are, it appears, 117 schools, with 19,158 scholars of both sexes, who

[Camberwell National Schools.]

pay each per week 1*d.*, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, or 4*d.*, according to the respective arrangements of the schools. The receipts and expenditure of this Society, it may be here noticed, were last year nearly 7000*l.*; of the National, above 20,000*l.*; and from the powerful exertions now making by the friends of both, a great increase may be expected for the future. Of the two other important classes of schools for the metropolitan poor—those for infants, and those connected with the different parishes—there are no separate and trustworthy accounts, that we are aware of, from which we may judge either of their character or extent. Some of the parochial schools have been amalgamated with the National, and have ceased therefore to have any distinctive marks. We may form a rough guess as to the number of children attending the remainder from the annual meetings in St. Paul's, which are understood to vary at different times from 6000 to 8000. As to the infant-schools, it seems they are altogether superior to the dame and day-schools; some of those in Westminster are spoken of in particular as being well conducted. And if any system of education could be well conducted without carefully trained conductors, no doubt the infant-schools would deserve this commendation, since they were commenced on more than ordinarily excellent and practical principles. The most important was that of surrounding the children, at a very early age, with circumstances calculated to call forth better habits, feelings, and desires than were practicable in their own homes, with parents generally uninformed, and too often exhibiting in their domestic life the worst of examples. "If Mr. Owen," observes the writer of a valuable article on Schools in the Penny Cyclopædia, "was the first Englishman to establish an infant-school on a large scale, and for definite purposes, and certainly the school which he founded at New Lanark, in Scotland, at least ranks among the earliest—he was aided in forming the idea by the wife of the Rev. William Turner, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who in the year 1818, when in conversation with Mr. Owen, remarked, that. in her attention to the education of girls, she had frequently wished some means could be adopted for getting poor children taken out of the hands of their parents, at an earlier age, before they had formed bad habits at home, and among the idle children around them. Much was said, on both sides, on the desirable-

ness of infant-schools, which Mr. Owen immediately established on his return to Lanark. Much credit is also due to Lord Brougham, for the interest which he manifested, and the valuable aid which he gave, in the establishment of infant-schools. Mr. Wilderspin has, however, laboured more than any other person, and with more success, in the founding of these institutions, and also in perfecting their discipline." They are accordingly now to be found in every part of the country, and, of course, numerously in the metropolis; which they, too, are beginning to stud with a prettier class of erections than they did in their earlier history. We append an engraving of one of them.

[Infant School, Holloway.]

Descending to the class lowest alike in the educational and social scale, the poetical justice we have before referred to receives a still more striking illustration. Bad as is the situation of the children attending the dame and lower day schools, it may almost be called excellent, in comparison with that of our juvenile pauper population. One of the best of authorities, Dr. Kay Shuttleworth, describes such children as "ignorant of all that is good, but trained and practised in all evil; unintellectual, debased, and demoralized, the work of instruction and reformation sometimes appeared almost hopeless." The writer of this passage has, notwithstanding, himself shown, in the school at Norwood, not only that we *may* hope, as regards the future, but that, in the mean time, there are most solid grounds of self-congratulation for what has been achieved at present. Indeed it seems that "the rapid improvement of the children, under a system of religious and moral teaching, and of industrial training; their general decency of deportment; the proofs they afford of the influence of sound principles; and the apparent state of comfort in which they live, the simple result of cleanliness, discipline, and regu-

larity, attracted observation, and are now beginning to excite a feeling of jealousy out of doors."—Most naturally, we acknowledge; therefore let us hasten to remove that jealousy by the right mode; let us adopt the suggestion that has been made to divide the children of paupers from the workhouse—*they* are not paupers, but rather state wards—and throw the doors open to all the youth of the neighbourhood. The Premier's liberal views on this subject, as expressed a session or two ago, will no doubt be remembered by many. Workhouse-schools of the superior character indicated are, it appears, increasing fast, in one district at least, that one which Dr. Kay Shuttleworth has jurisdiction over as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. The training-school, at Battersea, under this gentleman and his associate, Mr. Tufnell, is well known for its excellence, and deserves especially honourable mention, as the first good example in this country of what such establishments should be. To the cheering indication already given of the right spirit being at work on the subject of education, among governors as well as governed, we may also add the fact of Dr. Kay Shuttleworth's appointment, by a former ministry, to the Secretaryship of the Committee of Council of Education: the body to whom is intrusted the disposal of the funds annually voted by Parliament (it is difficult to speak without indignation of their amount), 30,000*l*. Such funds, it may be observed, while we are upon the subject, are expended in aiding the erection of school-houses, connected, except in special cases, with one of the two great Societies, and in return for which a most valuable influence is obtained, that of public opinion, upon the plans and practices of the schools, which are made fully known by Government Inspectors. The mere circumstance of the excessive unpleasantness felt by the authorities of an ill-conducted school on seeing a faithful account of it side-by-side with one of an entirely different character must be attended with beneficial results. A higher and better influence, however, will be that exercised upon the minds of all honest and inquiring men, by enabling them to compare the value of different modes and principles.

We cannot better dismiss this part of our subject than with a brief glance at the schools Dr. Kay Shuttleworth proposes should be established for the poor. Four hundred children, of both sexes (as in Scotland), are to be taught together; half of them, between the ages of three and seven, forming an infant-school, the remainder, between the ages of seven and thirteen, constituting a juvenile-school. Each school is to be conducted by a master and mistress, the two in the infant-school receiving 60*l*. yearly, those in the juvenile-school 90*l*. yearly, in addition to board, candles, and firing in both cases. Including books and extras the total expense, it is calculated, would not exceed 300*l*. per annum; and this for the education in a superior manner of the large number of children we have mentioned. Weekly payments of three-pence each in the infant-school, and four-pence in the other, would defray the whole, if they could be obtained. Dr. Kay Shuttleworth apparently inclines to the idea that local rates should, if necessary, be raised to assist in their support.

We have left ourselves but little space to refer to those educational establishments of London which belong exclusively to the middle and higher classes; a subject important in itself, but in the present state of affairs subsidiary to that which has engrossed the greater part of this paper. Perhaps the time may come

when our Universities may stand apart from the other educational institutions of the country, merely as being the highest in the series for the development of all the objects of education, the apex of the pyramid of which the people at large shall form the base; instead of being, as at present, highest only in the intellectual instruction they afford, connected with no general system, and existing only in the main, for the benefit of those who can pay their unnecessarily heavy expenses. The University of London was created by charter of William IV., but owing to a defect in the latter a new one was granted by her present Majesty in 1837. It consists of a body of fellows, including a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, who compose a Senate. The King is the visitor, and to the crown is reserved the power of from time to time appointing any number of Fellows; but in case the number shall be at any time reduced below twenty-five, exclusive of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, the Members of the Senate may elect twelve or more persons to be Fellows in order to complete the number of thirty-six Fellows, besides the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor is to be appointed by the crown. The office of Vice-Chancellor is an annual one, and is filled by election by the Fellows from their own body.

In the Senate, six Fellows being a quorum, all questions are decided by the majority of the members present; the chairman has a second or casting vote. The Senate has the power of making regulations respecting the examination for degrees and the granting them, but such regulations require the approval of a Secretary of State. An examination for degrees must be held once a-year at least. The candidates are to be examined in as many branches of general knowledge as the Senate shall consider most fitting. The examiners are to be appointed by the Senate, either from their own body or otherwise. The Senate confers, after examination, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Doctor of Laws, Bachelor of Medicine, and Doctor of Medicine. At the conclusion of every examination, the examiners are to declare the name of every candidate whom they shall have deemed to be entitled to any of the degrees, and the departments of knowledge in which his proficiency shall have been evinced, and also his proficiency in relation to that of other candidates. The candidate is to receive a certificate under the seal of the University, and signed by the Chancellor, in which the particulars declared by the examiners are to be stated.

A candidate for degrees is entitled to examination on producing a certificate that he has completed the course of instruction required by the University. For degrees in Arts and Laws, the charter empowers University College, London, and King's College, London, to issue such certificates; and it provides that they be issued by such other institutions at any time established for the purposes of education as the crown shall authorise to issue them. As to degrees in Medicine, the Senate is required from time to time to report to one of the Secretaries of State what appear to them to be the medical institutions and schools in the United Kingdom, from which either singly or jointly with other medical institutions and schools in this country or in foreign parts it may be expedient to admit candidates for medical degrees. On the approval of such report by the Secretary of State, candidates for degrees are to be admitted to examination on presenting a certificate from any such institution or school. Any institution or school

may from time to time be struck out of the report under which they obtain authority to issue certificates.

The Senate of the University, subject to the approbation of the Commissioners of the Treasury, are from time to time to give directions as to the fees which shall be charged for the degrees to be conferred.

Certificates to candidates for examination at this University are empowered to be granted by a number of scholastic establishments, chiefly of a collegiate form, and from various medical schools throughout the country. The two principal metropolitan colleges are King's College and University College, the distinctive characteristics of which, like those of the two Educational Societies before described, are of a religious nature; King's College, imparting religious instruction in accordance with the views of the Established Church; whilst the other, desiring to provide a neutral ground where all may receive secular instruction, without offence to any one's peculiar views, omits theology altogether from its regular academic courses. The same circumstance points to the peculiarities attending the origin of both. Next to the object proposed by the founders of University College when they promulgated their views in 1825, of providing a University education for the metropolis, was that of affording a similar opportunity to those who were shut out by religious tests from Oxford and Cambridge. The first stone of the building was laid in April, 1827, by the Duke of Sussex; and after a long struggle, chiefly with the Universities just mentioned, for a charter granting the power of conferring honours, an arrangement was finally concluded in 1836, by which that power was given to the University then constituted, and the College received a charter, recognizing it as one of the schools entitled to send up candidates for examination. The average number of students during the last seven years has been for Arts and Laws, 145; in Medicine, 430. In the junior schools attached, the number of boys varies from three to four hundred. The ordinary annual expenses of the College are about 3500*l.*, exclusive of the payments made from the students' fees to the professors and other masters. The College has been already endowed to a considerable extent by various benefactors. King's College, in the Strand, was founded in 1828, under the patronage of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries; and differs in no essential respects, apart from religious matters, from its rival. The number of its matriculated students, in the term preceding the Report of April in this year, in general literature and sciences, was 106; engineering, arts, manufactures, and architecture, 37; and in the medical department, 115. There were also 39 occasional students in the various classes not medical, 74 in the medical, and 497 boys in the school connected with the College. It may be useful, as affording an idea of the expenses of a metropolitan university education (exclusive, of course, of such personal matters as board), to state that the fee on entering King's College, as a regular, or matriculated student, is one guinea; and that, for example, the fee payable for the regular course of studies in the department of general literature and science is 21*l.*, if the student be nominated by a proprietor; 26*l.* 5*s.* if not so nominated. Both this and University College have medical hospitals attached, also museums, and libraries. The other colleges belonging to London are those of Homerton, Highbury, and Stepney. The hospitals and several medical

schools in London are also recognised by the University. In conclusion, we may be excused for observing that, as the education of the metropolis necessarily involves, to a great degree, the subject of the education of the country, not simply as a matter of example, but also from the circumstance that the main springs of the movement now going on in the latter are all to be found in the former, we have endeavoured to treat the whole in a correspondingly general spirit; a course which, while it has enabled us to notice at some length the most important educational establishments of London, has rendered it impossible for us to do more than refer thus cursorily to others, of less weight, indeed, but still not without interest. Such an establishment, for instance, is that of the City of London School, under civic patronage, where, at an expense to the parents of about eight guineas yearly, instruction is given in the rudiments of an ordinary English education, with book-keeping, history and mathematics, the Latin, Greek, French and German languages.

[University College, Gower Street.]

[Interior of Synagogue at Great St. Helen's.]

CXXVIII.—THE OLD JEWRY.

THE Old Jewry is the most centrical of the various places in the metropolis where the people from whom it derives its name have left traces of their presence, and therefore do we select it as the station where we are to say our say about the London Jews.

There is nothing Jewish now about the Old Jewry except its name. A Christian church—a ham and beef shop—the house which once was the Excise Office—the Old Jewry chambers, where the West India Association have their place of business—none of these are Jewish; nor do the names or features of the inhabitants betray a Jewish origin. The very historical associations of the place can scarcely be called Jewish; we have to grope so far back and into such an obscure period in order to find those that are. Here it was, at least according to one version of the story, that the mob, in the time of James I., fell upon and murdered Dr. Lambe, not because he was a cheat and a charlatan, but because he was believed to be a creature of the haughty Buckingham. At the corner of the Old Jewry where it abuts upon Cheapside, so runs tradition, was the house in which a haughtier and greater than Buckingham, Thomas-a-Becket,

was born. We must go sounding back through six long centuries in order to reach the time when Jews had connexion with the Old Jewry—and then what we do learn of it and its occupants is meagre enough.

The reason of this is that the London or English Jews of our day have no connexion whatever with the English Jews of the olden time. The banishment of the Jews from England in the sixteenth of Edward I. was succeeded by a long interval during which no settlements of any consequence were attempted by that people in this country. We say of consequence, for we have that confidence in the mercantile enterprise—the daring and versatility of this extraordinary race where a trade was to be driven—that we believe at no time has England been without individuals belonging to it. And in this impression we are confirmed by Chaucer. In the last stanza of his 'Prioress's Tale' we read:—

> "Oh young Hugh of Lincoln slain also
> With cursed Jews, as it is notable,
> For it n' is but a little while ago."

And though we do not hold this to be any proof of the truth of the lying story, revived again and again with slender variations, to the prejudice of the Jews, by uninventive bigots and plunderers, from a time long anterior to Chaucer down to its last appearance at Damascus, we hold that it affords a strong presumption of the existence of a straggling remnant of Jews in England during the fourteenth century. Still they must have been few, and must have shunned observation, for the Jew does not re-appear in England as a public and prominent character till after the middle of the seventeenth century. We have two entirely distinct and independent sets of Jews in England, whom we can in nowise connect by a continuous history. The history of the one race terminates in 1290, with their banishment by Edward I.: the history of the other commences with the visit of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel to England in 1655. There might be, there were, Jews in England during the interim, but there was no "Jewerie," no publicly-organised congregation.

The name of Old Jewry is derived from the earlier race. The limits of "the Jewerie" it is not easy to conjecture. The northern termination of the street at least appears to have been in it. "On the south side of this street" [Lothbury], says Maitland, "westward, at the end of the Old Jewry, stood the first synagogue of the Jews in England, which was defaced by the citizens of London, after they had slain seven hundred Jews (five hundred according to another authority), and spoiled the residue of their goods, in the year 1262 (this ought to be 1264), the forty-seventh of Henry III." From the church of St. Olave's, Jewry, at the corner formed by Church Lane and the Old Jewry, to the church of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane (not rebuilt since the fire), at the corner formed by the same Church Lane and Ironmonger Lane, and thence northward to Cateaton Street, was all included in what had been "the Jewerie." Here, according to Maitland, "was of old time one large building of stone, very ancient, made in the place of Jews' houses; but of what antiquity, or by whom the same was built, or for what use, is uncertain; more than that King Henry VI., in the sixteenth of his reign, gave the office of being porter or keeper thereof to John Sturt, for the term of his life, by the name of his 'Principal Palace in the Old Jewry.'" The

church of St. Lawrence, on the north side of Cateaton Street, and rather to the east of the termination of St. Lawrence Lane, stands upon ground which in its time was within "the Jewerie." Hugh de Warkenthley was rector of this church in 1295, and in the documents relating to it in his time that have been preserved it is termed "Ecclesia Sancti Laurentii *in Judaismo*." Turning eastward from the church of St. Lawrence, and keeping still along the north side of Cateaton Street till we reach the south-west corner of Basinghall Street, we again find traces of "the Jewerie." Here, according to Maitland, "was anciently an old building of stone, belonging some time to a certain Jew called Mansere, the son of Aaron, the son of Coke the Jew, in the seventh of Edward I." It appears therefore that "the Jewerie" extended along both sides of what is now called Cateaton Street, from St. Lawrence Lane and the church of St. Lawrence on the west, to Basinghall Street and the Old Jewry on the east. Between the Old Jewry and Ironmonger Lane it extended at least as far south as Church Lane. More we have been unable to learn respecting its extent; but as there is reason to think that the Jews would fix upon a centrical site in the quarter of the city they occupied to build their synagogue upon, and as the synagogue is generally admitted to have stood at the north-west corner of the Old Jewry, in all probability "the Jewerie" was considerably more extensive. The mention of the "old building of stone" belonging to the Jew Mansere in the seventh of Edward I. would seem to imply that some of the houses were of a superior character in an age when wooden structures predominated.

There are other traces of the Jews of the old time in old London, besides the Old Jewry. Jewin Street, leading from the south end of Red-cross Street, near St. Giles, Cripplegate, to Aldersgate Street, is built on a patch of ground granted by Edward I. to William de Monte Forte, Dean of St. Paul's, which is described in the record as a place without Cripplegate and in the suburbs of London, called Leyrestowe, "which was the burying-place of the Jews of London," and valued then at 40*s.* per annum. In a still older record, of the reign of Henry II., it is described as "Gardinum vocat. Jewyn Garden." Maitland speaks of it as having been "a large plat of ground, of old time called the Jews' garden; as being the only place appointed them in England to bury their dead, till the year 1177, the fourteenth of Henry II., that it was permitted them (after long suit to the King and Parliament at Oxford) to have special places assigned them in every quarter where they dwelt. * * * This plat of ground remained to the said Jews till the time of their final banishment out of England, and was afterwards turned into fair garden-plats and summer-houses for pleasure."

There was another "Judaismus" in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., situated somewhere in the liberties of the Tower; Maitland conjectures, near the place afterwards called, by a right English corruption of language, "Hangman's Gains," in consequence of a number of refugees from Hammes and Guisnes settling there in the time of Queen Mary. This Jewerie, Maitland describes as —"A place within the liberties of the Tower, called the Jewry, because it was inhabited by Jews; where there happened, 22 Henry III., a robbery and a murther to be committed by William Fitzbernard, and Richard his servant, who came to the house of Joce a Jew, and there slew him and his wife Hanna. The said William was taken at St. Saviour's, for a certain silver cup, and was

hanged. Richard was called for and outlawed. One Miles le Espicer, who was with them, was wounded, and fled to a church and died in it. No attachment was made by the sheriffs, because it happened in the Jewry, and so belonged not to the sheriffs but to the constable of the Tower." Still more curious is an extract from the records of the Tower relating to this eastern "Jewerie" preserved by Prynne:—"That, *anno* 1279, the eighth of Edward I., upon the Archbishop's request, the King issued a writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, to apprehend certain Apostates, *qui recesserunt ab unitate Catholicæ Fidei.* But they were *in Judaismo, i. e.* in the Jewry, and so out of the power and jurisdiction of the magistrates of London. Upon this the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that was Chancellor, signifying that those enemies of the Faith were yet *in Balliva Majoris et Vice-comitatis Londinensis, sub custodia et Potestate Constabularii Turris, ubi ingredi non possunt, ut dicitur, sine speciali mandato.*" These "Apostates" appear to have been secular priests who refused to part with their wives; for the Archbishop goes on to request that in the new writ the word "*dudum*" might be omitted, seeing "they have now their wives with them as formerly."

One is almost tempted to conjecture that these two "Judaismi," the one within the walls, if not within the jurisdiction, of the City of London, the other in the liberties of the Tower, were two distinct colonies. There was a great immigration of Jews into England under William the Conqueror; so great that some have rather rashly concluded that they were the first settlers of the Hebrew race in this country. There are, however, traces of them at an earlier period. The canons of Ecbright, Archbishop of York, promulgated in 750, contain an injunction that no one "shall Judaise or presume to eat with a Jew." Ingulphus, in his 'History of Croyland Abbey,' mentions a charter granted by Whitglaff, King of the Mercians, to that foundation in 833, confirming all gifts bestowed upon it at any time by his predecessors or their nobles, "or by any other faithful Christians, or by Jews." The laws attributed to Edward the Confessor declare that the Jews stand under the immediate authority and jurisdiction of the King:—"*Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt.*" What more natural than that the Jews who flocked into England under the encouragement of the Conqueror should settle within the jurisdiction of the constable of his Palatine Tower? Or what more natural than that the Jews settled in England before the Conquest, and who are declared to be, with all their property, in the King's hand, should be found immediately adjoining that quarter of the City which would appear to have been the Court end under the Saxon monarchs? Matthew of Paris asserts that St. Alban's church, which stands nearly in the middle of a line drawn from "the Jewerie" within the City, to the angle of the wall at Cripplegate, was the chapel of King Offa, and adjoining to his palace. Mund mentions, in his edition of Stow, that the great square tower remaining at the north corner of Love Lane in the year 1632, was believed to be part of King Athelstan's palace. The name of Addle Street is derived by the same antiquarian from Adel, or Ethel—the Saxon for noble. The original council chamber of the Alderman is known to have stood somewhere in Aldermanbury, which had its name from it. Without a certain, a positive belief in any one of these statements, their coincidence seems to render it extremely probable that the royal residence was in that quarter,

which may account for the King's men, the Jews, taking up their residence near it.

These same Jews whose local habitation we have been endeavouring to trace, appear pretty frequently in the City annals from the time of the Conquest till the time of their banishment by Edward I.

In 1189 we have a general massacre of the Jews in London. Richard I. was crowned in the autumn of that year, and intimation was given to the Jews not to present themselves at the ceremony. Some motive or other, however, prompted many of them to disregard the injunction. Under the pretence of carrying gifts to the King they endeavoured to procure admission into the Abbey church of Westminster. They were repulsed by the royal attendants; a general fray ensued, the mob taking part against the Jews. Some of the more bigoted of the lower orders of the clergy added fuel to the flame by representing the intrusion as an attempt on the part of the Jews to desecrate the church by their presence. The angry multitude precipitated themselves towards London, killing all the Jews they met by the way, and burning and pillaging their houses. The King, like all kings, was angry at a mob for taking the law into its own hands—and angry also at the pillage of a body of men from whom considerable sums could occasionally be exacted—but entertaining no real sympathy or compassion for the Jews, and affecting, moreover, the character of the bully of Christendom, he was easily pacified.

In 1241 the Jews of London were sentenced to pay twenty thousand marks to the King, or to the alternative of perpetual imprisonment, because the Jews of Norwich had circumcised a child born of Christian parents.

The year 1262 and the year 1264 are noted for massacres of the Jews in London. Almost all those frequently recurring massacres appear to have had their origin in some private quarrel between a Jew and a Christian, in which the prejudices of the mob induced it to take part against the Jew, and when once flushed with actual violence, unable to stop the way given to its furious passions, to precipitate itself on the collective "Jewerie." In 1262 a quarrel broke out between a Christian and a Jew, in the church of St. Mary Cole, which stood at the corner formed by the Old Jewry and the Poultry. The Jew, having dangerously wounded his adversary, endeavoured to escape, but was pursued by the populace and killed in his own house. And the mob, as usual, not stopping there, fell upon his neighbours, killing and robbing them indiscriminately. The outrage in 1264 arose out of an attempt on the part of a Jew to extort from a Christian more than the legal interest (*2d.* per week), for a sum of *20l.* which the latter owed him. The rabble rose when this intelligence was circulated, in all parts of the City, and attacked the "Jewerie." It was on this occasion that their first synagogue in London was destroyed.

In the next attempt to pillage the Jews they suffered in good company, and made a stout and honourable defence. In the fiftieth year of Henry III. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, having obtained possession of the city of Gloucester, deposed the magistrates, substituting in their places creatures of his own, and liberated a number of his adherents who had been imprisoned. Many of those persons had been excommunicated by the Pope's legate then resident in London. The legate, on his part, put the city under a kind of inter-

dict; commanding that the bells should not be rung for divine service, ordering that it should not be sung, but said; and directing all the churches to be shut, lest any of the excommunicated rebels should participate in its benefits. The legate betook himself for personal security to the Tower of London, and thither also fled the Jews, who, either because they had advanced moneys to the royal party, or because they had refused to advance them to the insurgents, appear to have run equal danger from the victorious party with that prelate. The garrison of the Tower—consisting, in great part, of the Jews—made a brave resistance, and held out till the King, having received a large reinforcement of French and Scotch troops, raised by his son Edward, marched to the capital and raised the siege.

The Jews seem after this to have been left pretty much in peace till the close of King Henry's reign: under his son Edward I. their troubles soon re-commenced. That prince appears to have troubled his memory or his gratitude no more with the fact that the Jews had been mainly instrumental in holding out the Tower of London for his father, than with the fact that Scotch auxiliaries had enabled him to raise the siege. Or perhaps the Jews, presuming on the service they had done the late King, took even greater liberties than kingly gratitude could tolerate. Whatever were the reasons, we learn from the concurrent testimony of Florian and Mathew of Westminster that, in 1278, the Jews throughout England were seized and imprisoned in one day, on the charge of clipping and diminishing the King's coin; and that out of those seized in London alone, two hundred and eighty of both sexes were executed. On the meeting of Parliament at Westminster, in 1275, the affairs of the Jews then in England were taken into consideration, and several laws passed to restrain their alleged excessive usury. It was also enacted that they should wear a badge upon their upper garments ("ad unius palmæ longitudinem") in the shape of the two tables of Moses' law. Next year the King, by proclamation, enjoined that Jewish women also should wear this badge.

At last, in 1290, the event occurred which brings to a close this section of Jewish history in England—their banishment from the kingdom. The most condensed, and apparently the least inaccurate (we cannot use a stronger term), account of this event we have met with is contained in the 'Parliamentary History of England' published by the Tonsons, in 1762, and is as follows:—

"An affair of consequence came before this Parliament (the third held in 1290, which met in Northamptonshire), which was the entire banishment of the Jews out of the kingdom. The nation had long desired it, but the Jews still found means to divert the blow, by large presents to the King and his ministers. They wanted to play the same game again now, but could not do it, the King being unable to protect them any longer, and unwilling to risk the disobliging of his Parliament on their account. Accordingly the Act of Banishment was passed, whereby their immoveable goods were confiscated; but they had leave to carry away the rest with them. There seem to be two different transactions in the Parliament, relating to the Jews: one to restrain their usury, &c. and the other to ordain their banishment. Lord Coke, in his 'Institutes' on the Statute *de Judaismo*, asserts the one, and the last is proved by the Act made on purpose for it. The number of these banished Jews, according to Mathew of Westminster, was 16,160, and the

Parliament were so well pleased to get rid of these extortioners that they readily and willingly granted the King an aid of a fifteenth, and the clergy a tenth out all their moveables; and joined (? the clergy) with the laity in granting a fifteenth of all their temporalities, up to their full value, to make the King some small amends for the great loss he sustained by the Jews' exile.

This is (in brief) almost all that can be gathered respecting the London Jews during the period of their first residence in England, as a "Judaismus" or "Jewerie"—a designation properly descriptive of the collective Jewish people in any place, though by Englishmen generally understood to denote the quarter assigned them for residence. It does not appear whether they possessed a synagogue in any other part of the kingdom than London. Till the year 1177 the "Jews' Garden," now Jewin Street, appears to have been their only place of burial in England: from which it might be inferred that London was their central and head residence. Possibly their only synagogue was in London: the few families established in other towns constituting simple congregations. A curious narrative of a law plea in 1158, written by Richard de Anesty, one of the parties, and published by Sir Francis Palgrave in the Appendix to his 'Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,' throws an incidental light on the wealth and business of the Jews during this period. Richard had frequent transactions with them, with a view to raise ready money for his journeys after the ambulatory law courts of these days, and for presents to "Ralph, the King's physician, and others about court." The Jews were, by their bonds of common faith and common origin, one organised corporation; and almost the whole of the ready money of the kingdom appears to have been in their hands; at least, Richard de Anesty, that notable borrower, never borrowed from any other. The interest or usance paid them varied, between 1060 and 1290, from 3*d.* to 2*d.* per pound per week; or from rather more than 60 to rather less than 50 per cent. per annum. This was a high rate, but probably not higher than they were entitled to. They had no exclusive privileges to deal in loans: and Christians were not debarred from dealing in them by any doubts as to the morality of taking interest; for we find many of the Judges, and other salaried courtiers who picked up a little money, accused of being as great "usurers" as the Jews. The truth is that there would have been little or no money in the kingdom had not the Jews introduced it, and the Jews naturally took as high a remuneration for the temporary use of it as men would give. The "usury" of the Jews was good service to the kingdom. After they were banished, the English were obliged to deal with the Christians of Lombardy, Lucca, &c., on the same terms. The Jews grew enormously rich by this traffic, and thus became an object of jealousy to the natives. They stood immediately under the King's protection, and a sense of honour made the sovereign protect his clients occasionally from the violence of the prejudiced people, though this same sense of honour did not prevent him making the Jews pay exorbitantly for this vacillating patronage. The people could not fail to perceive the mercenary motives which gave the Jews the strongest hold on royal protection; and they were thus encouraged to attach to the countenance lent them the idea of criminality, which properly only belonged to the reason why it was extended. The popular dislike to Jews was but an exaggerated phasis of the vulgar hatred of "Mounseers" of a later day. The statutes of confiscation and banishment of

1290 were the legitimate predecessors of those levelled against the Hanseatic and other foreign traders in later days.

The clergy, however, did assist to increase the odium in which the Jews were held. They had more cause to be jealous of them than at a later period. The Jews were then a more accomplished and enlightened race than centuries of feudal oppression had made them four or five hundred years later. In the travels of Benjamin of Tudela we read that every association of Jews in the more important cities of Europe had its college, or seminary, for training men learned in their law. On the other hand the laity, and even the priesthood, were then in point of enlightenment as far inferior to their descendants four hundred years later, as the Jews were superior to theirs. In England the balance of learning and accomplishments preponderated in favour of the Jews. There was a difference, too, in the relative holds of the two religions upon the minds of their votaries. Both rest upon one common basis,—the Old Testament. The faith which spiritualises the types and forms of that sacred volume was then comparatively new in the island: many of the Northumbrians, and others of Norman race, had been pagans only two or three centuries before. On the other hand, the earthly hopes of those religionists who interpret the prophecies had not been tried by so many ages of fruitless expectation as those of our day. The Jews were stronger in faith then, and the Christians more wavering. The Jews were then a proselytising race: now they no more seek to make converts than the Quakers. We have seen that one of the persecutions of the London Jews originated in the circumcision of a Christian child by the Jews of Norwich. Mr. Blunt, in his 'History of the Jews in England,' records some curious instances of the polemical war waged in England between Jewish and Christian missionaries in the time of William Rufus:—

"The conduct of Rufus towards the church, and his frequent disagreements with the clergy, rendered him an object of dislike to the monkish writers, who were the principal historians of his period; and they have not failed to accuse him of impiety and open profaneness, and to record instances of his contempt for Christianity. By them we are told that he obtained the advance of considerable sums from the Jews, under the promise of obliging such of their body as had embraced the Christian faith to revert to Judaism. And they state that on one occasion in particular, a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, paid the King sixty marks, upon the agreement that he would induce the lad to embrace the Jewish faith. The youth was summoned to the King's presence, when both persuasion and threats were employed; but he persisted in holding steadfast to his new religion: and William, finding he could not bring about the point, returned the father the half of his money, saying, 'That as he had not fulfilled his engagement, he could not in justice retain the whole sum; but that at the same time it was only equitable he should keep a part for the trouble he had taken in the affair.' The same historian* informs us, that on another occasion the Jews were induced by King William to engage in an open controversy with certain of his bishops and clergy upon the merits of their respective religions, upon a promise that he would give impartial attention to the dispute, and if the

* Antonin. Chron. Pars II. lib. xvi. c. 5, says the king swore by St. Luke's face that he would turn Jew if they overcame the Christians.

Jews had the best of the argument, would himself embrace their faith: whereupon, to use the words of Hoveden, 'The controversy was carried on with great fear on the part of the bishops and clergy, and pious solicitude by those who feared the Christian faith would be shaken; and from this combat the Jews brought nothing but confusion, although they would many times boast they were rather overcome by force than by argument.' However this may have been, the church, it seems, became alarmed at the progress the Jews were making among their Christian brethren; for in the next reign we find it mentioned, that monks were sent to several towns in which the Jews were established, expressly for the purpose of preaching down Judaism. Jaffred, abbot of Croyland, in the tenth year of Henry I., sent some monks from his abbey to Cottenham and Cambridge to preach against the Jews; and about the same time some ecclesiastics were sent from other parts to Stamford, to oppose the progress of the Jews in that place; where we are told by Peter of Blessans, 'They, preaching often to Stamfordians, exceedingly prospered in their ministry, and strengthened the Christian faith against the Jewish depravity.'"

The hatred nourished against the Jews was irrational and unchristian, but the fault was not altogether on the side of the Christians. The Jews were men—no worse, it may be, but no better, than their neighbours. They felt themselves, as a body, a more civilised, a more literary, race than the mass of the inhabitants of England under the Norman princes—they piqued themselves upon peculiar skill and dexterity in business—they were buoyed up at times by royal protection and countenance. It was human nature to grow insolent on the strength of such advantages; and doubtless the Jews did at times draw down upon their own heads, by their own impertinence, the misfortunes they met with. But, if the fault was in part on both sides, the folly was all on the side of the English, who drove from their shores those who mainly contributed to set their infant industry in motion.

From the year 1290 to the year 1655 a long interval elapses during which, though there were doubtless individual Jews to be found in England, there was no *Judaismus*—no organised body of Jews. It is probably for this reason that the Jew was turned to so little account in the dramatic literature of the Elizabethan age. At this moment we can only call to memory two Jewish characters in the drama of that period—Shakspere's Shylock and Marlowe's Barnabas. In the Jew of Marlowe one is not surprised to find little individuality of character. He is a terrible incarnation of passion, but wants all those traits which stamp the passionate being as akin to the men of every-day life. This might pass for being only characteristic of Marlowe's peculiar genius. But even Shakspere's Jew, though it has traits of *human* individuality, has few traits of *Jewish* individuality. His Hebraisms—and he has some noble ones—are such as any Christian might be supposed to have incorporated with his imagination, as well as a Jew. Shylock is every inch a man, as Othello is every inch a man; but Shylock betrays as little knowledge of the natural history of Jewish *morale*, as Othello of the natural history of Moorish *physique*—and for the same reason: that Englishmen were never brought into habitual contact either with Jews or Moors. Both Shylock and Barnabas belong more to the legendary world than to the real. They were not produced, as some have idly thought, to gratify an

audience prejudiced against Jews; but to strike with awe, from their terrific passion, an audience which knew little about Jews, and cared less. In countries where Jews have abounded and been objects of popular odium, the dramatists who have pandered to prejudice, have uniformly made their Jews mean and ludicrous as well as hateful. You may hate Barnabas and Shylock, but you cannot despise them. Shakspere and Marlowe found their Jews in the legends of other lands, not in real life, nor even in popular apprehension.

In 1655 the Jews again emerge into the public life of England. Cromwell's statesmanlike spirit had recognised the advantages which the nation might derive from inviting this intelligent and wealthy people to settle in it. He might also have an eye to the advantages this affiliated body might afford him in procuring early and authentic information from abroad, an object to which Cromwell directed much attention. Whatever his reasons, he invited, or at least encouraged overtures from, some Jews of Amsterdam for leave to settle in England. The petition of the agent or envoy of these Jews—the distinguished Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel of Amsterdam—to Cromwell is a remarkable document :—

" These are the graces and favours which, in the name of my Hebrew nation, I, Manasseh-Ben-Israel, do request of your Most Serene Highness, whom God make prosperous and give happy success to in all your enterprises, as your humble servant doth wish and desire.

" 1. The first thing I desire of your Highness is, that our Hebrew nation may be received and admitted into this puissant commonwealth, under the protection and safeguard of your Highness, even as the natives themselves. And, for greater security in time to come, I do supplicate your Highness to cause an oath to be given (if you shall think it fit) to all the heads and generals of arms to defend us upon all occasions. 2. That it will please your Highness to allow us public synagogues, not only in England, but also in all other places under the power of your Highness, and to observe in all things our religion as we ought. 3. That we may have a place or cemetery out of the town to bury our dead, without being troubled by any. 4. That we may be allowed to traffic freely in all sorts of merchandise, as others. 5. That (to the end those who shall come may be for the utility of the people of this nation, and may live without bringing prejudice to any, and without giving offence) your Most Serene Highness will make choice of a person of quality, to inform himself of and receive the passports of those who come in; who, upon their arrival, shall certify him thereof and oblige themselves, by oath, to maintain fealty to your Highness in this land. 6. And (to the intent they may not be troublesome to the judges of the land, touching the contests and differences that may arise betwixt those of our nation) that your Most Serene Highness will give license to the head of the synagogue to take with him two almoners of his nation to accord and determine all the differences and process, conformable to the Mosaic law; with liberty, nevertheless, to appeal from their sentence to the civil judges; the sum wherein the parties shall be condemned being first deposited. 7. That in case there have been any laws against our Jewish nation, they may in the first place, and before all things, be revoked; to the end that, by this means, we may remain with the greater security under the safeguard and protection of your Most Serene Highness.

"Which things your Most Serene Highness granting to us, we shall always remain most affectionately obliged to pray to God for the prosperity of your Highness, and of your illustrious and sage council, and that it will please Him to give happy success to all the undertakings of your Most Serene Highness. *Amen.*"

There are some passages in this document which would seem to imply that it had, at least, been revised by a British lawyer. Whoever its framer, however, there is a grave sagacity about it worthy of the representative of a portion of the most ancient nation on earth concluding a treaty of protection with the head of a powerful state. It is interesting, too, to note the unchanged character of the Jews during the long period of their exile from England. Manasseh-Ben-Israel and his friends do not appear to have possessed even a tradition of the former possessions of their tribe in England, yet the first arrangement they contemplate is the organisation of a special jurisdiction under the immediate protection of the chief magistrate as under the Norman princes, and "a place out of the town to bury their dead," like "the Jews' garden" near Cripplegate.

Cromwell and the Jews having come to an understanding, the next step was to try whether the national prejudices would admit of its being carried into execution. The Protector first sounded "divers eminent ministers of the nation," who were summoned to meet him and his Council, at Whitehall, on the 4th of December. The petition of the Jews of Amsterdam was read in their hearing; when, as the authorised narrative published by Henry Hills, printer to his Highness the Lord Protector, has it—"The ministers having heard these proposals read, desired time to consider of them, and the next day was spent in fasting and prayer." Adjourned conferences of the Council and Ministers were held on the 7th, 12th, and 14th of December, but nothing was resolved upon. Another meeting, on the 18th of December, "broke up without coming to any resolution, or even a farther adjournment." The narrative concludes with this remark:—"That his Highness, at these several meetings, fully heard the opinions of the ministers touching the said proposals, expressing himself thereupon with indifference and moderation, as one that desired only to obtain satisfaction in a matter of so high and religious concernment; there being many glorious promises recorded in Holy Scripture concerning the calling and conversion of the Jews to the faith of Christ: but the reason why nothing was concluded upon was, because his Highness proceeded in this, as in all other affairs, with good advice and mature deliberation."

The object of publishing this narrative was, probably, to try whether the general public might not be more favourably disposed to the admission of the Jews than the ministers. But if Cromwell looked for support in that direction he reckoned without his host. Prynne forthwith opened a battery against the proposal, in a publication whose mere title-page almost equals a modern pamphlet: "A *short* Demurrer to the Jews' long-discontinued Remitter into England· comprising an exact chronological relation of their first admission into, their ill deportment, misdemeanours, condition, sufferings, oppressions, slaughters, plunders by popular insurrections and regal exactions in, and their total, final banishment, by Judgment and Edict of Parliament, out of England, never to return again. Collected out of the best historians. With a brief collection of such English

laws and Scriptures as seem strongly to plead and conclude against their re-admission into England, especially at this season, and against the general calling of the Jewish nation. With an answer to the chief allegations for their introduction." This thundering manifesto, in which the sufferings of the Jews in England in the olden time are classed along with their misdemeanours, and equally insisted on as reasons for continuing their exclusion, was followed up by such a burst of popular clamour, and such an inundation of lampoons, that Cromwell silently relinquished his project.

Though nothing was directly done in this matter, however, by government, the Jews and their friends appear to have thought that they might with safety come and settle in England, without the formality of a legal sanction. It was probably the idea of a legislative sanction being given to the exercise of the Jewish religion that startled the public. There had been too little personal intercourse between Jews and Englishmen for many centuries, to admit of a very rancorous prejudice existing between them. Accordingly we find, in the very next year, 1656, the first Portuguese synagogue erected in King Street, Duke's Place.

The Rabbi, Manassch-Ben-Israel, was not of the number of those Jews who ventured to settle in England. Born in Portugal, about the year 1604, and forced to emigrate by the persecutions of the Inquisition, he succeeded Rabbi Isaac Usiri in the synagogue of Amsterdam, while yet only in his eighteenth year. He engaged in trade, but much of his time was devoted to superintending the printing of his own works at his private press, and to the discharge of his official duties. After the failure of his negotiation with Cromwell, he retired to Middleburg, in Zealand, where he died in the course of the year 1657. He died poor, he and his family having been in a great measure supported by a brother settled in Brazil. The Jews of Amsterdam testified their respect for him by having his body conveyed to that city, and buried at their expense in their cemetery.

The care taken by the Jews who settled in England, from their first arrival, to secure the due celebration of divine service, and the education of their families, has been most laudable. We have seen that their synagogue was built in the first year of their settlement; in 1664—only seven years later—a school was founded by them to afford instruction to the children of their poorer brethren. This school was originally called "the Tree of Life." It consisted of two branches: in the junior branch, instruction in the rudiments of Hebrew and English was given, preparatory to admission into the superior school, where the more advanced branches of moral and religious education were imparted till the pupil attained the age of fourteen. On leaving the school, the scholars received a small grant of money to assist them in commencing the world. This institution still exists, though under another name. The management had been entrusted to a large committee, and, as usual, it was found that "everybody's business was nobody's business." In 1821, Moses Mocatta, Esq., undertook a reform of the school. By his exertions the management was transferred to a select committee; an additional annual subscription was raised for its support; the advanced school was called "the Gates of Hope;" and a preparatory school on a new foundation added. Since that time an annual average of forty-five boys have received in the advanced school a good solid education in the higher branches of Hebrew, English grammar, arithmetic, book-keeping, &c.; and on leaving the establish-

ment each has been presented with a premium for apprenticeship, or a sum sufficient to enable them to seek a livelihood abroad.

The Portuguese Congregation was the only organised body of Jews in London till 1691, when the first German Synagogue was built—also in Duke's Place. The cheapness of the ground in that district, and its proximity to the district in which most of the foreign traders settled in London had fixed their domiciles, were probably the circumstances that originally induced the Jews to settle in that quarter. The first synagogue was an additional attraction: and the second secured the permanent residence of the German Jews, between whom and those of Spain and Portugal difference of language, and also some slight difference of ritual, keep up a trifling shade of distinction. The present Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks was built in 1701; and in 1723 the Hamburgh Synagogue was erected in Fenchurch Street.

Though not exposed to such fierce persecutions as during the time of their first settlement in Britain, the Jews did not pass altogether unscathed through the period, during which they were striking root in London. In 1678 several of the wealthier members of their body were indicted at the instance of some busybodies, for meeting to celebrate public worship. Again, in 1685, some of them were arrested for not attending church. The attempt to pass a Jews' Naturalisation Bill stirred up a violent opposition among some narrow-minded sectarians, and also among some more worldly-minded but equally silly alarmists, who dreamed that such a measure would necessarily bring about a transfer of the whole commercial wealth, and ultimately of all the landed property in England, to the Jews. This may seem an exaggerated account of the language of those members of Parliament and politicians who opposed the Jewish Naturalisation Bill, but any one who will take the trouble to peruse Sir John Barnard's speech on the occasion will find it literally correct.

In 1723 the decision of a Court of Law recognised the Jews born in Great Britain as British subjects. Since that time the only disabilities under which they labour are those imposed by Acts of Parliament levelled against Christian sectarians which have accidentally hit the Jews. The Act of 9 Geo. IV., c. 17, which substitutes for the sacramental test a declaration by the holders of certain corporate offices, "upon the true faith of a Christian," necessarily though indirectly incapacitates Jews from filling those offices. The Abjuration Act in like manner excludes them from Parliament and from holding any office under Government except in so far as they may be relieved by the annual Indemnity Act. Some doubt exists as to whether the Jews are legally entitled to hold real estate. Those who maintain the negative side of the question rest upon an Act of the 55th of Henry III., which declares Jews incapable of purchasing or taking a freehold interest in land; their opponents allege that the so-called Act is not properly an Act of Parliament, but merely an ordinance of the king. *De facto*, some Jews do hold real estate. It is the general opinion that the Jews are within the benefit of the Toleration Act of the 1st of William and Mary as extended by the 53rd of George III., c. 160. One disability under which they labour presents a curious anomaly in the law. It has been decided that a legacy given for the instruction of Jews in their religion is not one which will be sup-

ported by the Court of Chancery, though any other kind of charitable bequest for the benefit of Jews is valid.

In short, the Jews hold what privileges they do in England much upon the same tenure that more favoured classes of subjects hold theirs. The national spirit has become too enlightened, free, and tolerant to render it possible to execute old bigoted and oppressive laws; but a superstitious veneration for anything that has the mere name of a law has left many of those impracticable enactments, in whole or in part, on the statute-book to tease and harass where they cannot severely injure.

Precarious though their position in England was at first, and vexatious though it still is in some respects, the Jews have continued to prosper among us ever since the days of Rabbi Manasseh-Ben-Israel. Their city of refuge—their metropolis—is the angular quarter bounded by Bishopsgate, Houndsditch, and the streets of Leadenhall and Aldgate. Towards the Bishopsgate boundary they become more intermingled with a Christian population, but in revenge their own surplus population has overflowed into the neighbouring Minories, Tower Hill, Spitalfields, &c. Their progress in filling up this region may be traced by the successive building and rebuilding of their synagogues. As already noticed, the original Portuguese synagogue was built in 1656, and a new one erected in Bevis Marks in 1701. The German synagogue was built in Duke's Place in 1691, and rebuilt in 1790. The Hamburg synagogue was built in Fenchurch Street in 1726. A new synagogue was erected in Leadenhall Street in 1776; in 1838 it was removed to Great St. Helen's. The population of the eastern portion of the region around those places of worship, is essentially Jewish. It has a striking effect when, on a Saturday afternoon, one passes from the throng and bustle round the Bank, Exchange, and Mansion House, into the labyrinth of lanes and courts, bounded by St. Mary Axe, Houndsditch, Leadenhall and Aldgate Streets. It is passing from a week-day, with all its noise and care, into the silence and repose of a Sabbath, and of a well-observed Sabbath too—a Scotch one. If the season is summer, the inhabitants will generally be found sitting outside of their houses, or in the shadow of their door-ways—the men reading, the women quietly conversing. The appearance of all of them is in the highest degree clean, neat, and respectable.

These are the London Jews. Our information respecting the Westminster Jews is more imperfect. Their synagogue was rebuilt in 1796; in 1826 it was removed to St. Alban's Place. The densest settlements of Westminster Jews are in Holywell Street, and the vicinity behind the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, and in Monmouth Street and the adjoining region of St. Giles.

The streets and places above-mentioned are the residences of the poorer Jews and of their more substantial middle-class. The wealthy Jews—the aristocracy of their community—are to be found resident in the most fashionable streets and squares of the metropolis. But though thus separated they are not estranged from their brethren. Their congregational organisation is a chain to bind them together. The wealthiest Jews are Presidents and Wardens of the different synagogues. They are also deputies to represent their respective congregations in the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews. They act too as

Presidents and Office-bearers of the congregational burial societies, schools, and other charities. The associations of boyhood, the influence of religion, the dislike to quit a society of which they are members, all conspire to keep the Jewish community—rich as well as poor—united. A sense of interest strengthens their bonds. The clannish spirit thus kept alive in the tribe enables the wealthier members to command, in their often daring financial speculations, the assistance of the moderate funds of their less wealthy brethren. This is the secret of the power of what is called "the Hebrew party" on the Stock Exchange.

It is no more than justice to the Jews of London to remark that their charitable institutions are, in proportion to their numbers, many, and liberally supported. One of the most important is their Hospital, at Mile End, established by the philanthropic exertions of the late Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, who began a collection for the purpose among their friends in 1795. So liberal were the contributions that, in 1797, they were able to purchase with them 20,000*l.*, of 3 per cent. stock. The Hospital for the reception and support of the aged poor, and the education and industrious employment of youth of both sexes, was purchased for 2300*l.*; an adjoining house, soon added, cost 2000*l.* The original endowments were 30,000*l.* of 3 per cent. stock. Additions have from time to time been made to the funds, and considerable sums expended in rendering the buildings more commodious. The present inmates are, twelve aged persons, fifty boys, and twenty-nine girls. A synagogue is attached to the establishment, and workshops in which the boys are taught shoe-making and chair-making, while the girls are instructed in household and needle-work.

The "Gates of Hope" Charity-school has been noticed already. A Jewish free-school was established in Bell's Lane, Spitalfields, in 1818, or rather added to the old charity, the "Talmud Torah;" in which, in 1841, 298 boys and 162 girls were receiving elementary education, in addition to 21 pupils of the Talmud Tarah. It was estimated in that year that 3844 had been educated in the institution since its commencement. The Jews have a well-managed infant-school in Houndsditch; and an evening school for adult females in White's Row, Spitalfields, founded and conducted by the persevering charitable exertions of two Jewish ladies. There is also a National infant-school, superintended by ladies of the Jewish persuasion, and the Villa-real Girls' school. The Jews' College, a recent institution, appears to have confined its efforts hitherto to the training of more efficient candidates for the ministry. In addition to these there are almost innumerable institutions for ministering to the necessities and comforts of the Jewish poor:—Orphan institutions; societies for clothing and educating fatherless children; societies for relieving the indigent sick; an institution for the relief of the indigent blind; a society for assisting the Jewish poor at their festivals, &c. &c.

As might be anticipated from the attention paid to education, there has of late years been a decided rally among the London Jews in the matter of intellectual activity. 'The Jewish Chronicle,' an organ of the high orthodox Jews, a curious and able publication, appeared in 1841-2, but has since been discontinued for a time. The 'Voice of Jacob,' the organ of the more liberal or latitudinarian Jews, is still carried on. These are weekly publications. There are, or have been, a Jewish Review and a Jewish Magazine. The effort to establish a Jewish

College was a most creditable struggle, which it is to be hoped will not be relinquished. This intellectual activity has produced something of the same fruits among the Jews as among Christians: a keen controversy is at present waging between the "British Jews," who may be considered analagous to our Protestants, and the adherents of "the Association for preserving inviolate the ancient rites and ceremonies of Israel."

At the risk of being called dull, we have preferred dwelling upon the substantial qualities of our Jewish brethren, to following the hackneyed track of jokers at their national and professional peculiarities. The race which has produced men like the Rothschilds and Montefiores among the strictly orthodox section; the Goldschmidts among the more relaxed and liberal adherents of the hereditary faith; and the Ricardos and Barings among those who have adopted the kindred but spiritualised tenets of Christianity, is no unimportant element of this country's population. It is to be hoped that their disqualifications, daily diminishing in number, may soon be entirely removed. The true way to view such disqualifications is less as an injury to those subjected to them than as an injury to the nation which is by their means deprived of the services of those who could serve it well.

Old Clothesman, from Tempest's 'Cries of London.']

[Hudson's Bay Company's House, Fenchurch Street.]

CXXIX.—OLD TRADING COMPANIES.

If the London merchant of any particular century could witness the struggles for freedom of trade which occurred subsequently to his own times, he would be astonished at the different objects which were kept in view. All the rights of commercial freedom which *he* had contended for had been completely gained. No longer are there laws compelling him to send his merchandise to the king's staple: he can send it to any or every part of the globe. No longer is he an "interloper" in the trade to Turkey, Russia, Africa, or even the East Indies. The Italian merchants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Steelyard merchants of a later period, no longer engross the most valuable part of the foreign trade of the country. Bruges and Antwerp are no more the great emporia of traffic to which he was accustomed to resort. London itself has become the entrepôt of the world. The trade of the Venetians in the spices and merchandise which they brought overland from India and sent to London in their galleys has passed away. Few are reminded by the name of Galley-quay in Thames Street, that their once-proud argosies were accustomed to ride there. Another generation saw the productions of the East brought by the Portuguese to the great mart of Antwerp, to which the English resorted to exchange for them their wool and broadcloths; and that trade has also been turned into a new channel. Before noticing two or three of the companies which once monopolized

the trade to particular countries,* we will glance briefly at a few of the commercial restrictions of bygone times, which show that the struggle for freedom of trade must be a very old one in this country.

King Hlothaere of Kent, who reigned in the seventh century, enacted that "If any of the people of Kent buy anything in the city of London, he must have two or three honest men, or the King's port-reve (who was the chief magistrate of the city), present at the bargain." What could have been the trade of London when such a law as this was in force? Even after the Conquest laws of this nature were either continued or revived. Their principal design, no doubt, was to protect the revenue of the King and the lord of the manor, to each of whom, according to Domesday Book, a certain proportion of the price of everything sold for more than twenty pennies was paid, the one-half by the buyer and the other by the seller. The amount specified in the Saxon law would prevent the rule from affecting the ordinary purchases of the necessaries of life; but the Conqueror, it seems, drew the restriction tighter by subjecting all bargains which involved a larger sum than 4*d.* to the tedious process of legislation by witnesses. In the twenty-eighth volume of the 'Archæologia,' there is a paper by Edward A. Bond, Esq., "On the loans supplied by Italian merchants to the Kings of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," which presents an interesting view of the commercial state of the country during that period; and it likewise throws some light upon the circumstances which rendered such laws as Hlothaere's tolerable. "Specie," it is remarked, "was scarce, a paper currency a thing unheard of, and the convenience of exchange by bills was probably as yet only practised by the Italians themselves. The restrictions and arbitrary regulations with which trade was shackled, and perhaps the general manner and habits of life, had hitherto much impeded commercial prosperity. The wealth of the country was in the hands of the large proprietors of land, and the revenues of the crown were principally derived from feudal charges, to which territorial possessions were subject. Rolls of the collection of subsidies, remaining in the Exchequer, show how insignificant a portion of the public taxes was paid by the class of merchants and burgesses. We were almost destitute of manufactures. Wool, the staple commodity of the country, was exchanged in the ports of France and the Low Countries for bullion, wine, and merchandise of other description." The inland trade of the country was conducted on the most confined scale. "The produce of each district was exchanged by actual barter among the inhabitants, at the periodical fairs in the neighbourhood. What foreign commodities were in use were bought at the large fairs of Boston, Winchester, and Bristol; and only partially dispersed through the kingdom by travelling merchants little above the rank of modern pedlars. The commercial wealth of the country was collected in a few towns and cities, such as London, Bristol, Winchester, Lincoln, Boston, York, and Hull; and the difficulties and dangers of carriage confined the advantages of their prosperity to the immediate vicinity. The arrival of the Italians at such a time was extremely opportune. The natural produce of the country was rich and abundant, but it required to be circulated, and in doing this the activity and means of the foreigners were most beneficially exercised. They

* For a notice of 'The East India Company' and 'The South Sea Company,' see No. CIV. Vol. V., and No. XLIV. Vol. II.

spread themselves over the country; they filled the fair of Boston and others with foreign goods of their own importation; and their superior opportunities of disposing of wool enabled them to bid high for that commodity, of which a large proportion passed through their hands." Mr. Bond quotes a return, showing the quantity of wool in the hands of ten different companies of Italian merchants in England on a certain day in the twenty-second year of Edward I. (1294). The King was then at war with France; and he had issued commands for the arrest of all wool, woolfells, and hides, in whosesoever hands they might be found. They were to be retained in the custody of the King's officers in order to prevent the possibility of their being exported into the dominions of the French King. The returns alluded to were made by the Italians themselves, who were mostly of Florence and Lucca. One company is designated 'La Compaignie del Cercle Blanc;' another 'La Compaignie du Cercle neyr de Florence;' a third, 'Societas Ricardorum de Lucca.' The total number of sacks of wool which the ten companies had in their possession was 2380. By far the greater part is stated to have been bought of religious houses: indeed many of the companies return as having received only from them. It appears that many of the religious houses were under engagements to deliver all their wool of one or more years' growth to some one of the companies at a period previously stipulated. The Abbey of Waverley, for instance, was bound to deliver up all its wool to Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, at Kingston-upon-Thames, on the Feast of St. John, and they were to receive twenty marks for every sack of good wool, and fifteen marks for each sack of middle value. "This would render the total quantity of wools returned worth 23,800*l*. But the returns were incomplete. They were made by the partners in London, and to each a note is added to this effect:—'We have other wools collected in divers parts of the country, which we believe have been arrested; but we cannot ascertain the number of sacks until our partners who have the business in charge return to London.'" Before 1344 the Cistercian Monks, taking advantage of the exemption of ecclesiastics from customs duties, had become the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom; but in the above year the Parliament interfered, and prohibited ecclesiastical persons from practising any kind of commerce. In 1390, when the exports still consisted almost entirely of wool, English merchants were expressly excluded from this branch of trade, and it was enacted that no denizen should buy wool, except of the owners of the sheep, and for his own use. The object of this law might either be to favour the monopoly of the foreign merchants who assisted the sovereign with loans; or it might be intended to secure to the growers of wool the profits of the intermediate dealers Still the plan of increasing profits by diminishing the competition of buyers was an odd way of accomplishing such an object.

One of the prerogatives assumed by the crown in those days was the right of restricting all mercantile dealings for a time to a certain place. Thus, in 1245, Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, on which occasion he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs should be suspended throughout England during the fifteen days it was appointed to last. The object was to obtain a supply of money from the tolls and other dues of the market; but then again the citizens of London were equally willing to profit by restrictions in their

own favour, equally unfair towards the rest of the country; such as an ordinance of the lord mayor and aldermen, prohibiting any of the citizens from resorting with their goods to any fair or market out of the city, which was disannulled by an act of Parliament passed in 1487-8.

Of a like nature were the regulations of the Staple. A particular port or other place was appointed, to which certain commodities were obliged to be brought to be weighed or measured, for the payment of the customs, before they could be sold, or in some cases imported or exported. Here the king's staple was said to be fixed. The articles of English produce upon which customs were anciently paid were wool, sheep-skins or woolfells, and leather; and these were accordingly denominated the staples or staple-goods of the kingdom. Those who exported these goods were called the merchants of the staple. They were incorporated, or at least recognized as forming a society, with certain privileges, in the thirteenth century. Hakluyt has printed the charter which they received from Edward II. in 1313. It is addressed to the mayor and council of the merchants of the staple, and the king ordains that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and woolfells in his dominions for exportation, should, instead of carrying them for sale, as they had been wont to do, to several places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, carry them in future only to one certain staple in one of those countries, to be appointed by the said mayor and council. The king soon transferred to his own hands the right of fixing the staple. At one time it was at Antwerp, at another time at Bruges, then at Calais; or it was fixed in some of the principal towns in England. Now and then there was no staple either at home or abroad, and all merchants came and went freely wherever they listed. In 1376 the staple was fixed at Calais, for a time, and all the ordinary exports of the kingdom were obliged to be carried there. The inconvenience of this regulation was diminished two years afterwards, by the permission to use other ports on payment of the Calais staple-duties.

In this early period of our commercial history there were also many other vexatious restrictions. In 1275 Edward I. issued an order obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after arrival. They were not allowed to reside in England except by special licence from the king, and even then were subjected to various oppressive regulations; and many of these were continued when, in 1303, Edward granted a special charter permitting foreign merchants to come safely to any of the dominions of the English crown, with all kinds of merchandise, and to sell their goods. For instance, with the exception of spices and mercery, they were only allowed to sell the commodities which they brought wholesale. Wine could not be re-exported without special licence. Every resident foreigner was answerable for the debts of every other foreign resident. In 1306 a number of foreign merchants were committed to the Tower, and there detained until they severally gave security that none of their countrymen should leave the kingdom, or export any thing from it, without the king's special licence; and they were each required to give in an account of his property, both in money and goods. Again, in 1307, Edward prohibited the foreign merchants carrying out of the kingdom either coined money or bullion, thus compelling them either to dispose of their goods by barter, or if they were sold for money to invest the proceeds in English commodities. In the following year, however, Edward II., who had just

ascended the throne, exempted the merchants of France from this mischievous restriction. But although other relaxations of the law were permitted in various cases, from the impossibility of strictly enforcing it, foreign merchants continued long after to be vexed by attempts to carry into effect the objects originally contemplated. In 1335 it was enacted, that no person should carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without special licence, upon pain of forfeiture. At length, in 1390, it was enacted that foreign merchants might carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods; but it was still required that every alien bringing merchandise into England should find sureties, before the officers of the customs, to expend half the value of his imports in the purchase of wools, leather, woolfells, tin, lead, butter, cheese, cloths, or other commodities raised in England. It is curious to remark, that while the exportation of money was forbidden, the remittance of bills was allowed! Every such bill had of course the effect of preventing the money coming into the country, and thus defeating the object of the statute. Some half century later an act was made (in 1439) which ordained that no foreign merchant should sell any goods to another foreigner in England, on pain of the forfeiture of the goods so sold; and yet the legislators of this period had before them the prosperity of Bruges, which by the traffic of foreigners had become a greater emporium than London.

Besides the wealthy Italians who at one time engrossed so large a share of the trade of the country, there were various other societies of foreigners enjoying important commercial immunities and advantages. In 1220 the merchants of Cologne had a hall or factory in London, for the legal possession of which they paid an acknowledgment to the king. Macpherson is of opinion that this Guildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of the German Guildhall (Gildhalla Teutonicorum). They were bound to keep one of the city gates in repair. Stow says: "I find that Henry III. (1216-72) confirmed to the merchants of the Haunce (Hanse), that had a house in the city called Guildhalla Theutonicorum, certain liberties and privileges. Edward I. also confirmed the same; in the tenth year of whose reign (1282) it was found that the said merchants ought of right to repair the said gate called Bishopsgate;" on which the alderman of the Haunce, he says, granted 210 marks to the mayor and citizens, and covenanted on the part of the body generally that they and their successors should from time to time repair the said gate. In 1479 the gate was entirely rebuilt at their cost. Their Guildhall was in Thames Street, by Cosin Lane. Stow describes it as "large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other, and is seldom opened; the other two be mured up: the same is now called the old hall."* In 1383 the merchants of the Steelyard (for by this time they had acquired that name) hired a house adjoining their hall, with a large wharf on the Thames, and in the alley leading to it they erected various buildings. They had also another large house here, for which, in 1476, they paid the city an annual rent of 70*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1505 a charter was granted to a body called the Company

* For a view of the Steelyard and some further account respecting the Merchants of the Steelyard, see 'The Old Royal Exchange,' pp. 284-5, vol. ii.

of Merchant Adventurers of England, for trading in woollen cloth to the Netherlands, and the merchants of the Steelyard were prohibited from interfering with their new rivals. In 1551 a hot dispute raged between the two fraternities, which was brought under the notice of the Solicitor-General and the Recorder of London. It was alleged that, as no particular persons or towns had been mentioned in the charter of the Steelyard merchants, their privileges had been improperly extended; that they had engrossed almost the entire trade carried on by foreigners in the kingdom; and, lastly, it was stated that they had reduced the price of corn by their importations of foreign grain. The Company of Merchant Adventurers was now evidently the more favoured body, but its rival still continued to exist until 1597, when, the Emperor Rudolph having ordered the factories of the English Merchant Adventurers in Germany to be shut up, Queen Elizabeth directed the Lord Mayor of London to close the house occupied by the merchants of the Steelyard. They had establishments at Boston and Lynn.

Although the Company of Merchant Adventurers had only been incorporated in 1505, the existence of this association can be traced to the end of the thirteenth century. It has been said that it originated in an association of English merchants for trading in foreign parts, called the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, which existed about the middle of the thirteenth century. The part which the Merchant Adventurers took during the stoppage of the trade with the Netherlands in 1493 recommended them to the crown. During this period, says Bacon, the Adventurers "being a strong Company, and well under-set with rich men, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the realm, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent." Soon afterwards they began to assert a right to prevent any private adventurers from resorting to a foreign market, without they first "compounded and made fine with the said Fellowship of Merchants of London at their pleasure," upon pain of forfeiture of their goods. In a petition on the subject from the merchants not free of the Fellowship, it is stated that this fine "at the beginning, when it was first taken, was demanded by colour of a fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at which time the said fine was but the value of half an old noble sterling (3*s.* 4*d.*), and so by colour of such feigned holiness it hath been suffered to be taken for a few years past; and afterwards it was increased to a hundred shillings Flemish; and now it is so that the said Fellowship and Merchants of London take of every Englishman or young merchant being there, at his first coming, twenty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods, wares, and merchandises that he hath there." In consequence of this extortion the private merchants had been compelled to withdraw from the foreign marts. These facts are recited in the preamble of an act passed in 1497, by which the fine the Company was authorised to impose was limited to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They must now have been a highly influential body when this was the extent to which the government ventured to interfere with their attempt to control the whole foreign trade of the country. Mr. Burgon states, in his 'Life of Sir Thomas Gresham,' that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign the Merchant Adventurers were in the habit of sending their cloths twice a-year, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, into the Low Countries; about one hundred thousand pieces of cloth being shipped annually, which

amounted in value to at least 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.*; and the merchants were accustomed to equip on these occasions a fleet of fifty or sixty ships, manned with the best seamen in the realm. As London is now, so was Bruges in the fourteenth, and Antwerp in the sixteenth centuries, the greatest resort of foreign merchants in Europe. In 1385, according to an old writer, merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles and establishments at Bruges. After the middle of the fifteenth century Antwerp became the greatest commercial emporium in Europe; and about the middle of the next century, when it had attained its highest prosperity, it was said to be no uncommon sight to see two or three thousand vessels at one time in the Scheldt, laden with merchandise from every quarter of the globe. Merchants of all nations had fixed their residences here, preserving the manners of the different countries to which they belonged. In some years, after the middle of the sixteenth century, the export of English cloth of all kinds to Antwerp was valued at 1,200,000*l.* sterling, which sum was again invested in merchandise for English consumption. To this great emporium the Portuguese, after the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, brought the spices, drugs, and other rich productions of the East. The Merchant Adventurers of England had a noble mansion at Antwerp, called the English House, at which Charles V. had been entertained when he made his triumphal entry into that city in 1520.

The discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards thoroughly roused the spirit of mercantile adventure in England; and Joint Stock Companies sprung up under the encouragement of Charters, which gave to the Adventurers the exclusive right of enjoying the advantages to be derived from the discovery of new countries or the opening of fresh sources of trade. The memory of these commercial companies has almost passed away, yet at one period to have belonged to the Russia, the Turkey, the African, or the Eastland Companies, gave to the London merchant a pre-eminence which probably he could not have attained if unassociated with these bodies. The greatness of the East India Company, and its existence down to a more recent period, have thrown into the shade the minor companies which aimed at establishing a similar monopoly; but they are, notwithstanding, intimately connected with the commercial history of London.

Of all the minor companies, perhaps that which attempted to engross the trade with Russia was, at first, the most promising. Russia had not then advanced her frontiers to the Baltic, and the first opening of a trade with the Muscovites had all the excitement of geographical discovery as well as the ordinary incentives of commercial speculation. In 1553 some merchants of London, together with several noblemen, established a Company under the title of the "Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English." Three vessels, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, were sent out on the first expedition, the main object being to discover a north-east passage to China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, with two of the ships, was compelled to put into a port of Russian Lapland, where they intended to pass the winter; and the whole of them, seventy in number, were found in the ensuing spring, frozen to death. The third ship, commanded by Richard Chancellor, found its way to the White Sea, and thus reached the dominions of the Czar. Chancellor obtained permission to proceed to Moscow, where he obtained

important privileges for carrying on a trade with the Muscovites, and then returned to England. The advantages of this new trade were secured to the Adventurers by a charter granted in 1555, while those who were not free of the Company were prohibited from engaging in the trade under pain of forfeiting both ships and merchandise. In 1556 the Company's ships brought the first Ambassador from the "Emperor of Cathaie, Muscovia and Russeland." He was unfortunately wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and the presents intended for Queen Mary were lost. He was met at Tottenham by a splendid procession, consisting of the members of the Company, on horseback, wearing coats of velvet, with rich chains of gold about their necks. The Company bore all the expenses of his embassy. At Islington the ambassador was received by Lord Montacute, with the Queen's pensioners; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen received him in their scarlet robes, at Smithfield, whence they rode with him to Denmark House, in Fenchurch Street. On the return of the Ambassador in the following year, a very indefatigable agent of the Company, named Jenkinson, went out at the same time, who struck out a new line of commercial intercourse through Russia into Persia, by the Wolga and thence across the Caspian Sea. Jenkinson performed this journey seven different times, and agents from the Company visited the Persian court on the business of their new traffic. This branch of their trade, however, was not followed up until 1741, when an Act was passed to enable them to engage in the Russo-Persian trade, but the internal troubles of the Persian empire caused it soon to be stopped. In 1566 the Company obtained the protection of an Act of Parliament, as well as their charter, on the ground that great numbers of private persons had interfered with their trade. The trade with Russia, Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the countries to the northward, north-eastward and north-westward, was secured to the Company alone; and some provisions were made in favour of the citizens of York, Newcastle, Hull, and Boston, who had traded to Russia in the preceding ten years, but they were required to make themselves free of the Company before December, 1567. The future title of the association was to be "The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades." The new Russian trade did not prove very lucrative, and in 1571 its affairs were in an embarrassed state from losses by shipwreck, bad debts, and the attacks of Polish pirates; and the expense of embassies had pressed heavily on their funds. Other complaints were also made. The Czar had curtailed some of their exclusive privileges, and the Dutch appeared as competitors in the trade. In 1582, however, the Company sent out eleven well-armed ships to Russia. In 1598 they commenced whaling operations at Spitzbergen, and asserted an exclusive right to the fishery in that quarter. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, gave the following summary of the state of the English trade with Russia. For twenty years together, he remarks, we had a great trade to Russia, and even about fourteen years ago we sent store of goodly ships thither; but three years before he wrote, he states that only four had been sent, and a year or two after that only two or three, while the Hollanders dispatched from thirty to forty ships, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with English cloth and herrings taken in the English seas. This falling off, he tells us, had been brought about by "disorderly trading." The disputes of the Company with the Dutch whalers began also to thicken. In 1612 the Company seized the Dutch ships

engaged in the fishery; but in the following year our great commercial rivals sent eighteen ships to Spitzbergen, four of which were well armed, while our whalers were only thirteen in number, and the Dutch fished in spite of the Company's exclusive pretensions. The East India and Russia Companies were united for the prosecution of the whale-fishery. The hope of discovering a north-east passage to China had probably led to this union of interests at Spitzbergen; but after a bad year's fishing in 1619 their partnership was dissolved; though the fishery was still continued by the Russia Company, and in 1635 the importation of whale-fins or whale-oil was prohibited, except by the Company in its corporate capacity alone. In 1669 the English Company was placed by the Czar precisely on the same footing as the Dutch, and the Earl of Carlisle, who was sent as ambassador, was not able to negotiate any better terms for them. From this time the association became what is called a regulated company, that is, each member traded on his own account. In 1699 the admission-fee of members was fixed by Act of Parliament at a sum not exceeding 5*l*. The Company still elects its officers, and gives an annual dinner, which is attended by merchants engaged in the Russian trade, and usually by the Russian Ambassador. The expenses of the Association are paid out of trifling duties levied on merchandise and produce imported from Russia. The English Factory in Russia, now established at St. Petersburg, is little more than a society formed of some of the principal English merchants; and Mr. M'Culloch states that its power extends to little else than the management of certain funds under its control.

The Turkey Company was chartered twenty years later than the Russia Company, but it continued to enjoy its privileges for a much longer period. Only seventy years ago Adam Smith termed this association "a strict and an oppressive monopoly." In 1579 Queen Elizabeth sent William Harburn, an English merchant, to Turkey, who obtained permission of the Sultan for the English to trade on the same terms as the French, Venetians, Germans, Poles, and others. Two years afterwards the Queen granted for seven years the exclusive right of carrying on a trade between Turkey and England to a company, consisting of four eminent merchants of London, with power to increase their number to twelve. In their charter it is stated that "Sir Edward Osburn and Richard Staper had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore in the memory of any man now living known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandise, by any the merchants or any subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom, relief of poor Christian slaves, and good vent for the commodities of the realm." Any other subjects trading to Turkey either by sea or land were to forfeit ships and goods. In the last six years for which the charter was granted, the Company were to export sufficient goods to Turkey to realize a customs duty of 500*l*. a-year. In the following year the Company commenced their commercial operations, having built ships which were then considered of large burthen, for which they were greatly commended by the Queen and Council. An envoy was sent out to deliver the Queen's letters to the Sultan to establish factories and regulations for the English trade. The French and Venetians were particularly adverse to these new competitors, whose returns at first are said to have been three for one. In 1584 some members of the Company

carried part of their cloth, tin, &c., from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence down the Tigris to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, whence they proceeded to Goa with a view of opening an overland trade to India. They carried the Queen's recommendatory letters "to the King of Cambaya and the King of China," and before their return visited Agra, Lahore, and various parts of India. In 1593 the charter of the Turkey Company was renewed for twelve years, and it now consisted of fifty-three persons, knights, aldermen, and merchants; and the number might be increased to eighteen additional members (three to be aldermen), on condition that each person paid a fine of 130*l.* to the Company to indemnify them for their past charges in establishing the trade. The Venetians having lately increased the duties on English merchandise, were prohibited importing currants and Candian wine without the licence of the Turkey Company. On the termination of the above charter a new one was granted in 1605, by King James, for a perpetuity. It provided for the admission of members by a payment of 25*l.* to the Company from merchants under the age of twenty-six, and 50*l.* if above that age; and all their apprentices were entitled to their freedom on payment of 20*s.* only. In 1615 we find the Turkey Company complaining of their diminished commerce to the Levant, for the countries supplied from that quarter began to receive commodities sent from England by the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch also now employed above a hundred sail in the Levant trade, while the Turkey Company sent thirty ships fewer than formerly. However, in 1621, Mr. Munn, in his 'Discourse of Trade,' says, that of all Europe England drove the most profitable trade to Turkey, by reason of the vast quantities of broad cloth exported thither. Nothing remarkable in the history of the Company occurred until 1681, when a warm dispute ensued between it and the East India Company, and the former made a direct appeal to the King's Council. The Turkey Company stated that they exported English goods, chiefly cloth, of the value of 500,000*l.*, for which they brought in exchange raw silk and other materials of manufacture, but chiefly silk; and they complained that if this article were supplanted by silk from India, the exports to Turkey must necessarily fall off, as three-fourths of their value were received in Turkey silk, the other commodities of Turkey not being equivalent to carry on more than a fourth of the present trade. The facility with which all who were bred merchants could enter the Turkey Company was compared with the exclusive nature of the East India Company, which was a joint-stock association, and did not permit members trading on their own bottom. Thus the members of the Turkey Company had increased from seventy persons to at least five hundred between 1640 and 1680. The number of actual merchants in the East India Company was not more than a fifth of the whole number of members. The Turkey Company asked the Council to concede to them the right of trading to the Red Sea and all other dominions of the Sultan, and to have access thereto by the Cape of Good Hope. In their reply the East India Company adverted to the respective constitution of the two bodies, remarking that "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects, may be traders, and employ their capitals in a joint-stock, whereas, in a regulated company, such as the Turkey Company is, none can be traders but such as they call legitimate or bred merchants." Forty years afterwards, in 1720, the number of persons who were members of the Turkey

Company was two hundred. In the next twenty years the French trade increased so much in the Levant, while that of the Turkey Company had diminished, that a bill was brought into Parliament for abolishing the privileges of the association as the most probable way of enabling our trade to regain its ascendancy. The advocates of the Company were heard at the bar, and their reasons against the measure were considered strong enough to defeat it. The Company was still at a very great expense in supporting the charge of an Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls in other parts of Turkey, as Aleppo, Smyrna, &c., where their factories had been established. Perhaps the circumstance which told most strongly in favour of the Company's interests was the belief that if the trade were thrown open it would quickly pass into the hands of the Jews, who were great supporters of the bill. In 1753 an act was passed, which made several important changes in the constitution of the Company, the preamble of which recited the most probable means of recovering the trade to be, "The taking of lesser fines for being made free of this Company; and the not restraining the freedom thereof to mere merchants, and to such persons as, residing within twenty miles of London, are free of the said City;" also the liberty of shipping goods from whatever port, and on board such ships as happened to be most convenient. Hitherto no merchandise could be exported to Turkey except in ships belonging to the Company, and, as these only sailed from London, the trade was entirely confined to that port. Under the new act every subject of Great Britain could be admitted a member of the Company, after giving thirty days' notice, and paying a fine of 20*l*. Thus, some of the principal abuses to which the Turkey trade was subject were removed. In 1825 the Company ceased to exist.

The trade to Africa, which commenced about the year 1530, and was for some time an open trade, was eventually restricted to a joint-stock company. At first a patent was granted for ten years to several merchants in Devonshire and two of London, for an exclusive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia, because, as it was alleged, "the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning." The trade seems to have been carried on in rather a desultory manner by the patentees, and for some time after the expiration of their privileges it appears to have been discontinued entirely. In 1618, however, King James granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich and other persons in London, authorizing them to raise a joint-stock fund for trading to Guinea; but the Company was apparently unable to keep out interlopers, or to compete with the Dutch, and was broken up. Another African Company was formed in 1631, by Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and several London merchants, and a charter was obtained for an exclusive trade to Guinea, and other parts of the west coast of Africa, for thirty-one years. Forts and factories were erected; but though the Company was empowered to seize the ships of private traders they were unable to keep the trade to themselves; and, to compromise matters, they agreed to grant licences to the interlopers. During the civil war the African trade became generally open; and the Dutch and Danes destroyed the Company's forts and took their ships. As soon as the charter had expired, another Company was set on foot, in 1662, at the head of which was the Duke of York and many persons of rank and distinction. One of the conditions

of their charter was to supply the West India plantations with three thousand negroes annually. The first operations were directed to the recovering possession of the forts, for which purposes fourteen ships were sent out, and they were retaken; but the Dutch, under De Ruyter, got possession of them again in the same year. The Duke of York, by way of retaliation, seized above a hundred Dutch merchant ships, on which a war was formally declared between the two countries. The result was that this African Company shared the fate of its predecessors. These discouragements did not prevent the formation of a fourth company, at the head of which were the King, the Duke of York, and several persons of rank. A capital of 111,000*l.* was raised in nine months; a sum of 34,000*l.* was paid to the late Company for three of their forts; and operations were commenced with considerable spirit and with tolerable success. The former companies had been in the habit of making up their assortment of goods in Holland, but the manufacturing skill and industry of England had now so much improved that it was no longer necessary to resort to our neighbours. For several years the new Company exported British goods to the value of 70,000*l.* annually, and out of the gold which they imported fifty thousand 'guineas' were coined in 1672. At the Revolution the West India planters joined the free traders in attacking the Company's privileges; the former asserting that they were always best served with negroes when the trade was open. By the petition and declaration of rights an end was put to exclusive trading companies not authorized by Parliament, and the African trade became an open one; but for some time afterwards the Company persisted in seizing the ships of the private traders, as they were empowered to do by their exclusive charter. By the end of the century the private traders had secured the greatest share of the trade; but as the African Company was at the expense of maintaining forts and factories, and paid the salaries of governors and a numerous staff of officers, the legislature felt bound to indemnify them for their charges on this account, and an act was passed in 1698 for levying a per centage on the private traders, who were no longer to be termed interlopers. The African Company long hankered after its old privileges, and made several attempts to obtain the sanction of the legislature for an exclusive charter, but the measure was always vigorously opposed by the free traders. Still the Parliament, although it passed resolutions as to the necessity of rendering the trade completely free, did not act upon them; and so long as the forts on the coast continued in the Company's hands they necessarily enjoyed a certain degree of pre-eminence which could not so easily be dispensed with. In 1730 Parliament granted 10,000*l.* for the purpose of keeping these forts in repair; and as from this time an annual grant was made for the purpose, the chief impediment to opening the trade no longer existed. Accordingly, in 1750, an act was passed by which the African Company ceased to be a joint-stock association, but became a regulated company, under the title of "The Company of Merchants trading to Africa," the forts, settlements, and factories of the old Company being transferred to the new body. The government of the new Company was vested in a committee of nine, elected by persons who had paid forty shillings for the freedom of the Company. Three of the committee were chosen in London, and three each in Bristol and Liverpool. Their power extended only to the government of the forts and factories, and they were not allowed to interfere with the trade. A sum of 800*l.* was allowed for the expenses of management in

London, which was increased in 1764 to 1200*l*. In 1821 the charter was recalled, and the Company has ceased to exist.

The Eastland Company consisted of merchants trading to the ports of the Baltic, and was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1579, with a view of encouraging an opposition to the Hanse Merchants. In 1672 an Act was passed by which the trade with the ports on the north side of the Baltic was laid open without reserve, and the eastern ports to all who paid a fine of 40*s*. to the Eastland Company. Sir Joshua Child, in his 'Discourses on Trade,' states that the low rate of interest in Holland, and the "narrow, limited Companies of England," had thrown the Baltic trade into the hands of the Dutch, who had no Eastland Company, and yet ten times as much trade as the English in those ports, whereas to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which was an open trade for both nations, we had as extensive a commerce as the Dutch. The Eastland Company, long after it had ceased to exist commercially, continued to elect its annual officers, having a small stock in the funds to defray the expenses of a yearly commemoration of its former existence.

It is unnecessary to proceed with the history of the minor trading companies which existed at different times. The Hamburgh, Greenland, and other Companies were of too limited a nature to exercise much influence on the commerce of London.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only one of the old trading associations which still continues in active operation. It was first incorporated on the 2nd of May, 1670. In the preceding year Prince Rupert, cousin of Charles II., with seventeen persons of rank and distinction, had sent out a ship to the Bay to ascertain the probability of opening a trade in that quarter for furs, minerals, &c., and the report being favourable they procured their charter. No minerals have been found, but the fur trade has proved a mine of wealth. William the Conqueror's New Forest was a mere speck in comparison to this noble hunting ground of this English trading company. It comprises an area of between two and three million square miles, or a space some forty or fifty times larger than England, extending from Hudson's Bay to the shores of the Pacific, and from the frontiers of the United States to the Arctic Sea. This vast region is diversified with mountains, rocks, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, swamps, and forests; and the pursuit of the beasts of chace which inhabit it leads men from their civilized homes to pass years in the wilderness in adventures with grisly bears, or other wild animals, and often with savage men equally untamed. Here, bitten by the frosts of winter, and stung by the musquitoes and sand-flies in summer; often on short commons; sometimes reduced to live on the flesh of their horses; spending a dreary winter at one of the "forts," the servants of the Company pass their wild adventurous life. For nearly a century after the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered, Canada was a French colony; and not only when hostilities existed between France and England, but even at other times, the forts of the Company were occasionally attacked. The French-Canadians also prosecuted the fur trade with remarkable success, adapting themselves to circumstances with that facility which distinguishes the natives of France. The *coureurs des bois* plunged into forests with the red man, learned his language, intermarried with the race, and were often adopted in his tribes. By this means the northern part of that vast

continent became eventually as familiar to the fur traders as the neighbourhood of Montreal. Before the dominion of France ceased in Canada, the French had pushed their fur trade to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. A new impulse was given to it when Canada became a British colony, and the Anglo-Canadians entered into this branch of enterprise, at first desultorily, being content with what are now considered short expeditions of 1500 or 1600 miles from Montreal. But this limited field did not long satisfy the more enterprising traders, who pushed into unknown regions and were richly rewarded for their exertions. Others soon followed, until the keenness of competition threatened to destroy the trade. This state of things led to the union of the fur traders of Canada in 1783, under the name of the "North-West Company." The Canadian French were already trained to their service, and the principle of the association was well calculated to direct the feelings of individual self-interest to the general objects of the united body. The clerks had the prospect of becoming partners after certain periods of service, and many of them acquired wealth. Most of them were natives of Scotland. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who rose from a clerkship, is known to the public by his geographical discoveries, and by the river which bears his name. The recent acquisitions to geographical knowledge made by Messrs. Simpson and Dease, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, are well known. The furs are collected from the hunters at the different "forts" and "houses" of the Company. Fort William, on Lake Superior, was established as a sort of half-way house between Montreal and the posts in the interior. It was really managed like a garrison, the partners acting as commanding officers, the clerks as subalterns, and the French-Canadians and Indians forming the rank and file. At the close of the season the "winterers" arrived, the furs and skins which they brought were assorted, and accounts were settled. After dinner partners and clerks made merry in the great hall, and enjoyed their long nights of revelry and ease; while the *voyageurs*, Indian half-breeds, and a motley group were not less enjoying themselves in the court-yard. Ross Cox, whose 'Adventures' abound with the most lively descriptions of the life of the fur traders, was at Fort William in 1817, and ascertained that "the aggregate number of persons in and about the establishment was composed of natives of the following countries:—England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States, Canadians, Africans, and a mixed progeny of Creoles." The "winterers" are allowed, after a certain time, to have their turn of going to Montreal, and those between Montreal and Fort William are sent into the interior. Arduous as was the task of conveying between Montreal and Fort William the stores and articles of barter and the furs obtained from the trappers and hunters, it was in the interior that real hardships were experienced. "Here," says Ross Cox, "no sign of civilization was to be seen; not a church, or chapel, or house, or garden, nor even a cow, a horse, or a sheep; nothing during the entire day; just rocks, rivers, lakes, portages, waterfalls, and large forests; bears roaring a tattoo every night, and wolves howling a *réveille* every morning."

The activity of the North-West Company at length roused the Hudson's Bay Company, which laid claim to the right of trading in a large portion of the country where the North-West Company had established their forts; but the claim was disregarded, and a strong spirit of mutual jealousy and opposition sprung up

between them. In 1813 the North-West Company bought Astoria, on the Columbia river, which Mr. Astor, of New York, and his other partners had been compelled to relinquish in consequence of the war between Great Britain and the United States. The North-West Company's establishments now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Hudson's Bay Company had also extended its chain of posts over its vast territory. Soon after the commencement of the present century an open war broke out between the two Companies, already far removed from the restraints of law. Forts were surprised and parties were intercepted and taken prisoners, according to the ordinary practices of belligerents. This unfortunate state of things was happily put an end to by the union of the North-West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. The united body retain the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has for its "field of chase" the whole of North America, from the frontiers of Canada and the United States to the Frozen Ocean, and from the shores of Labrador to those of the Pacific. The mere enumeration of the distances between some of the forts will give but an inadequate idea of the difficulties of transporting skins and stores from one to another. The routes taken are chains of lakes and rivers, connected by links of portages, where the canoes and packages must be carried by the *voyageurs*. From Fort William on Lake Superior to Cumberland House, on the main branch of the Saskatchewan River, is 1018 miles; from Cumberland House to Fort Chepewyan, on Lake Athabasca, is 840 miles; thence to Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, is 240 miles. The Mackenzie River flows out of this lake, and there are three forts on it. The first is Fort Simpson, 338 miles from Fort Resolution; Fort Norman, 236 miles lower down; and Fort Good Hope, 312 miles below Fort Norman, is the most northerly of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments, being about 3800 miles from Montreal. Yet the clerks in charge of these establishments look upon each other as neighbours! "At a great number of our posts," says Mr. Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, "potatoes are cut off even by summer frosts, and they cannot grow corn." Pemmican or dried meat is there the chief article of subsistence; and it is always necessary to victual each establishment much in the same way as a ship about to depart on a long voyage. The clerks of the United Companies are still mostly Scotchmen; and Mr. Pelly says, "If they conduct themselves well as clerks, they are promoted and become traders, and afterwards factors. The chief factors and chief traders, as they are called, participate in the profits."

The furs obtained each season are shipped to London from Hudson's Bay, Montreal, and from the Columbia river. In 1788 upwards of 127,000 beaver skins were exported from Canada; but although the hunting-grounds in British North America are now so much more extensive, the number within the last ten years has never exceeded 104,429; and the average of the six years from 1835 to 1840 was only 68,304. The Company now maintain beaver preserves in their territories. Whenever the animals become scarce in any district the post or fort in the neighbourhood is removed, and the natives also shift their quarters along with it.

The great sales of the Hudson's Bay Company, at their house in Fenchurch Street, take place twice a year at fixed periods, usually about Easter and early

in September, and are remarkable for the number of foreigners who attend them, particularly from Germany. Before steam navigation had given certainty to the voyage, it not unfrequently happened that the day of sale was obliged to be postponed, in consequence of the non-arrival of the packets, from contrary winds. So many of the buyers are of Jewish race that the sales are not proceeded with on the Saturday. The beaver-skins are bought by the great hat-manufacturers, and are not re-exported. The other English buyers are the furriers, a large proportion of whom are Germans, or of German extraction, as their names sufficiently indicate. The foreign buyers carry their furs to the great fairs at Frankfort and Leipzig, whence they are distributed over Europe. Some find their way to the great Russian fair of Nijny-Novgorod, and are carried thence to Kiakhta by the Russian traders. This singular Russo-Chinese entrepôt is resorted to by the Tartar traders, who convey the furs to Pekin. The history of a skin, from its coming into the hands of the hunter to its forming a part of the robe of a Chinese mandarin, would be a curious illustration of the untiring energy of the commercial principle.

It is not solely as a defence against the severity of the climate that furs are valued. The taste for wearing them is characteristic of the Tartar and Slavonic races wherever they are found, whether in Southern Russia, Poland, Persia, Turkey, or China, and also of the people of Teutonic origin in the middle and western parts of Europe. At one period the use of furs in England was a distinguishing mark of rank and consideration. A statute of Edward III. confined the wearing of fur in their clothes to the royal family, and to "prelates, earls, barons, knights, and ladies, and people of Holy Church which might expend by year an C^{li} of their benefices at the least." Henry VIII. also enacted a sumptuary law respecting the use of furs. In 1567, Henry Lane, in a letter to Hakluyt, the collector of English voyages, expresses his regret that the use of furs should not be renewed, "especially in courts and amongst magistrates, because," says he, "they are for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely; expressing dignity, comforting age, and of long continuance; and better with small cost to be preferred than those new silks, shags and rags, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed."

[Statue of Charles I., with the unfinished Nelson Testimonial.]

CXXX.—PUBLIC STATUES.

In glancing at the title of this paper, which, let us ask, of the public statues of London would in all probability first occur to the generality of readers? There can be but one answer to the question—the statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross, which is one of the best, one of the earliest, and by far the most historically interesting of the whole. At Charing Cross, then, let us commence our survey of the chief of these works. The place itself may be said to be sacred from a very early period to the great object of monumental sculpture, that of commemorating persons whose virtues have shed a glory upon our common humanity: for here it was that the body of the admirable queen of Edward I., Eleanor, rested for the last time on its way from Lincolnshire to the Abbey, and where accordingly, as at all the other resting-places, a cross was erected by her husband; in whose

prolonged life of ruthless warfare this event forms a most touching incident. But the name—Charing Cross itself, whence is that derived? "From the village existing here even before the erection of the cross," answers your mere antiquary, glad to adopt any hypothesis rather than one which has a "taint" of poetry or romance in it; but, really, he must excuse us, if, in the present instance, in the absence of a particle of proof that there was a village here before the period in question, we believe the popular and romantic explanation of the name, to be also the most probable and satisfactory,—and that is, *Chere Reyne*, or dear queen. The cross was first sculptured in wood, which was afterwards replaced by one of stone. This was of an octagonal form, in the pointed style of architecture, decorated with no less than eight figures. We may judge of the quality of the sculpture by looking at the recumbent statue of the "dear queen" in Westminster, which is supposed to be by the same artists, scholars of the school of Niccolo Pisano; a statue of almost unequalled purity and beauty. It is not wise to undervalue the services of the church reformers of the sixteenth century, but, in commercial phrase, there is a heavy *per contra* to the account: the destruction of the statue at Charing Cross forms one among the long list of items.

The associations of the statue which, in the following century, succeeded to the site of the cross, are generally of a painful character; but there is one noticeable exception. The exceedingly expressive and beautiful piece of sculpture, which represents Charles I. (the earliest equestrian public statue in London, by the way), may be looked upon as a happy memorial of one of the most enlightened and munificent patrons of art England has known. And, since there appears little probability of our coming to an unanimous opinion as to whether Charles was a martyr or a tyrant, we may at least unite in honouring the memory of him who brought the Cartoons into this country, who helped to make the names of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Guido, and Rubens household words among us, who had Vandyke for his chief painter, Inigo Jones for his chief architect. The artist of the king's statue, Hubert le Sœur, was himself one of the numerous band of able men whom Charles's taste and liberality tempted hither. He was a pupil of John of Bologna, and arrived in London about 1630. Of the many works executed by him in bronze in this country, the statue at Charing Cross seems to be the only one ever mentioned now, perhaps as being the only one now existing. This was cast in 1633, for the Earl of Arundel, the famous collector, and to whom Charles is said to have been materially indebted for his artistical tastes. The subsequent history of the statue is very curious. During the civil wars it was sold to a brazier in Holborn, of the name of John River, with orders to break it in pieces; the brazier, however, was too much of a loyalist, or too much an admirer of art (which is the more likely, as the statue would hardly have been sold to a known favourer of the royal cause), or, which is likeliest of all, had too keen a perception of its pecuniary value at some future time, to obey his orders; so he buried it, and satisfied the officers of government by showing them some broken pieces of metal. That our "worthy brazier," as he has been called, was not overburdened with any very strict principles of honesty we know from an amusing anecdote related by M. d'Archenholz, who says he cast a vast number of handles of knives and forks in brass, which he sold as made of the broken statue. They were bought with great eagerness by both parties—by the

loyalists as a mark of affection to their monarch, and by the republicans as a memorial of their triumph. At the Restoration the statue was, of course, restored too. And, as a preliminary, a libation of blood was poured forth, as if to wash away the memory of its temporary degradation. Here the scaffold was erected for the execution of the men of the Commonwealth; and, to mark beyond the possibility of mistake the thirst for vengeance from which the act sprang, the executioners, inspirited by the presence of the king at a short distance, and fulfilling, no doubt, the orders given to them, actually revelled in cruelty, adding tortures that not even the execrable terms of the sentence could be supposed to include. When Coke was cut down and brought to be quartered, one Colonel Turner called to the sheriffs' men to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing; which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, asked him "how he liked that work?" The answer of the brave and high-principled man was simply that he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me, but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement."* These were not very attractive reminiscences to be connected with any statue, and the matter was still worse when the connexion was so intimate as between the events and the individual represented by the particular statue in question. For the time, at least, it ceased to be looked upon as anything but a party memorial, and it was treated accordingly. Andrew Marvell, especially, seems to have made it for London what the celebrated statue of Pasquin was for Rome, a vehicle for lampoons against the government. Here is his first notice of the statue, written evidently whilst it was in process of restoration:

"What can be the mystery, why Charing Cross
This five months continues still muffled with board?
Dear Wheeler, impart, we are all at a loss
Unless we must have Punchinello restor'd.

"'Twere to Scaramouchio too great disrespect
To limit his troop to this theatre small,
Besides the injustice it were to eject
That mimic, so legally seiz'd of Whitehall.

* * * * * *

"No, to comfort the heart of the poor Cavalier
The late King on horseback is here to be shown;
What ado with your Kings and your statues is here!
Have we not had enough, pray, already of one?

"Does the Treasurer think men so loyally true
When their pensions are stopp'd to be fool'd with a sight?
And 'tis forty to one, if he play the old game
He'll reduce us ere long to rehearse forty-eight."†

This, from a patriot like Marvell, presents but an awkward commentary on the doings of the restored government. The date of the verses is pretty nearly marked by the allusion to the stoppage of the pensions in the last verse, which, no doubt, refers to the King's wholesale robbery of the kingdom by the sudden

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† *Forty-eight*—the year of Charles's execution.

close of the Exchequer, in 1672, which spread ruin far and wide, not only by the positive losses incurred, but also by the destruction of public credit. Bankers and commercial men especially suffered. That one of these should almost immediately afterwards erect a public statue to the monarch who had thus signalised his reign, was odd enough: and we cannot wonder that Andrew Marvell was once more roused; and, as he has connected the history of this statue with the one at Charing Cross, as we shall presently have occasion to show, we may here pause a moment to notice it. On and around the site of the present Mansion House, there was formerly a market known as the Stocks Market, in which was a conduit; to commemorate at once his loyalty and his mayoralty, Sir Robert Vyner set up an equestrian statue of Charles II. on the top of this conduit. Neither as a likeness nor as a work of art did the statue attract admiration: Marvell says,

> "When each one that passes finds fault with the horse,
> Yet all do affirm that the King is much worse;
> And some by the likeness Sir Robert suspect
> That he did for the King his own statue erect.
> * * * * * *
> Thus to see him disfigur'd—the herb-women chide,
> Who upon their panniers more gracefully ride."

The explanation came out at last: Sir Robert Vyner, like another wealthy citizen, when bent upon an expensive pleasure had still a frugal mind, and so, having got hold of a statue of John Sobieski, King of Poland, with his horse trampling down a Turk, converted it into a Charles the Second; and as to the prostrate figure, if it was hinted, as was very natural, that it was Cromwell, why, Sir Robert could only smile, and own the "soft impeachment." After the pulling down of the conduit, the statue lay for years among the rubbish about Guildhall; but in 1779 it was given by the Common Council to a descendant of the original giver, who removed it to his country seat, where, for aught we know, it is still preserved. Might it not be recovered by a proper application? We cannot but regret the loss of such an inexhaustible treasury of mirth—of so capital a sculptured joke, only the more amusing from the reflection that its author by no means intended anything of the kind.

In looking at the allusions contained in the lampoons of Marvell, we need to refresh our recollections of the actual events of the time, in order to avoid doing the satirist injustice; it is hard to believe that the "merry monarch" could be so very despicable as he is described. Unfortunately, however, what Marvell and others then said upon the strength of individual conviction, rather than from positive proof, has been since proved to be true to an extent that they could hardly have been aware of. We do not allude to the profligacy of the domestic life, but to the before unheard-of conduct in English annals, of an English monarch becoming a secret pensioner of the court of France, and making the foreign policy of the one state dependent upon the bribes of the other. Who can wonder at the indignation of a man who called Milton friend; a man whose entire history proves alike the probity, the enthusiasm, the courage, and the ability, that he devoted to the public service? The paper which has chiefly led to these remarks is in the form of a dialogue between the two statues of Woolchurch (or Stocks Market) and Charing. Marvell, after giving various reasons to show that we need not be surprised at what he is going to relate, gives us to understand that

the riders, weary of sitting so long, stole away one evening, and that the horses took the opportunity of meeting each other and having a little conversation, partaking, it must be acknowledged, of the scandalous. After some plain speaking as to the subserviency of church and state to the King's mistress, with allusions to the injury done to widows and orphans by the closing of the Exchequer, as before mentioned, to maintain the pride of the said lady, at all of which, remarks the Charing horse to his companion,

"My brass is provoked as much as thy stone,—"

They both break into a kind of frenzy at the sights that meet them on all sides in connection with the government. Thus runs the alternate complaint—

Woolchurch.—To see *Dei Gratia* writ on the throne
And the King's wicked life say God there is none.
Charing.—That he should be styled Defender of the Faith
Who believes not a word what the Word of God saith.
Woolchurch.—That the Duke should turn Papist, and that Church defy
For which his own father a martyr did die.
Charing.—Though he changed his religion, I hope he's so civil
Not to think his own father is gone to the devil.

After a good deal more in the same strain, Charing seems to remember they are getting warm, so bids Woolchurch

Pause, brother, awhile, and calmly consider
What thou hast to say against my royal rider.
Woolchurch.—Thy priest-ridden King turned desperate fighter
For the surplice, lawn sleeves, the cross, and the mitre;
Till at last on the scaffold he was left in the lurch
By knaves, who cried up themselves for the church,
Archbishops and bishops, archdeacons and deans.
Charing.—Thy King will ne'er fight unless for his queans.
Woolchurch.—He that dies for ceremonies dies like a fool.
Charing.—The King on thy back is a lamentable tool.

And now the horses grow so scurrilous that we must leave them, quoting, however, a couple of passages of the concluding part of their dialogue, which show the poet could prophesy well as to the future, whatever might be the correctness of his views as to the past. To the question of Woolchurch,

"What is thy opinion of James Duke of York?"

Charing answers,

"The same that the frogs had of Jupiter's stork.
With the Turk in his head, and the Pope in his heart,
Father Patrick's disciples will make England smart.
If he e'er be king, I know Britain's doom;
We must all to a stake, or be converts to Rome.
Ah, Tudor! Ah, Tudor! of Stuarts enough—
None ever reigned like old Bess in the ruff!
* * * * * *
Woolchurch.—But canst thou devise when things will be mended?
Charing.—When the reign of the line of the Stuarts is ended."

We have but to step to the back of the Banqueting House to find a memorial that forms a striking commentary on the concluding line—the statue of James II., who did become king, who began the career the poet shadowed out, but who was

not permitted to complete it: the "line of the Stuarts" was "ended" instead, by a second dethronement.

It is curious that none of the histories of London mention the origin of this statue of James, which is by Gibbons, and not only valuable for its intrinsic excellence, but as showing that the fame of Gibbons as a carver on wood is founded on a solid base,—that he was, in short, a truly fine artist, in the higher sense of the term; and it is only to be regretted that he had not oftener worked in the more durable material, on the larger subjects. The employer of Gibbons in this work, and in a corresponding statue of Charles II., was, it appears, one Tobias Rustat, Keeper of Hampton Court and Yeoman of the Robes, who took it into his head to present the King and his brother with their statues in brass, at an expense of 500*l.* each. Hence the Charles now in Chelsea Hospital, the James at Whitehall. Allan Cunningham says of the latter, "It has great ease of attitude, and a certain serenity of air;" but it has more than this—the character of the man is as legibly inscribed on that brass as historian has ever written it on paper. Think but for a moment of him who could first admit to an audience his own brother's son, the Duke of Monmouth, in the hope apparently of learning something that might be useful to him, and then, unmoved by all the unfortunate duke's passionate pleadings for life, dismiss him coolly to the axe; or of him who, when the infamous Jeffreys returned from the task of hanging up by hundreds, with scarcely the semblance of a trial, the people who had aided, or were supposed to have aided—it was all the same—Monmouth in his ill-managed revolt, made the event memorable by a most emphatic eulogy on the judge in the 'Gazette,' accompanying the announcement of an equally emphatic promotion to the Chancellorship. James was clearly wrong when some months afterwards, in expressing his concern for Jeffreys' illness, brought on by debauchery, he said such another man would not easily be found in England: the force of sympathy should have told him *he* need not seek far. We have only to think of these things, and then turn our glances upon the gloomy inexorable features of Gibbons' statue to feel at once—Such was the man.

From the statue of James at Whitehall, and the recollections suggested by it, one naturally turns towards Soho Square, and to the statue there, which, according to a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in 1790,* represents the Duke of Monmouth; whilst Hughson, in his 'Walks through London,' says it is a statue of James, and lastly, the Rev. Mr. Nightingale, in the 'Beauties of England and Wales,' ascribes the honour to Charles II. The inscription on the base was illegible when the last named gentleman noticed it, in 1815, and so remains Monmouth, it appears, resided here, in a house, the site of which is now occupied by Bateman's Buildings, and the Square, when first built, was called by his name. This was subsequently—perhaps on Monmouth's disgrace—changed to King's Square, and then again by his admirers to Soho Square, from the watchword, Soho, used on the day of battle at Sedgemoor, where the Duke was defeated. The name, Monmouth Square, however, appears to have been in common use so late as 1790, when the writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' to whom we have alluded, thus designated it. As to the statue, it would, perhaps, be impossible to find a more striking illustration of the folly of those who think

* Page 888.

that memorials of brass or stone can perpetuate the memory of men whose merits have not been of an equally durable character. The circumstances we have mentioned show that the statue must necessarily have been the subject of much animated discussion: scarcely a century and a half have elapsed since its erection, and yet we know not to whom it belongs, whether to Charles, to his son, or to his brother.

Odd coincidences occur with regard to the localities chosen for some of the public statues of London; we may in particular mention two, the statues of James's successor in St. James's Square, and of George I. in Leicester Square. It was in the first of these places that James built a large house for his favourite mistress, Catherine Sedley, created by him Countess of Dorchester; and there—nowhere but there—does Chance, as if to show she is not always the blind goddess she seems, bring in later times the statue of him who so quietly handed James down from the throne, and banished him from all the delights of his harem, from all the pleasant anticipations of an occasional *auto de fé*, such as we were to have enjoyed, according to Andrew Marvell, had the bounteous giver been spared to us. The statue of the hooked-nose King and warrior, William, the hero of our "glorious Revolution," stands on a pedestal in the middle of the circular sheet of water that adorns the square, embowered in green foliage. The equestrian statue of George I., in Leicester Square, which was formerly at Cannons, in Hertfordshire, suggests equally awkward reminiscences. The first house built on the spot, then known as Leicester-fields, was founded by one of the Sydneys, Earl of Leicester. Here the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., lived and died; and here subsequently, when George I. and his son quarrelled, the latter took up his residence, collected about him the disaffected of all classes, and made Leicester House notorious for political intrigue. A system of undisguised warfare between father and son took place; and it became but too evident to the nation at large, horrible as the fact was, that they hated each other. The explanation is sufficiently evident. The Prince's mother was that Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whose painful and mysterious story has excited so much interest. On the assumed ground of her infidelity with Count Königsmark, who suddenly disappeared (it was afterwards discovered that he had been assassinated), she was confined in the solitary castle of Ahlen, on the river Aller, for thirty-two years, and there she died only a few months before her husband George I. The feelings of the Prince, who, it is well known, tenderly loved his mother, and naturally believed her innocent, since there were numbers of persons less interested who believed the same, may be readily imagined. Once during her life he is said to have made a bold attempt to obtain an interview with her, and for that purpose crossed the river on horseback; but the jailor to whom she was entrusted, Baron Bulow, was immoveable. On the other hand, George I., if he really believed in the story of his wife's guilt, is not altogether without excuse, since the very relationship of his presumed son was thereby questioned. As a conclusion to these notices of George I. and the Square, it is to be observed that the unseemly spectacle presented by him and his son, was repeated very nearly in the same manner when the latter succeeded the throne, by him and his son Frederick, who died here. Pennant happily called the house a "pouting-place for princes." Another equestrian statue of George I. stands in Grosvenor Square, where it was erected in 1726 by Sir R. Grosvenor, the founder

of the square. Of that distinguished Roman warrior, George II.—for so the sculptor by his costume represents him—we have a statue in Golden Square, which, though unnoticed hitherto in any of the topographical works on London, has an entertaining bit of gossip attached to it. This, like the statue of George I., was formerly at Cannons, the seat of the Duke of Chandos, and formed one of a series. During the sale that took place, a gentleman, an acquaintance of the auctioneer, came in, and, catching his eye, nodded in token of friendly remembrance. "Thank you, Sir," was the immediate comment—down went the hammer—"The statue of that excellent monarch is yours." What could the possessor do with such an immense piece of sculpture but give it to the public?

But though we have a statue of George II., one of the great events of his reign—the endeavours made by the young Pretender to restore the Stuart line—is much more forcibly impressed upon us, in gazing on the statue of that king's brother, the Duke of Cumberland, in Cavendish Square: which was erected, as the inscription informs us, by Lieutenant General Strode, in memory of "his private kindness; in honour of his public virtue," in 1777. The private kindness we are bound to believe, and gratitude is at all times an admirable quality; but General Strode should have made somewhat surer about the public virtue, before he called upon the public to participate in his own feelings of admiration. Popular nicknames have generally much truth wrapped up in them, and the Duke of Cumberland's is by no means an exception. "The Butcher" was the title applied to him in his own day, and it is likely to outlive the statue which, in disregard to the best feelings of human nature, has been set up. Men may differ as to the value of the Duke's services in overthrowing the rebels at Culloden, or they may even agree that they were most valuable; but the horrors of the wanton cruelties that followed must be universal. The atrocities committed by him in the Highlands, in pursuance of his scheme of a "little bloodletting," are sickening to contemplate. The men were hunted like wild beasts, not to conquer but to exterminate; the women were subjected to outrages compared with which death were light; children were shot, mangled, or precipitated over the sides of the steep rocks in their parents' eye-sight; whilst the houses of the wretched people were so completely plundered and destroyed that it became a common spectacle to behold persons of all ages, frantic with hunger, actually following the army which had wrought all their ruin and misery, to beg for the mere offal of their own cattle. When that purification of our public statues, which there is so much reason to hope for, shall take place, and none be left standing that do not fulfil the conditions which Morality and Art are alike interested in demanding from the men whose effigies are to adorn our high places, we trust one exception may be made—the Duke of Cumberland's statue; let not that be destroyed; keep it, if it be but to inscribe on it, for the good of the people, the people's own short summary of his character, and thus leave it to posterity. Who shall say what suffering and disgrace may not be spared in future wars, if wars there must be, by so decisive and permanent an expression of a sound public feeling?

There is little to say in praise of the sculpture of the statues belonging to this period—the early part of the eighteenth century. Not that people were altogether

indifferent on the subject. One had only to walk through the upper end of Piccadilly to see that there was a positive rage for sculpture, such as it was. That street, or road, as it might then be called, was lined with the shops of statuaries, finishing at Hyde Park Corner with a regular depôt for the sale of shepherds and shepherdesses, and copies from the antique, in lead, and all nicely painted. We can guess as to the quality of the Arcadian innocents; and as to the copies from the antique, Ralph, writing in 1731, says, "they are so monstrously wretched that one can hardly guess at their originals." The statue of George I., in Grosvenor Square, was by Van Nost, it is said; but Malcolm speaks of one Vancost, as modelling a statue of the same monarch, from that of Charles I. at Charing Cross, in 1721, and he, it appears, was of "Hyde Park Corner;" so, in all probability, the Grosvenor Square statue was one of the productions of the depôt. About this time a fresh importation of foreign artists took place, and once more works of merit appeared in our public places; and let us not contemn the Piccadilly sculpture shops: it was at one of them, belonging to Henry Cheere, that the order was given for a statue of Handel, for Vauxhall Gardens, and executed by a journeyman; that journeyman was Roubiliac, who at once rose to fame. Scheemakers and Rysbrack appeared in England about the same time; to the last we owe the statue of Sir Hans Sloane, in the gardens of the Apothecaries' Company, Chelsea.

[Sir Hans Sloane.]

And it is quite refreshing to pause a moment in the contemplation of the character of the man represented; active to save rather than destroy, far beyond even the usual limits of his benevolent profession—that of a physician,—more ambitious of the power of doing good than of achieving wealth and rank which, nevertheless, he did achieve, in order that they too might

be useful to the same end, Sir Hans Sloane's long and well-spent life entitles his memory to national respect and honour. But why do we allude to his general character? We need not leave these gardens for an evidence of what Sir Hans Sloane was. When the College of Physicians formed the plan for the establishment of a dispensary to provide medical attendance and medicines gratuitously to the poor, Sloane was one of the most energetic of its supporters. The apothecaries opposed the scheme with great heat and violence, and a tremendous paper-war broke out, which, whilst it amused the town mightily, caused much ill-will between the members of the respective parties. Sloane was, of course, a favourite mark of attack, both from his position and his activity. Chance gave him an opportunity of exhibiting his resentment of the treatment he had experienced. In 1720 he purchased his Chelsea estate, of which the garden, then in the occupation of the Apothecaries' Company, formed a part. Of course, it was not to be expected he was going to keep such tenants; so he immediately gave them—the freehold. The Company honoured itself as well as its benefactor by erecting this statue. No fear that such a memorial will ever be met by the questioning glance, so full of meaning, and which, put into words, says—Why art thou? It were a pretty problem for the reader to solve—How many of our other metropolitan statues are there of which the same may be predicated?

Up to the commencement of the reign of George III. but one native artist, Gibbons, had appeared in modern times in England whose works are now distinguished for their excellence: Cibber, the author of the admirable figures at Bethlehem Hospital, we need hardly remind our readers, was a foreigner; but the faint promise held out, even by the advent of that one, was to be nobly realised a century later; then Bacon, Banks, and Flaxman successively appeared, each raising higher than it had been before his appearance the reputation of the growing school of English sculpture. We have here to do with the first only, Bacon, the author of the pile in the court of Somerset House, embodying in the lower stage a recumbent figure of Thames, and in the upper, a statue of George III. One cannot but look with more than ordinary curiosity upon such a work, from the remembrance of Bacon's memorable offer to the Government to undertake *all* the national monuments at a certain per centage below the parliamentary price. "Spirit of Phidias," exclaimed Fuseli, when he heard of it, "Bacon is to do all the stone-work for the navy and army; they ought also to give him the contract for hams and pork." As to the figure of Thames, the sculptor certainly thought well of it himself, for he sent it to the Academy exhibition; but Allan Cunningham calls it "a cumbrous effort of skill," and justifies, he says, the question of the queen, "Why did you make so frightful a figure?"—an awkward question for a painter's nerves to come from such a quarter; but the courtiers about Her Majesty might have taken a lesson from the adroitness of Bacon, in his answer: "Art," said he, lowly bowing, "cannot always effect what is ever within the reach of nature—the union of beauty and majesty." In another point of view some interest attaches to this group as a proof of the artist's skill in working in a difficult material. "Then, and long after," observes Bacon's biographer, in a pleasant and instructive passage, "an air of secresy and mystery was observed concerning the art of casting in metal; and a process at once simple and easy was taught to be regarded as something magical. Of the materials

which composed the external and internal mould,—the mode of rendering them safe for receiving the liquid burning metal,—the melting of the copper,—the quantities of alloy, and the proper degree of heat,—the working artists spoke a mysterious language, resembling in no small degree those conversations on Alchymy so happily ridiculed by Ben Jonson:—

> "Let me see
> How is the Moon now? eight, nine, ten days hence
> He will be silver potate; then three days
> Before he citronize; some fifteen days
> The magisterium will be perfected,—
> And then we 've finished."

"That Bacon maintained the secrets of the profession there can be little doubt, since the men who wrought his marble were not permitted to acquaint themselves with the arrangements of the foundry. His practice was to cast the figure in many pieces, and then to unite them into an entire whole by the process of burning or fusing the parts together. This plan had its advantages; it required small moulds, which were easily dried and readily handled,—small meltings, too, of metal,—nor was failure attended with the destruction of the entire mould of the figure. But it had this disadvantage: by the fusing together of many small pieces the just proportions of the whole were apt to be injured, and the figure liable to display an imperfect symmetry compared to a statue cast in one or two parts. The veil has been raised a little of late from the mystery of bronze-casting. In the splendid foundries of Chantrey and Westmacott colossal statues, twelve feet high, are cast at a couple of heats, and the whole process is exhibited to any one whom curiosity or chance may happen to conduct to the artist's studio when the moulds are ready and the metal melted."*

It might be supposed that one of the two accomplished sculptors here referred to, Westmacott, had really obtained a commission of the extensive character sought by Bacon, so large is his proportion of the statues erected in the present century. Whilst the other sculptors whose talents have been in requisition, have, as yet at least, given us each but a solitary specimen of their skill, as Chantrey in the colossal bronze statue of William Pitt, in Hanover Square, one of the noblest of our public statues, erected in 1831; Wyatt, in the bronze equestrian statue of George III., erected in Pall Mall, East, in 1836; Gahagan, in the Duke of Kent's statue, also in bronze at the top of Portland Place, erected by public subscription as a tribute to his public and private virtues; and Mr. Clarke, of Birmingham, in the bronze-seated figure of Major Cartwright, in Burton Crescent, where the venerable reformer long resided; the sculptor in question alone has given us more than all his brother artists put together. Before we notice these, we must add a few words on the statue just mentioned of him who, according to Canning, was "the old heart in London from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied." The honest and indefatigable Major Cartwright, whose zeal for what he believed to be the public good must be honoured even by those who disapprove of the means by which he pursued it, can afford even to have the attack recorded without the slightest apprehension of injury to his memory. A striking evidence of the purity of his intentions

* Cunningham, 'Life of Bacon,' p. 241.

[Pitt's Statue, Hanover Square.]

was given on his being brought up for judgment, in 1821, on the verdict of guilty of sedition, &c., when "the learned judge spoke with so much respect of the character and motives of Major Cartwright that it was afterwards humourously remarked by that gentleman that he thought he was going to offer him a reward instead of inflicting a fine."*

Westmacott's public statues, taking them in the order of their execution, are those of the Duke of Bedford, Fox, the Achilles or Wellington at Hyde Park Corner, the statue of the Duke of York on the pillar overlooking St. James Park from Carlton Terrace, and Canning's statue in New Palace Yard. The Bedford and Fox statues are noble works, and most happily situated, facing each other; the one on the south side of Russell Square, the other on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, the opening of Bedford Place forming a fine avenue, as it were, between them. The Duke rests one arm on a plough, whilst the hand of the other grasps the gift of Ceres; and the characteristics thus expressed are continued and still further developed by the children, representative of the seasons, at the four corners, and by the interesting bas-reliefs that adorn two of the sides:

* Life, by his niece, F. C. Cartwright, vol. ii. p. 214.

in one we see preparations making for the dinner of the rustic labourer, his wife is busy on her knees, a youth is blowing the horn, and two countrymen and a team of oxen complete the group; in the other the business of reaping and gleaning is shadowed forth, one of the figures, a young woman in the centre, of graceful form and sweet features, is evidently the village belle. The statue has only this inscription: Francis, Duke of Bedford, erected 1809. It is of bronze, and about twenty-seven feet in height. The statue of Fox represents the statesman seated, arrayed in a consular robe, and full of dignity. The likeness is said to be "perfect." This inscription, also, is noticeable for its simplicity—"Charles James Fox. Erected MDCCCXVI." Thus should it always be! When a people are not sufficiently acquainted with the merits of its public men, to appreciate the honour done them in the erection of public statues, by all means let us wait till they are. Greater advantages even than the waiters anticipate would flow, not unfrequently, from such a rule. "It was a strange piece of tyranny," observes a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,'* in allusion to

[Statue of Major Cartwright in Burton Crescent.]

the Achilles, "to press it into our service; but in our service it cannot abide; remove the inscription, and the Greek is a Greek again." Although the time was that one could not take up a newspaper but to read attacks or defences of this "best abused" of statues, or pass a print-shop without a laugh at some new caricature of the ladies' work, and when, of course, the whole subject became most wearisomely familiar, it may be useful now to some of our readers to have it stated that it is copied from one of two splendid specimens of ancient art, standing in front of the Papal palace at Rome. Each consists of a figure in the

* Vol. xxxiv. p. 131.

act of reining a fiery steed; and the two have been supposed to represent Castor and Pollux. They are attributed to no less an artist than Phidias. As to their history, it is believed that they were conveyed from Alexandria by Constantine the Great, to adorn his baths in Rome, among the ruins of which they were found. To add to the doubts that envelope the whole subject, the horses were discovered some distance from the human figures, and may therefore never have belonged to them. It was certainly a daring idea to take one of these figures and stamp it decidedly Achilles, which, however, it may in reality be, though the presumption is sadly against it; and then, by a kind of mental process, which every one of course was expected to perform for himself, to transform Achilles into Wellington. But the event itself was unique, the subscription of the ladies of England for a statue to a great warrior; and we suppose it was therefore deemed advisable to commemorate it in a equally unique manner. The inscription runs thus, "To Arthur, Duke of Wellington, and his brave companions in arms, this statue of Achilles, cast from cannon taken in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse, and Waterloo, is inscribed by their countrywomen." The cannon here referred to consisted of twelve 24-pounders. The statue is about eighteen feet high, on a basement of granite, of about the same elevation. It was placed on the latter on the anniversary day of the battle of Waterloo, in 1822; and the records of the period tell us of a curious coincidence that marked the occasion. A writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' observes, "In ancient Greece the honoured victors of the Olympic games, on returning crowned to their native cities, were not permitted to enter them by the common way and gate; to distinguish them above all their co-patriots, a breach was made in the wall, by which they were borne home in triumph. By one of those accidents which seem to be fate, the Ladies' statue to the Duke of Wellington, when brought to its destination, was found to be too mighty for the gates by which it should have entered, and it became necessary to breach the wall for the admission of the trophy." The statue of Canning and the Duke of York column require no particular mention; the former was set up in its place opposite New Palace Yard, in 1832; and the latter completed in 1836. This consists of a colossal bronze statue of the "Soldier's friend," on the top of one of the ugliest columns perhaps that the wit of sculptor ever yet devised, of pale red granite, 150 feet high. The best thing about the whole is the view from the summit: what the Monument is for the east the Duke of York's pillar forms for the west of London.

Such are the public statues of London. What does the reader think of them? Let us recount and classify the whole. Omitting works attached to buildings rather for the purposes of architectural ornament than for anything else, such, for instance, as the Temple Bar statues, of James and his Queen, and Charles I. and II., but including the Nelson Testimonial, now in progress, and the two Wellington Memorials, also unfinished, of Chantrey and Wyatt, there are thirteen kings and queens, namely,—Elizabeth, formerly at Ludgate, now in front of St. Dunstan's church, Charles I., Charles II.,* James II., William III., three Annes—one before St. Paul's, one in Queen Square, Westminster, and one in Queen Square, Guildford

* The monument in Soho Square; which it is most probable was erected, like several others of the kingly statues, to mark the era of the buildings around, and as Soho Square was begun in the reign of Charles II., the statue is most likely to be his.

[Statue of George Canning.]

Street; two of the 1st George, one of the 2nd, and two of the 3rd George; three brothers of kings, Cumberland, Kent, and York; four warriors, namely, three Wellingtons and one Nelson; one nobleman, the Duke of Bedford; three statesmen, Fox, Pitt, and Canning; one parliamentary reformer, Cartwright; one public benefactor, Sloane; and one work of art, the admirable figure of the Moor, shown on our last page, which stands in the gardens of Clement's Inn. Of poets we have—none; philosophers—none; patriots in the highest sense of the term—none; moralists—none; distinguished men of science—none;—but, in short, the list is ended. Again we ask, what does the reader think of it? But the question is unnecessary, for even churchwardens are growing ashamed of such a gallery of England's Worthies. We see by the newspapers lately, that a tablet has been affixed to the external wall of Allhallows Church, Bread Street, Cheapside, commemorating the birth of Milton in the parish; and though the tablet is not a statue, we are content to think its promoters wish it were, and to agree with them. At all events, a tablet is something. A more important evidence of the growth of a better feeling on this subject, is the Premier's letter to the Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, just published, from which it appears, that, at last, men of eminent civil, literary, or scientific services are likely to be admitted into a participation of the public honours lavished hitherto upon kings, and the eminent of the sword or of the forum almost exclusively. Sir Robert

Peel has, by her Majesty's command, empowered the Commissioners not only to consider of an appropriate site for such purpose in connection with the New Houses of Parliament, but also to consider the *principles* generally that should govern the selection of the names to be so honoured. A knotty point, but one that should be determined not only there, but everywhere else before another public statue is erected, to show alike by those we omit, and those we include, how ludicrously we estimate in our sculptures the respective greatness and value of our public men.

[Statue of the Moor in Clement's Inn.]

[Cold Harbour.]

CXXXI.—COLLEGE OF ARMS.

"How have the mighty fallen!" may well be the exclamation of any one who has read of the respect paid to, and the authority exercised by the heralds of the olden times, and contrasts them with the perfect indifference with which those of the present day are looked upon, and the impunity with which their privileges are suppressed or violated. Too many of the modern members of the College of Arms might have taken as their motto the celebrated one of the House of Courtenay, "Ubi lapsus? Quid feci?" and in the answer to the second question might perhaps be found the cause of the first. It might certainly be said that they had done nothing to sustain themselves or their science in the opinion of the world, and that, consequently, both had fallen in public estimation, and a herald become merely a tolerated appendage of empty show, instead of a useful and respected officer of state, exercising a high and wholesome authority, and professing a science, which, however it may be ridiculed or perverted, will never fail to interest and instruct those who pursue it with properly directed intelligence. It is lamentable, also, to reflect that neither talent nor character were always considered indispensable qualifications for the attainment of the highest

offices in the College of Arms; that the only *charges* some of the principal members studied were those they should make to their clients; and that, provided they bore Or and Argent enough in their purses proper, they cared little for the largest blot in their family escutcheons—putting *metal* upon *metal*, in defiance of all English heraldic legislation; that—

> "But this eternal *blazon* must not be
> To ears of flesh and blood."

Let us trust that those times have past. The College has *now* a Garter King of Arms, whose acquirements and conduct are such as must entitle him to the respect of all parties, and whose creation, although "per saltum," is acknowledged to have been as long deserved as it was from circumstances * immediately necessary.

To Richard Champneys, Gloucester King of Arms, the English heralds are indebted for their charter of incorporation. At his instance, Richard III., by letters patent, dated March 2nd, 1483 (the first year of his reign), directed the incorporation of heralds, assigning for their habitation "one messuage with the appurtenances, in London, in the parish of All Saints, called Pulteney's Inn, or Cold Harbour, to the use of twelve, the most principal and approved of them for the time being, for ever, without compte or any other thing thereof to us or to our heirs, to be given or paid."

This "messuage" received the name of Poulteney's Inn from Sir John Poulteney, who had been four times Lord Mayor of London, and who purchased and dwelt in it. He gave it to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. The Earl of Arundel became possessed of it by marrying De Bohun's niece. In the year 1397, it belonged to John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, who therein magnificently feasted his half-brother, Richard II. In the next year it passed to Edmond Langley, Earl of Cambridge, from whom it came to the crown. Henry IV., by his patent, dated March 18, 1410, granted it to his son Henry, Prince of Wales. Henry VI., in his 22nd year, conveyed it to John Holland, Duke of Exeter, whose son, Henry, being a Lancasterian, lost it by attainture of Parliament. Edward IV. kept it in his own hands; and at Richard III.'s accession, it belonged to the crown, and, according to Stowe, was a "right fayre and stately house," when Richard gave it to Sir John Wroth or Wrythe, or Wriothesly, Garter King of Arms, in trust for the residence and assembling of heralds; and the College of Arms considering him as their founder, although Richard Champneys had perhaps a fairer claim to the title, adopted, with a change of colours, Sir John's armorial bearings for their official seal. King Henry VII., who invidiously subverted the establishments of his predecessors, dispossessed the heralds of their property in Cold Harbour. They removed to the Hospital of our Lady of Roncival, or Rounceval, at Charing Cross, where now stands Northumberland House. The heralds having no claim to it, they were only there upon sufferance of the crown; and in Edward VI.'s reign their revenues were so much diminished, that they petitioned for and obtained exemption from taxes. Soon afterwards, Derby or Stanley House, which had been first erected by

* The advanced ages of the worthy Clarencieux and Norroy Kings of Arms, either of whom if made Garter must have acted by deputy.

Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby of that name, on St. Benets Hill, having passed into the hands of Sir Richard Sackville by virtue of mortgage, was sold by him to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal. He instantly transferred it to the crown, and it was re-granted, by charter of Philip and Mary, to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, and his associates in office, July 18th, 1555. In the Great Fire of London, 1666, Derby House was destroyed, and the present building was erected on the old site after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, by the munificence of the nobility, assisted by the members of the College, particularly William Dugdale, at that time Norroy King of Arms, who built the north-west corner of the College at his own expense. At the moment we write, the College of Arms is undergoing thorough repairs, and a fire-proof room is building behind the old library, for the better preservation of the more valuable books and MSS. Amongst the most interesting curiosities in the library are, the Warwick Roll, a series of figures of all the Earls of Warwick from the Conquest to the reign of Richard III., executed by Rous, the celebrated antiquary of Warwick, at the close of the fifteenth century, and a Tournament Roll of Henry VIII.'s time, in which that monarch is depicted in regal state, with all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious (mimic) war." A sword and dagger, said to have belonged to the unfortunate James, King of Scotland, who fell at Flodden Field, are also in the possession of the Officers of Arms; a legitimate trophy of the illustrious House of Howard, whose Bend Argent received the honourable augmentation of the Scottish Lion, in testimony of the prowess displayed by the gallant Surrey, who commanded the English forces on that memorable occasion. There is nothing worthy of much remark in the edifice itself, which is composed of brick, and has rather a gloomy appearance.

[Heralds' College.]

Passing through the gateway upon St. Benet's Hill, the hollow arch of which is esteemed a curiosity, you find yourself in a square paved court-yard, on the north side of which is the principal entrance, approached by a flight of stone steps, and opening directly into the Grand Hall, in which the Court of Chivalry was formerly held. On the right hand is the old library, from which a door opens into the new fire-proof room aforesaid. On the left, a broad staircase conducts you to the apartments of several of the Officers of Arms. In the Grand Hall above-mentioned, and facing the entrance, is the judicial seat of the Earl Marshal, surrounded by a ballustrade: but "the chair is empty, and the sword unswayed." The Court of Chivalry is numbered amongst the things that were, and "le nouveau riche" may now sport his carriage emblazoned all over with the bearings of half the noble families of England, without the fear of the Earl Marshal before his eyes, or of the degrading process of having his unjustly assumed lions or wyverns publicly painted out by some indignant herald. On the south side of the quadrangle is a paved terrace, on the wall of which are seen two escutcheons, one bearing the arms (and legs) of Man, and the other the Eagle's claw, both ensigns of the House of Stanley. They have been supposed to be relics of the original mansion: but are not ancient, and have been put up merely to mark the site of Old Derby House.

Of the practice of the Curia Militaris, or Court of the Earl Marshal, in the early centuries, no satisfactory documents have reached us: "though it may be presumed," says Dallaway, "that precedents of it were followed as scrupulously as the memory of man or oral tradition could warrant."

It was usually held within the verge of the Royal Court by the High Constable and Earl Marshal, who called to their assistance as many of their peers as they thought expedient; and the processes were conducted by the heralds, doctors in civic law, who were assessors by commission, and their inferior officers. Appeals were sometimes made to the Court of King's Bench, which, in course of time, were the cause of its virtual, though not of its actual, abolition. Henry V. gave the title of Garter King of Arms to William Bruges or Brydges, and with it the precedence of all others; and since that period Garter has been always principal officer of arms. In 1419 the same sovereign issued an edict, directed to the sheriff of each county, to summon all persons bearing arms to prove and establish their right to them. Many claims examined in consequence of this inquiry were referred to heralds as commissioners; but the first regular chapter held by them in a collegiate capacity is said to have been at the siege of Rouen, in 1420. The outlines of a code of laws and observances were then formed and approved of, and this being the first general notification of the institute of their appointment and legislation as officers of the king, not merely personal servants, but public functionaries, it has been held by collectors of heraldic documents as a most valuable record. On their ultimate incorporation by royal charter, in the reign of Richard III., they began with more authority and effect to execute their office, dividing England into two districts as north and south of Trent. To Clarencieux King of Arms was assigned the jurisdiction of the southern provinces, and to Norroy (or North King) those of the North. Over all presided Garter principal King of Arms. The regular wages or salaries of the members of the College were settled as follows:—

Garter	40*l.* per annum.
Clarencieux	20*l.*
Norroy	20*l.*
Every Herald . .	20 marks
Every Pursuivant . .	10*l.*

Their fees, as early as the reign of Richard II., appear to have been considerable, viz. 100*l.* on the coronation of the king, and 100 marks on that of the queen. At the displaying of the king's banner in any camp or host of men, the officers present received 100 marks. At the displaying of a duke's, 20*l.*, and so downwards. On the king's marriage, 50*l.*, "with the gift of the king's and queen's uppermost garments." At the birth of the king's eldest son, 100 marks, and 20*l.* at the birth of the younger children. Then at Christmas, on New Year's Day and Twelfth Day, at Easter, on St. George's Day, at Pentecost, and on Allhallows Day, the king's largess was 5*l.* or 6*l.*, the queen's as many marks, and so the princes and nobles according to their rank. There were also additional fees and allowances when the heralds went out of the country on any mission, or were present at any battle with the king, or at the knighting of any man-at-arms, or nobleman, when they received a largess in proportion to the rank of the new-made knight; the king's eldest son giving 40*l.*, and the younger sons 20 marks.

That thus a sufficient revenue might be obtained to support the respect due to the immediate servants of the crown and the nobility, these demands were scrupulously complied with, and the heralds were empowered to inflict a censure upon any who refused to accede to the customs and observances appointed upon such occasions. Of such amount were their emoluments in the early reigns that William Bruges, Garter King of Arms *temp.* Henry V., could receive the Emperor Sigismond at his house in Kentish Town, and entertain him sumptuously; and the other heralds kept proportionate state, and were thought worthy of titular honours; even the *nuncii prosecutores,* or pursuivants, had the privilege of becoming knights.

In the sixteenth century it appears that many of the fees had been abolished or evaded, for Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, 1605, in his 'Discourse on the Duty and Office of a Herald of Arms,' observes that "if heralds might have fees of every one which gave them fees in times past, they might live in reasonable sort, and keep their estate answerable to their places: but now (whether it be our own default, or the overmuch parsimony of others, or faults of the heavens, since by their revolutions things decay when they have been at the highest, I know not) the heralds are not esteemed; every one withdraweth his favour from them, and denyeth the accustomed duties belonging unto them."

One of the most useful employments of the heralds was the registering or recording of the gentry allowed to bear arms throughout the kingdom. "A period must arrive," says Dallaway, "when the immediate inheritors of honours and estates being no more, collateral claimants have to be sought, according to the tenures and injunctions of the original possession. In the lapse of years and he confusion of events such relations become obscure; and, without a regular

and impartial record, where could satisfactory proof be obtained? An attention therefore to genealogical inquiries of such obvious utility was the chief employment of the heralds after their incorporation; and though they found precedents and authorities of their own privileges very serviceable to themselves, the advantages to be derived from their institution were evidently those which result from the confidence with which the public resorted to their archives and were determined by their reports." That such investigations might be as general and extensive as possible, a visitation of each county was decreed by the Earl Marshal, and confirmed by a warrant under the privy seal, and a plan was formed by which the intention might be best answered. The most ancient visitation of which any account is recorded is one made by Norroy King of Arms *temp.* Henry IV., A. D. 1412, and preserved in the Harleian Lib., 66 C. Others are said to have been made in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII.; but in 1528 a commission was granted, and executed by Thomas Benoilt, Clarencieux, for the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Oxford, Wilts, Berks, and Stafford; and from that period visitations were regularly made every twenty-five or thirty years; and the gentry were so well convinced of the advantage of them that they gave every encouragement to the plan by liberal communications. By these visitations many of mean origin, possessed of considerable property, were brought into notice, and procured entries of themselves as the founders of modern families. Of those who were delegated to the exercise of this function the most celebrated are "the learned Camden," Elias Ashmole, Sir Edward Byshe, William Dugdale, Augustus Vincent, and Robert Glover; and whoever compares these accumulated labours with each other will find a wide difference in the ability and industry of the several compilers. Of the essential consequence of incorruptible truth in the detail of genealogies thus compiled and registered, as supported by the strongest evidence, the final decision which was given by them in all cases of claims either to hereditary honours or property sufficiently evinces. The heralds were at that period invested with authority equivalent to the duty in which they were engaged, and were assisted in the performance of it by general consent, not only of the higher ranks, but of those who were eager to avail themselves of armorial distinctions, which, as the first symptom of the decline of chivalry, were, as early as the reign of Henry VIII., permitted to be purchased by men of sudden wealth and civil occupation; witness "an order made by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Earl Marshal of England, what all degrees shall pay for the grants of new arms," in which it is ordained that "temporall men which be of good and honest reputacion, able to mayntayne the state of a gentleman," shall have arms granted to them upon the payment of certain fees therein set down, varying, according to their possessions, from 6*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* to 5*l.*

The Officers of Arms appear to have availed themselves, as far as possible, of the fund of genealogical knowledge which had been collected in various monasteries, when these records were dispersed at the dissolution. "It is probable," says Dallaway, "that by them the ordinance of parochial registers was suggested to Cromwell, Lord Essex, the Vicar General, who, in 1536, caused his mandate to be circulated for that purpose;" and there can be little doubt that, but for the disinclination of government to throw the patronage into the hands of an

independent hereditary officer like the Earl Marshal, the general registration of births and deaths would have had its head-quarters on St. Benets Hill, instead of in Somerset House. The heralds had a natural right to be the workers of and gainers by this useful institution, as the genealogists of the empire; and, considering the way in which their privileges and emoluments have been lately curtailed, such an arrangement would have been a mere act of justice towards them. In 1555 a commission of visitation was directed to Thomas Hawley, Clarencieux, " to correct all false crests, arms, and cognizances; to take notice of descents; and to reform all such as were disobedient to orders for funerals, set forth by King Henry VII., whereby it is also provided, that all such as should disobey the same, should answer thereunto upon lawful monition to him or them, given before the High Marshal of England;" and in the fifth and sixth of Philip and Mary, another commission, with the same authority, was delegated to William Harvey, Hawley's successor, who was empowered to levy fines against delinquents at his will and pleasure. The jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court was very generally allowed at this period; for, in 1566, a pursuivant having been arrested, an order of Privy Council was sent to the Lord Mayor, asserting the prerogative of that Court, to which alone its own officers were amenable. Many suits respecting the legal assumption of arms were argued before the Earl Marshal, or his Commissioners; but the more frequent causes were the prosecutions of those who usurped the privileges, and received the fees of heralds at funerals, by providing and marshalling achievements without their authority. Several abuses having arisen in the practice of the Court, and immunities lain dormant, a body of statutes and ordinances was published by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, dated July 18th, 1568, by which regulations might be enforced; but about the year 1620, the validity of the Earl Marshal's authority was very severely questioned by repeated appeals to the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery. Ralph Brooke, or Brooksmouth, York Herald at this period, had frequent controversies with the Kings of Arms respecting the partition of fees, and the ground of his suit having been dismissed his own Court as vexatious and nugatory, and he himself being suspended for contumacy, he strove to repossess himself by common law. In consequence of these proceedings the Earl Marshal laid the particulars of his claim before the Privy Council and other Peers, who assembled for that purpose in the Star Chamber, on the 11th of July, 1622. Brooke contended that no Court of Chivalry could be legally held but by the High Constable of England, which office, since the death of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was in *abeyance*. The Council, however, after a long investigation, decided in favour of the Earl Marshal, as having been anciently vested with equal authority, and as being the supreme of that Court in the absence or non-existence of the High Constable. With this decision the King was so well pleased, that he issued a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, by which all former privileges were absolutely renewed and confirmed, and the peculiar jurisdiction of his Court was duly recognised and published. The College of Arms then consisted of thirteen regular officers, being reduced to that number, as they continue to the present day.

Kings.	*Heralds.*	*Pursuivants.*
Garter, Principal.	Lancaster.	Rouge Croix.
Clarencieux.	Somerset.	Blue Mantle.
Norroy.	Richmond.	Portcullis.
	Windsor.	Rouge Dragon.
	York.	
	Chester.	

These now hold their places by patent under the Great Seal, by appointment of the Earl Marshal. The order of their succession is solely at his disposal, and the last-appointed officer takes the title but not the rank of his predecessor.* King Charles I., having, whilst Duke of York, imbibed much of the romantic and martial spirit which was so conspicuous in his brother Prince Henry, continued, after his accession to the throne, to show the most marked respect to the heralds individually, and to encourage the esteem in which the College of Arms was then held by the superior ranks in society; and the unshaken loyalty which was upon every emergency displayed by the Officers of Arms, in gratitude for that royal patronage, continued unimpaired, even after his worst fortunes had deprived the sovereign of all power to afford them support, and they were consequently ejected from their posts, and forced to retire from public life. In 1642 Charles was driven to Oxford, as an asylum from the impending storm. Many of the attendant nobility accepted of academic honours at that time; and it affords very high testimony of the respectability of heralds in England, that they were equally admitted to the first distinctions which the University could bestow. William Dugdale, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and Edmund Walker, Chester Herald, were created Masters of Arts; and Sir William le Neve, Clarencieux King of Arms, was admitted to the dignity of Doctor of Laws. In 1643, we find George Owen, York Herald, John Philipot, Somerset Herald, and Sir John Borrough, Garter King of Arms, made Doctors of Laws; and in 1644, Sir Henry St. George, Garter King of Arms also made LL.D.

With whatever contempt Cromwell before he became Protector had treated royalty, and spurned at every ceremony and ensign by which it was denoted, no sooner was he invested with the power than he assumed the pageantry of a king. The national crosses were certainly substituted for the lions, the fleurs de lys, and the harp, but the paternal bearing of Cromwell was invariably placed in the centre, both upon his standards and his coins. His Peers of Parliament were created by patent, in the margin of which, amongst other ornaments, are a portrait of him in royal robes, and his paternal escutcheon, with many quarterings; and both at his investiture and his funeral; Byshe and Riley, appointed by him Garter and Norroy, officiated according to the ancient ceremonial, and appear to have been encouraged in the usual attendance upon the Court. At his funeral, indeed, the bill of expenses for banners and escutcheons of his arms, and other heraldic ornaments, alone amounted to between 400*l.* and 500*l.*!

The restoration of Charles II. gave hopes of the re-establishment of all former

* According to Noble, James I. raised Garter's place from 40*l.* to 50*l.*; Clarencieux's and Norroy's each from 20*l.* to 40*l.*; the Heralds from 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and the Pursuivants from 10*l.* to 20*l.* each, per annum.—*Hist. Col. Arms*, p. 191.

systems which had splendour and pageantry for their object; and his coronation was conducted in the most sumptuous style. Sir Edward Walker, the faithful servant and historian of the late king, was confirmed in his office of Garter,* and those of the surviving heralds who had been driven from their situations during the Commonwealth were recalled, with assurances of future patronage. The decline of the Court of Chivalry, which had been gradual in former periods, was now hastened by the growing dislike of the canon law, and the arbitrary decisions and penalties frequently incurred upon very frivolous occasions. Causes, vexatious and nugatory, were multiplied to an excess very inimical to constitutional liberty; and the authority which was at first submitted to without suspicion of eventual abuse, was exerted scarcely less arbitrarily than that of the detestable Star Chamber. In this degenerate state Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon), as early as 1640, proposed the dissolution of the Court of Chivalry as a public improvement. He said, "That he was not ignorant that it was a court in tymes of war anciently, but in the manner it was now used, and in that greatness it was now swollen into, as the youngest man myght remember the begining of it, so, he hoped, the oldest myght see the end of it. He descended to these particulars, that a citizen of good quality, a merchant, was by that court ruined in his estate and his body imprisoned, for calling a swan a goose." It is, however, suspected that Mr. Hyde's indignation would not have been roused against such abuses had not a near relative of his incurred the censure of the Heralds in their visitation in 1623, and been branded as an usurper of armorial distinctions. After the Restoration, and under the auspices of the Duke of Norfolk, the ingenious Dr. Plott was directed to collect and arrange all the existing evidences of the history and privilege of the "Curia Militaris," with a view to reconcile the public mind to the re-establishment of its jurisdiction. The effort was, however, unsuccessful, for, after a long interval, the last cause concerning the right of bearing arms (being that between Blount and Blunt) was tried in the year 1720: the most celebrated that has come down to us being that between the Scrope and Grosvenor families, *temp.* Richard II.; an elaborate history of which has been published from "the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll," and contains the interesting evidence given by John of Gaunt, Chaucer, and many other noble and illustrious personages of that period.

The severest punishment that could be inflicted by this court was that of degradation from the honour of knighthood; and, as proof of the reluctance with which it was decreed, three instances only are recorded, during three centuries, and those at very distant periods: that of Sir Andrew Harclay, in 1322; of Sir Ralph Grey, in 1464; and of Sir Francis Michell, in 1621. The following minute of the latter case may be considered interesting enough for insertion here:—

"Degradation of Sir Francis Michell upon petition of parliament. Only two prior instances:—Andrew Harclay and Sir Ralph Grey. College of Arms summoned by the Earl Marshal to attend in their Coats of Arms, at Westminster, on

* Charles, also, to show the value he had for a well-tried servant, and to evince his regard for the College, augmented the salary of the then present, and every future Garter, by raising the sum paid out of the Exchequer from 50*l.* to 100*l.* per annum; and in 1664, by a decree, resolved upon in the Chapter of the Order of St. George, it was settled, that another 100*l.* per annum should be paid to Garter out of the revenues of the Order, in lieu of the casual annuities which had been formerly paid to him by the Sovereign and Knights.—*Noble, Hist. Coll.*, p. 269.

Wednesday, the 20th day of June, 1621. Sir Francis Michell being brought into Court, without the bar, and there sat upon a standing for that purpose, J. Philipot, Somerset, read these words:—'Be it known to all men, that Sir F. Michell, Knight, for certain heinous offences and misdemeanours by him committed, was thought worthy to be degraded of his honour by sentence of Parliament. His Majesty being hereupon moved, and his royal pleasure known, it likewise has pleased him, for example's sake, that their grave and condign sentence should this day be accordingly put into execution in manner and form following; that is to say, his sword and gilt spurres, being the ornaments of knighthood, shall be taken from him, broken and defaced, and the reputation he held thereby, together with the honourable title of knight, be henceforth no more used.' Here one of the Knight Marshal's men, standing upon the scaffold with him, did cutte his belt whereby his sword did hange, and soe let it fall to the ground; then he cut his spurres off from his heels, and hurled the one one way into the Hall, and the other another way. That done, he drew his sword out of his scabbard, and with his hands brake it over his head, and threw the one piece the one way, and the other piece the other way. Then the rest of the writinge was read and pronounced aloud, viz.: 'But that he be from henceforward reputed, taken, and styled an infamous errant knave. God save the King.' " In July 12th, 1716, the ceremony of degrading the Duke of Ormond, attainted of treason, from his Order of the Garter, was performed at Windsor; and in our time we can, unfortunately, remember the banner of a Knight of the Bath being pulled down by the heralds, and kicked out of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster.

The last visitation was made in James the Second's time. Some memoranda of one of the latest visitations are curious enough to deserve transcription, viz. :— "John Talbot of Salebury, a verry gentyll esqwyr, and well worthye to be takyne payne for.—Sir John Townley, of Townley. I sought hym all daye, rydynge in the wyld contrey, and his reward was ij*s*., whyche the gwyde had the most part, and I had as evill a jorney as ever I had.—Sir R. H., knt. The said Sir R. H. has put awaye the lady his wyffe, and kepys a concubyne in his house, by whom he has dyvers children; and by the lady aforesaid he has Leyhall, whych armes he berys quartered with hys in the furste quarter. He sayd that Master Garter lycensed hym so to do, and he gave Mr. Garter an angell noble, but *he gave me nothing, nor made me no good cher,* but gave me prowde words;" in return for which the herald took care to chronicle the above scandal.

We can easily understand that the somewhat inquisitorial nature of these visitations would render them (particularly if the herald in the slightest degree abused his powers) exceedingly distasteful to the public at large, and personally annoying to some individuals; at the same time, we cannot but believe that properly conducted they might be of considerable utility to the nation, and only vexatious to those who have no claim to consideration in such matters. We have already pointed out the right which, in our opinion, the College of Arms possessed to the office of General Registration, and the only, but far from satisfactory reason for erecting a new and separate establishment; and we need scarcely remark on the value and importance of such evidence as these minute and authentic genealogical records would afford in cases of disputed property, titles,

&c. With regard to armorial bearings, whilst we are of the number who can fully appreciate the honest pride and satisfaction with which the lineal descendant of one who has deserved well of his country contemplates or displays the escutcheon which has through centuries been handed down to him untarnished, and can understand the natural desire of even the most remotely connected with ancient and honourable families to enjoy the reflected lustre of the quartered achievement, we have no hesitation in expressing our opinion that the absurd vanity which induces nearly every person who possesses a gold seal, or a silver spoon, to decorate it with a crest to which not one in a hundred—we had almost said, a thousand—has any shadow of pretension, is a fair subject for investigation and taxation in a form and on a scale differing from those at present prescribed, and that here again the herald might be employed with equal benefit to himself and the revenue.

Another service of great trust and high consideration, belonging of ancient right to the Officers of Arms, is the bearing of letters and messages to sovereign princes and persons in authority. Abandoning their claim to a much higher rank, viz. that of the Κηρυκε and Fæciales of the Greeks and Romans (the venerable ambassadors who had the privilege of denouncing war or concluding peace, on their *own* responsibilities), none will attempt to deny that they were, from the earliest periods in which mention is made of them, the chosen and respected messengers of their royal or noble masters. Legh, quoting "Upton's own words" (the earliest writer extant on the science of heraldry), says, "It is necessary that all estates should have currours, as suer messengers, for the expedicion of their businesse, whose office is to passe and repasse on foote . . theis are knights in their offices, but not nobles, and are called Knightes caligate of Armes, because they weare startuppes (a sort of boot-stocking) to the middle-leg. Theis when they have behaved themselves wisely and served worshipfully in this roome ye space of vii yeres: then were they sett on horsebacke, and called *Chivalers of Armës*" (or Knight Riders), "for that they rodd on their soveraignes messages. . . . Theis must be so vertuous as not to be reproved when he hath served in that rome vii yeares, if his soveraigne please he may exalt him one degree higher, whiche is to be created a Purcevaunte . . . and when he hath served any time he may, at the pleasure of the prince, be created an Hereaught, even the next day after he is created Pourcevaunt:" and then he adds, "An Hereaught is an high office in all his services, as in message," being "messengirs from Emperour to Emperour, from Kyng to Kynge, and so from one prince to another; sometyme declarynge peace, and sometyme againe pronouncing warre. Theis like Mercury runne up and downe, havying on them not only Aaron's surcot, but his eloquence, which Moses lacked." This honourable and important service has in modern times been most unceremoniously transferred from the Officers of Arms to certain persons appointed by the Secretary of State, and termed King's (or, as now, Queen's) Messengers. Before the elevation of Mr. Canning to the premiership, these appointments were generally given to nominees of the nobility—their valets, butlers, or sons of such domestics; persons without any recommendations except those of their masters. Mr. Canning very properly put a stop to this practice; and justly considering that the bearers of important dispatches (of necessity admitted to the presence of the highest personages in their

own or other countries—nay, it has happened, to that of the Sovereign himself) should have the education and manners of gentlemen, took every opportunity of filling up the vacancies as they occurred with a very superior class of young and intelligent men, possessing a sufficient knowledge of the principal European languages, accustomed to good society, and capable of acting in any emergency with the spirit and discretion that usually accompany such advantages. This was a great improvement; but the injustice done to the Heralds remained unredressed. The same jealousy of patronage prevented most likely the acute and accomplished minister from employing, as of old, the Pursuivant or the Herald—the Knight Caligate, or the Knight *Rider*. (The latter no longer, alas, remembered by the present generation, who pass down "Knight Rider Street," within sight of the College, n utter ignorance of the origin of its appellation.) Yet such were the original King's Messengers—men of great learning, of good conduct, admissible to knighthood and nobility—whose persons were sacred, and whose services were liberally rewarded by prince and peer, whether they were the bearers of a cartel of defiance, a treaty of peace, an order of knighthood, or an autograph letter of congratulation or condolence.* Thus it is in this age of reformation and utilitarianism, an ancient institution is abolished or neglected, as obsolete, without one consideration as to the possibility of adapting it to the spirit or the necessity of the time. Having gradually deprived the heralds of all important business, and wholesome authority, the very despoilers are the first to comment upon the utter inutility of the establishment! Let us look at the 6th article of the admonition given to the herald on his creation—"You shall not suffer one gentleman to malign another, and raylynge you shall let (*i. e.* stop) to the uttermost of your power." Here is useful employment, heaven knows, and sufficient, too, for a College possessing a hundred times as many members. We beg to call the attention of "the General Peace Society," and "the Society for the Suppression of Duelling" (the New Court of Honour and Chivalry), to this peculiar portion of the duty and office of the heralds. Nay, the Noble and Learned Lord who has so lately amended the Law of Libel might have fairly claimed the assistance of Garter and the Officers of Arms in his praiseworthy undertaking. In all questions affecting the honour of noblemen and gentlemen, the heralds are certainly privileged to form the Court of Review.

We cannot conclude this necessarily brief and cursory notice of the Heralds' College without chronicling a few of the worthies who have shed lustre on the Institution, and are also ornaments of the general literature of Great Britain. Earliest and highest, perhaps, stands "the learned Camden," the son of a painter-stainer in the Old Bailey, where he was born May 21st, 1551; educated at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's School, and then sent to Magdalen College,

* In Henry VII.'s reign there appear to have been twenty Pursuivants ordinary and extraordinary; and Noble says "the reason why Henry VII. had so many officers at arms at some parts of his reign was the great correspondence upon the Continent he kept more than his predecessors. . . . . At this period Pursuivants *were the regular messengers of our Sovereigns.* Sometimes the extraordinary ones were created to be sent on a sudden emergency, without any expectation of further promotion: if they showed peculiar adroitness, they were sometimes made in ordinary, and from thence might become Heralds and Kings at Arms. . . . . Henry had Berwick Pursuivant on the borders of Scotland, two for Ireland, several for our dominions in France, Jersey, and such as were yielded to Henry in Bretagne. These probably were often residents upon the spot whence the names of their office were taken; they were chiefly employed *in carrying messages to and from the Governors to the Sovereign.*"—*Hist. Coll. of Arms*, p. 100.

Oxford, from whence he removed to Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, where, in 1573, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts. He returned to London at the age of twenty, and, after rendering himself conspicuous as Second Master of Westminster School, gained the Head-Mastership in the year 1592. His 'Britannia,' his 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' and his 'Remains concerning Britain,' will satisfy posterity that his reputation has not exceeded his desert, but that he was "worthily admired for his great learning, wisdom, and virtue, through the Christian world." He was created Clarencieux King of Arms, in 1597, without having served as herald or pursuivant, though for "fashion sake," says Wood, "he was created Herald of Arms called Richmond, because no person can be King before he is a Herald," the day previous to his elevation. "This was done," he adds, "by the singular favour of Queen Elizabeth, at the incessant supplication of Foulk Greville, afterwards Lord Brook; both of them having an especial respect for him and his great learning in English and other antiquities.' Camden died at Chiselhurst, in Kent, on the 9th of November, 1623, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Sir William Dugdale, author of the celebrated 'Monasticon,' and 'the Antiquities of Warwickshire,' was born at Shustoke, near Coleshill, in that county, on the 12th of September, 1605. He was the only son of John Dugdale, Esq., of Shustoke, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Swynfin, Esq., of Staffordshire. Introduced by Sir Symon Archer, of Tamworth, to Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Henry Spelman, he was by their joint interest with the Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal, created a Pursuivant of Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanche Lyon, September, 1638: March 18th, 1639-40, he was made Rouge Croix Pursuivant in Ordinary; and April 16th, 1644, Chester Herald. He attended Charles I. at the battle of Edgehill, and remained with him till the surrender of Oxford to the Parliament, in 1646. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, by recommendation of Chancellor Hyde; and in 1677 he was created Garter Principal King of Arms, and knighted much against his own inclination, "on account of the smallness of his estate." He died at Blythe Hall, in Warwickshire, on the 10th of February, 1686, aged eighty, and was buried at Shustoke. "He possessed," in the words of Dallaway, "talents entirely adapted to the pursuits of an antiquary, and exerted indefatigable industry, directed to valuable objects by consummate judgment.

Elias Ashmole, founder of the Museum which bears his name at Oxford, was the only child of Simon Ashmole, a saddler at Lichfield, an improvident man, who "loved war better than making saddles and bridles." Elias was born the 23rd of May, 1617. From a chorister in Lichfield Cathedral he became a student in law and music, a solicitor in Chancery, an attorney of the Common Pleas, a gentleman of the ordnance in the garrison of Oxford, and a student of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, in Brazennose College, at that University; a commissioner, and afterwards receiver and registrar of excise at Worcester; a captain in Lord Ashley's regiment, and comptroller of the ordnance; a botanist, a chymist, and an astrologer! He also acquired a knowledge of several manual arts, such as seal engraving, casting in sand, and "the mystery of a working goldsmith." In 1652 he began to study Hebrew, and shortly afterwards general antiquities, which recommended him to the notice of Sir William Dugdale. In

1658 this extraordinary man applied himself to the collecting of materials for "the History of the Order of the Garter."

Upon the Restoration, Charles II. made him Windsor Herald, June 18, 1660; and on the 3rd of September in that year he was appointed Commissioner of Excise in London. On the 2nd of November he was called to the bar in the Middle Temple Hall; and in January, 1661, admitted F.R.S. In February, he was appointed by warrant to the secretaryship of Surinam, and preferment followed preferment. He received his diploma as M.D. from Oxford, in 1669; finished his history of "the Order of the Garter" in 1672, and was presented by the King with 400*l.* as a mark of his special approbation. In 1675 he resigned his place of Windsor Herald, and after twice declining the office of Garter King of Arms, and the honour of representing the city of Lichfield in Parliament, terminated his days in honourable retirement, May 18, 1692, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried at Lambeth.

John Austis, an eminent English antiquary, was born at St. Neots, in Cornwall, September 28th or 29th, 1669, educated at Oxford, and became a student of the Middle Temple. In 1702 he represented the borough of St. Germains in Parliament, and in 1714 Queen Anne presented him with a reversionary patent for the place of Garter King of Arms. In the last Parliament of Anne, he was returned member for Dunhead or Launceston; and he sat in the first parliament of George I. He afterwards fell under the suspicion of Government as being a favourer of the exiled family, and was imprisoned at the very time that the place of Garter became vacant by the death of the venerable Sir Henry St. George. After a long and bold struggle for his right as holder of the reversionary patent, he was created Garter in 1718. He died March 4th, 1744-5, aged 76. His most celebrated published works are, "The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter," and "Observations introductory to an Historical Essay on the Knighthood of the Bath;" but he left behind him some most valuable materials in MS. for the History of the College of Arms, which are now in the Library.

Francis Sandford, first Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, and then Lancaster Herald, *temp.* Charles II. and James II., has acquired a right to honourable mention as the author of a most excellent genealogical 'History of England.' He also published the 'Ceremonial and Procession at the Coronation of James II.,' in conjunction with Gregory King, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and the 'Funeral of General Monk.' He was descended from a very ancient and respectable family, seated at Sandford, in the county of Salop, and was third son of Francis Sandford, Esq., and of Elizabeth, daughter of Calcot Chambre, of Williamscot, in Oxfordshire, and of Carnow, in Wicklow, Ireland. Francis Sandford was born in the Castle of Carnow, and at eleven years of age was driven by the Rebellion to take refuge at Sandford. At the Restoration, as some recompence for the hardships he and his family had experienced as adherents to Charles I., he was admitted into the College of Arms. Sandford was so attached to King James that he resigned his office on the Revolution in 1668, and died "advanced in age, poor, and neglected," in Bloomsbury or its vicinity, January 16, 1693, and was buried in St. Bride's Upper Churchyard.

Sir John Vanbrugh, the well-known dramatic author, and the architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard, received, as a compliment for his services in

building the latter edifice, the office of Clarencieux King of Arms, then vacant, from Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Deputy Earl Marshal; and notwithstanding very spirited remonstrances by the heralds over whose heads he had been appointed, he was confirmed in the situation, which he afterwards sold, for 2000*l.*, to Knox Ward, Esq., avowing ignorance of his new profession, and neglect of all its duties. Of course, we do not notice Sir John as a herald who has done honour to the College, but as a person distinguished in literature and the arts, who has been registered as a member of it.

Francis Grose, Richmond Herald, the good-humoured and convivial writer on British antiquities, was the son of a Swiss who settled in England as a jeweller. He was born at Greenford in Middlesex, in 1731, and at an early period of his life, obtained a situation in the College of Arms, where he eventually reached the office of Richmond Herald, which he resigned in 1763, when he became adjutant and paymaster of the Hampshire Militia, and afterwards captain in the Surrey Militia. His numerous works are to be found in almost every library. The principal are 'Views of Antiquities in England and Wales;' 'Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue;' 'Military Antiquities;' 'History of Dover Castle;' 'Rules for Drawing Caricatures;' 'The Guide to Health, Beauty, Honour, and Riches;' and 'The Antiquities of Ireland,' completed by Ledwich, Captain Grose being suddenly carried off by an apoplectic fit soon after his arrival in Dublin, May 12, 1791.

Edmund Lodge, Lancaster Herald, has left his name to us connected with the most beautiful and interesting series of 'Portraits of Illustrious British Personages' ever published. The genealogical and biographical memoirs by which they are accompanied are highly creditable to his talents, of which the College was too soon deprived. Mr. Lodge was made Lancaster Herald in December, 1793, and died 16th of January, 1839.

Death has lately also robbed the College of another highly respectable and accomplished author and antiquary in the person of George Frederick Beltz, Esq., Lancaster Herald, F.S.A.: and the only Officer of Arms now living whose name is connected with British literature is not a member of the English College, but Ulster King of Arms for Ireland (Sir William Betham), who has contributed several most erudite and interesting works to the history of the language and general antiquities of Ireland. Be it remembered that we have not included in this list the heralds who have written on their own science only, but such as have shed more or less lustre over the whole world of letters. Amongst the former are to be found many learned and industrious writers:—William Wyrley, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, 1604; Sir William Segar, Garter; William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; Ralph Brooke, York Herald; Augustine Vincent, Rouge Croix Pursuivant; Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, and his nephew and successor, Thomas Milles; John Guillim, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; Gregory King, Lancaster Herald and Deputy Garter; Sir Edward Byshe, Garter; John Gibbon, Blue Mantle Pursuivant; Sir Edward Walker, Garter; Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary; &c. &c. But few of these names are known to any but the students of heraldry, whereas most of the others are as "familiar in our mouths as household words," and hold high and deserved place amongst

the worthies of England. We have a confident trust that, under the new impulse given to art by the works of modern antiquaries, and the liberal patronage and support of the present Sovereigns of England, France, Prussia, and Bavaria, the College of Arms, in despite of the difficulties with which it has to struggle, will receive many honourable augmentations to its roll of immortal members; and from its yet unexplored treasures of antiquity shed a flood of light upon the history, manners, customs, and habits of the people of England.

[Heralds' College.]

[York or Stafford House, St. James's Park.]

CXXXII.—HOUSES OF THE OLD NOBILITY.

THE stranger will seek in vain in London for palaces of the nobility, such as abound in Rome, Florence, and Naples—structures which bespeak their patrician ownership, and have each a history of its own as old almost, and as full of matter, as the city of which it forms a part. Equally vain will be the search of the amateur of gossiping memoirs and letters of literary men and women, or their patrons, for hotels like those of Paris, which have been the scene of world-famous petit-soupers, and other intellectual re-unions. The shadow of the royal tree prevented the aristocracy of England from bourgeoning into such exuberant rankness as the aristocracies of the Italian cities; and the high billows of popular wealth and independence, surging around and submerging their old civic mansions, prevented them from becoming landmarks of history. Something, too, must be attributed to the rural tastes of the English aristocracy; or perhaps the very causes alluded to helped to create these rural tastes. King Jamie, of blessed memory, need not have been so desperately anxious to convince the magnates of the land that they were much greater men on their own estates than in London. The power of the Crown, and still more the power of its ministers generally, selected from the gentry or younger nobility, on the one hand, and the shouldering of the mob on the other, have kept them sensitively alive to it. In short, whatever the cause, London is, less than the capital of any other country, the

place where the power and prestige of the nobility are conspicuously displayed. The aristocracy of England have always been inclined to hold with the old Douglas, that "it is better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep."

Scattered, however, through the multitudinous habitations of London there are a few aristocratic mansions to which associations of social or public history do cling; and accidental circumstances—such as the name of a street or court—recall the memory of others which have long been swept away, enabling us to trace the gradual westwardly migrations of the nobility.

In the earlier periods of our history a good many of the nobility appear to have possessed residences in the City. A nobleman, who stood well with the citizens, might not unfrequently find such a mansion a more secure abode than his strongest castle, on hill or on the open plain. There was policy, too, in retaining these civic abodes: it enabled their noble owners to flatter the Londoners by affecting to call themselves citizens. These city residences of the aristocracy appear to have been frequently occupied so late as the wars of the Roses. Many of them remained in the possession of their families as late as the Revolution of 1688, and their sites are in some instances possibly still retained by their descendants. Nay, as late as the reign of Charles II. they had not been entirely evacuated by their titled occupants: some old-fashioned dames and dowagers, some old-world lords, still nestled in the walls peopled with the shadowy memories of their ancestors.

It would require a big book to trace all the lordly mansions within the City walls, and their histories: a few only of the more interesting can be here noticed as specimens.

In Silver Street, at the south end of Monkwell Street, there stood in 1603 a house built of stone and timber, then appertaining to Lord Windsor, and bearing his name. This building had been in olden times known as "The Neville's Inn." In the 19th of Richard II. it was found by inquisition of a jury, that Elizabeth Neville died, seized of a great messuage, in the parish of St. Olave, in Monkwell Street, in London, holden of the king in free burgage, which she held of the gift of John Neville of Raby, her husband. The house continued in the possession of the Nevilles, at least until the 4th year of Henry VI., when Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, died, seized of "that messuage," in the parish of St. Olave, in Farringdon ward, 'held burgage as the City of London was held.'" The Nevilles owned also another London residence—the great old house called "The Erber," near the Church of St. Mary Bothaw, on the east side of Dowgate Street. Edward III. granted this messuage to one of the family of Scrope: its last proprietor of that name, in the reign of Henry IV., gave it for life to his brother Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. Richard, Earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker, inherited the mansion, and retained possession of it till he fell in Barnet Field. George Duke of Clarence, the hero of the Malmsey-butt, obtained a grant of the house from Parliament in right of his wife Isabell, daughter of the Earl of Warwick. Richard III. appears to have taken possession of it; for, in his reign, it was called the King's Palace, and a ledger-book of that King shows that it was occupied for him by one Ralph Darnel, a yeoman of the crown. On the death of Richard it was restored to Edward, son of the Duke of Clarence, in whose hands it remained till his attainder in the 15th of Henry VII.

It appears, from an entry in the Archiepiscopal Registers of Lambeth, that

when the king-making Warwick had his town-house in Dowgate Street, Cicely, the dowager Duchess of York, resided in the parish of St. Peter's Parva, Paul's Wharf, united since the great fire, to the parish of St. Benedict. The register referred to states, that on the 7th of May, 1483, the archbishops, prelates, and nobles, who were nominated executors of Edward IV., met in the Duchess's house, in the parish above mentioned, to issue a commission for the care and sequestration of the royal property. This is the only mention known to exist of the Duchess's city-house. It is curious, and worthy of note, that the will under which this assembly acted is not known to exist: some writers have conjectured that it was intentionally destroyed during the reign of Richard III.

Crosby House was occupied about the same time by the Duke of Gloucester, who continued to reside there as Lord Protector before he assumed the kingly title. Some of his retainers were lodged in the suburbs beyond Cripplegate, as appears from the following passage in Sir Thomas More's "Pittiful Life of King Edward the Fifth:"—"And first to show you, that by conjecture he (Richard, Duke of Gloucester) pretended this thing in his brother's life, you shall understand for a truth that the same night that King Edward [IV.] died, one called Mistelbrooke, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Red-Cross Street, without Cripplegate, of London; and when he was, with hasty rapping, quickly let in, the said Mistelbrooke showed unto Pottier that King Edward was that night deceased. 'By my troth,' quoth Pottier, 'then will my master, the Duke of Gloucester, be king, and that I warrant thee.' What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say; whether he, being his servant, knew any such thing pretended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof; but of likelihood he spoke it not of aught."

A palace, built of stone, is said to have stood in old times at the end of Crooked Lane, facing in the direction of what is now Monument Yard; and here tradition says Edward the Black Prince had his residence.

'Great and Little Winchester Streets, in Broad Street ward, occupy the site of Winchester House and gardens, but that mansion belongs to a later period. It was built by Sir William Paulet, created Earl of Wilts and Marquis of Winchester, who was Lord High Treasurer under Edward VI. The ground was a grant made to the Marquis, when Lord St. John, by Henry VIII., of part of the foundation of Fryars Eremites of St. Augustine, settled there in 1253. Lord Winchester pulled down the east end of the Augustine friars' church to obtain room for his own mansion. The steeple and choir were left standing and inclosed; and in 1550 they were let to the Dutch nation in London, as their preaching-place. Token House Yard, in the same ward, occupies the site of a house and garden, the property of the Earls of Arundel, and purchased from the Earl then living by Sir William Petty, in the reign of Charles II.

The ward of Castle Baynard was thickly studded in old times with noblemen's houses. The royal mansion designated "the King's Great Wardrobe" probably constituted the centre of attraction, and gathered "the West End" of those days around it. This house, which bore the name of the King's Wardrobe as early as the fifth of Edward III., was built and inhabited by Sir John de Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports, son of Guido de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Sir John dying in 1359, the house

was sold to the king by his executors, and from that time the property of it remained in the Crown. Richard III. resided here a short time, in the second year of his reign. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was occupied by Sir John Fortescue, Master of the Wardrobe, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. The secret letters and writings touching the estate of the realm were wont to be enrolled in the King's Wardrobe, and not in Chancery.

Among the residences of the nobility clustering round the Wardrobe, in addition to the house of Cicely, Duchess of York, noticed above, were—1. a large house originally called Beaumont's Inn, belonging to the family of that name, in the fourth of Edward III. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Crown, and Edward IV. in the fifth of his reign gave it to his Chamberlain, William Lord Hastings, from whom it descended to the Earls of Huntingdon, and being occupied by that family as a town residence, was known in the time of Henry VIII. by the name of Huntingdon House; 2. Near St. Paul's Wharf was another great house, called Scrope's Inn, which belonged to that family in the thirty-first of Henry VI.; 3. The Bishop of London's Palace stood on the north-west side of St. Paul's Churchyard; the Abbey of Fescamp, in Normandy, possessed a messuage between Baynard's Castle and Paul's Wharf, which, having been seized by Edward III., was by that prince granted to Sir Simon Burleigh, and afterwards called Burleigh House; the Prior of Okeborn (in Wiltshire) had his lodging in Castle Lane, but the priory, being of a foreign order, was suppressed by Henry V., who gave this messuage to his college in Cambridge, now called King's College.

But a more celebrated building than any of these was Castle Baynard itself, from which the ward derives its name. It was built by Baynard, a follower of the Conqueror. After his death the castle was held in succession by Geffrey and William Baynard. The latter lost the honour of Baynard's Castle by forfeiture, in 1111. It was then granted by King Henry to Robert Fitz-Richard, son of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, and came by hereditary succession, in 1198, into the possession of Robert Fitzwater. This Robert played a conspicuous part in the Barons' wars in the time of King John; and the guilty love of that monarch for Fitzwater's daughter, the fair Matilda, is one of the legends with which the struggle for Magna Charta has been adorned or disfigured—the reader may choose the epithet which pleases him best. On the 12th of March, 1303, another Robert Fitzwater acknowledged his service to the City of London for his Castle of Baynard, before Sir John Blunt, Lord Mayor of London. Stow has recorded the rights ceded by the Commonalty of London in return to Robert Fitzwater as their Châtelain and Banner-bearer. These consisted of a certain limited jurisdiction within his hereditary Soke or Ward of Castle Baynard, and the following privileges and authority in time of war:—

"The said Robert and his heirs ought to be and are chief Banners of London, in fee for the Chastiliany, which he and his ancestors had by Castle Baynard, in the said City. In time of war the said Robert and his heirs ought to serve the City in manner as followeth: that is—

"The said Robert ought to come, he being the twentieth Man of Arms on horseback, covered with cloth or armour, unto the great west door of St. Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his arms. And when he is come to the

said door, mounted and apparelled as before is said, the Mayor, with his Aldermen and Sheriffs, armed in their arms, shall come out of the said church of St. Paul unto the said door, with a banner in his hand, all on foot; which banner shall be gules, the image of St. Paul, gold; the face, hands, feet, and sword, of silver. And as soon as the said Robert shall see the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs come on foot out of the church, armed with such a banner, he shall alight from his horse and salute the Mayor, and say to him, 'Sir Mayor, I am come to do my service which I owe the City.'

"And the Mayor and Aldermen shall answer—

"'We give to you, as to our Banneret of Fee in this City, the banner of this City to bear and govern to the honour and profit of this City, to your power.'

"And the said Robert, and his heirs, shall receive the banner in his hands, and go on foot out of the gate, with the banner in his hands; and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs shall follow to the door, and shall bring an horse to the said Robert, worth twenty pounds, which horse shall be saddled with a saddle of the arms of the said Robert, and shall be covered with sindals of the said arms.

"Also they shall present to him twenty pounds sterling, and deliver it to the Chamberlain of the said Robert, for his expenses that day. Then the said Robert shall mount upon the horse which the Mayor presented him, with the banner in his hand; and as soon as he is up, he shall say to the Mayor, that he must cause a Marshal to be chosen for the host, one of the City; which being done, the said Robert shall command the Mayor and Burgesses of the City to warn the Commons to assemble, and all go under the banner of St. Paul; and the said Robert shall bear it himself to Aldgate, and there the said Robert and Mayor shall deliver the said banner of St. Paul to whom they think proper. And if they are to go out of the City, then the said Robert ought to choose two out of every ward, the most sage persons, to look to the keeping of the City after they are gone out. And this Counsel shall be taken in the Priory of the Trinity, near Aldgate; and before every town or castle which the host of London shall besiege, if the siege continue a whole year, the said Robert shall have, for every siege, of the Commonalty of London, one hundred shillings and no more."

These rights continued in the possession of two successors of Robert Fitzwater; how or when the family lost them does not appear. In 1428 (the 7th of Henry VI.) a great fire happened at Castle Baynard: it was re-built by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in whose possession it continued till his death. By the Duke's death and attainder it came to Henry VI.; and from him to the Duke of York, who occupied it as his own house in 1457. When the Earls of March and Warwick entered London in 1460, the former took up his abode in his paternal mansion of Baynard's Castle; there it was that he received the intimation of the resolution of the Londoners, convened by Warwick in St. John's Field, to have him for their King; and there he summoned a great council of all the Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates, in and about London. Richard III. took upon him the kingly title in Baynard's Castle. Henry VII. repaired and embellished it—rather as a palace than a fortress—and resided there with his Queen in the seventh, eighteenth, and twentieth years of his reign. The castle came afterwards into the possession of the Earls of Pembroke. The last great business of state transacted within its walls was by the council which had previously proclaimed

Lady Jane Grey, meeting there, and resolving to proclaim the Lady Mary Queen; moved thereto either by some new light as to the better title of Henry's daughter, or by seeing that the majority of the nation was on her side. Was it as a reward for lending his house to this meeting that the Common Council, in the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, "agreed, at the request of the Earl of Pembroke, that the City's laystall, adjoining to his Lordship's house, and being noisome to the same, should be removed, upon condition that he should give the City, towards the making of a new laystall in another place, two thousand feet of hard stone to make the vault and wharf thereof, or else forty marks in ready money to buy the same stone withal?"

We might go on for many pages to show how the houses of the nobility were sprinkled over the surface of the City of London, while barons were barons; before the wars of the Roses had so effectually weeded them, that the few who remained, and the mushroom race which sprung up to fill their vacant places, were cropped, by the topiarian art of Henry VII., into forms beseeming the "trim garden" of a constitutional monarchy. The banner-bearer of the City, with the nobles who held messuages within the walls, "burgage as the City of London was held," along with the lordly Abbots and Prelates, like the Prior of Trinity, who, in virtue of his office, was Alderman of the Soke or Ward of Portsoken, on the one hand, and the Mayor and other corporate dignities on the other, formed connecting links between the barons of the realm and the "barons of London." An alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between a portion of the nobility and the City: the metropolis became an *imperium in imperio*, with a nobility and commonalty of its own; and the experience of the wars of the Roses showed that London was England—that the master of the former was master also of the latter.

This circumstance lends an air of greater likelihood to the traditionary pranks of Prince Hal in Eastcheap. There is a legend of a frolicsome excursion of Charles II. to the environs of Wapping or Rotherhithe, but that was like her present Majesty's trip to the Château d'Eu, an exceptional case. The difficulty has been to conceive a Prince habitually resorting to the taverns of the City. That difficulty is removed when we see that a great number of the nobility resided in the City; that even royalty took up its abode within the walls. The City was then what Westminster is now: and wild Prince Hal ranged about the former as the wild sons of George III. are shown by the records of Parliamentary Committees, Courts of Justice, and the equally veracious pages of "the Books," and columns of the newspapers, to have ranged about the latter. Nay, Harry Prince of Wales was no more the solitary scapegrace of his family than George Prince of Wales, though Shakspere has made Falstaff call Prince John of Lancaster a "young sober-blooded boy," a "demure boy," one whose "thin drink over-cooled his blood," and who, "by making many fish-meals, did fall into a kind of male green sickness." Stow is our witness. Speaking of the year 1410, the 11th of Henry IV., at which time "there was no tavern then in Eastcheap," he informs us, in connection with a previous statement of friendly entertainments being made in "the cooks' dwellings," that the King's sons, Thomas and John, "being in Eastcheap at supper (or rather at breakfast, for it was after the watch was broken up, betwixt two or three of the clock after midnight), a great debate

happened between their men and others of the court, which lasted one hour, till the Mayor and Sheriffs, with other citizens, appeased the same." For this interference the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs were cited to appear before the King, "his sons, and divers lords, being highly moved against the City." Gascoigne, the Chief-Justice, advised the citizens "to put themselves in the King's grace;" but they replied "that they had not offended, but, according to the law, had done their best in stinting debate, and maintaining of the peace." "Upon which answer," continues the historian, "the King remitted all his ire, and dismissed them."

A new world came up with Henry VII. There was now a King in Israel, and both Lords and citizens were forced by him to take their due places in the Commonwealth, as some of these Lords and the same citizens were mainly instrumental in making his descendants do two centuries later. The City, however, especially its west-end, the portions of Baynard's Castle, and the neighbouring Blackfriars, continued to be a fashionable quarter for some two centuries after Henry VII. But even before this, a taste for suburban villas had sent the aristocracy in different directions in search of new sites and country air. To the east there was little attraction: the marshes of the Lea were in too close proximity, and in those days, even more than in the present, the Essex Marsh fevers were no joke. To the north-east Finsbury was then a great fen. Some sought to plant themselves northwards in the direction of Islington, and some on the banks of the Oldbourne (now the sewer of Holborn); but the far greater number affected the line of "the silent highway;" and, combining rurality with courtliness, perched themselves midway between the City and the Court, for even in those days the Palace of Westminster was *par excellence* "the Court," though not to the same extent as after Whitehall and St. James's were appropriated by the Sovereign.

The prelates, a pursy and short-breathed generation, were the first to set the example of flying from the City smoke. Along Holborn and the line of Fleet Street, and the Strand, their "Inns" were frequent at an early period. Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, about the year 1365, built a house to serve as a City mansion for himself and his successors, near to where Salisbury Street now abuts upon the Strand. Contiguous to Durham House on the west, was from an early period the City residence of the Bishops of Norwich, purchased in 1556 by the Archbishop of York, for himself and his successors. A little to the east of Catherine Street a small water-course ran down from the fields, and was crossed in the line of the Strand by a bridge, called Strand Bridge. On the south-east side of this stream stood the City Mansion of the Bishop of Llandaff, and west of the bridge were the residences of the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. Essex Street, in the Strand, occupies the site purchased in 1324 from the Prior and Canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by Walter, Bishop of Exeter, who erected a mansion on it for himself and his successors. The Palace of the Bishops of Bath occupied the site of the present Arundel and Norfolk Streets. William de Luda, Bishop of Ely, who died in 1297, bequeathed his manor, on the north side of Holborn Hill, to his successors, upon condition that his next successor should pay one thousand marks towards the finding of three chaplains in the chapel there. The residence of the Bishops of Salisbury was at the west end of St. Paul's Church; that of the Bishops of St. David's at the east end.

Even at that early age we can trace the palaces of the lay dignitaries mingling with those of the prelates, but it is not till after the wealth and power of the church had been shorn by the Reformation, that the former came to preponderate. From the time of Elizabeth downward to the Revolution in 1688 we find mansions of the nobility in the region now under review, superseding the palaces of the prelates and shouldering them out of sight.

Of some of the houses appertaining to the dignified clergy, the nobility who rose with the Reformation, whether of new families or old, obtained possession by avowed grants of confiscated property from the Crown. Others they acquired by "exchange;" but the new bishops of those days were in no case to drive hard bargains with the court favourites who invited them to barter. The way in which good part of the property attached to Ely House changed masters in the time of Elizabeth is no bad sample of the way in which such transfers were made. At her Majesty's *mandatory* request, Bishop Cox "granted to Christopher Hatton" (says a MS. case for the Bishop of Ely in the Harleian Collection), "afterwards Sir Christopher [and Lord Chancellor], the gate-house of the palace (except two rooms, used as prisons for those who were arrested or delivered in execution to the bishop's bailiff; and the lower rooms used for the porter's lodge), the first court-yard within the gate-house, at the long gallery, dividing it from the second; the stables there; the long gallery, with the rooms above and below it, and some others; fourteen acres of land, and the keeping of the garden and orchard, for twenty-one years, paying at Midsummer *a red rose* for the gate-house and garden, and for the grounds ten loads of hay and 10*l.* per annum; the Bishop reserving to himself and successors free access through the gate-house, walking in the gardens, and gathering *twenty bushels of roses* yearly: Mr. Hatton undertaking to repair and make the gate-house a convenient dwelling." This lease was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Ely; but in the following year, in consequence of some doubts of its validity, Bishop Cox granted all the above property, in fee, to the Queen herself, her heirs and assigns, yet with a clause of resumption, either by himself or his successors, on payment of the sum of 1897*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, which had been expended by Hatton on the premises. About nine months afterwards (June 20, 1578), her Majesty, by her Letters Patent, consigned this estate to Sir Christopher Hatton, to hold of the manor of East Greenwich. In the reign of Charles I. proceedings were instituted by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, for the recovery of this estate; and the Court of Requests, in 1640, decided that the Bishop had a right to redeem the premises; but soon afterwards Wren was committed to the Tower, and the House of Commons nullified the proceedings of the Court, and dismissed the cause. After the Restoration, Bishop Wren, who had been reinstated in his diocese, exhibited a bill in Chancery against the then Lord Hatton and others for the redemption of the premises; but no decision could be obtained either by him or his successors, until at length, in the reign of Queen Anne, Bishop Patrick agreed to terminate this long protracted suit, by leaving the property in the possession of the then occupants, on condition that 100*l.* per annum should be settled on the see of Ely in perpetuity.

The case of Somerset House is still more gross, as related by Stow; that favourite child of the proud Protector, Somerset, swallowed up it is hard to say how many episcopal residences, churches, &c. &c.

"Next beyond Arundel House, on the street side, was sometime a fair

cemetery or churchyard, and in the same a parish church, called of the Nativity of our Lady (St. Mary), and the Innocents of the Strand; and of some, by means of a brotherhood kept there, called of St. Ursula of the Strand. And near adjoining to the said church, betwixt it and the river of Thames, was an Inn of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inn (because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester), by others named of the situation, Strand Inn. Then there was a house belonging to the Bishop of Llandaff: for I find in Record, the fourth of Edward II. that a vacant place lying near the church of our Lady at Strand, the said Bishop procured it of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for the enlarging of his house. Then had you in the High Street a fair bridge, called Strand Bridge, and under it a lane or way, down to the landing-place on the bank of the Thames. Then was the Bishop of Chester's (commonly called of Lichfield and Coventry), his Inn or London lodging; this house was builded by Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Treasurer of England in the reign of Edward I. And next unto it, adjoining, was the Bishop of Worcester's Inn:—all which, *to wit*, the parish of St. Mary at Strand, Strand Inn, Strand Bridge, with the lane under it, the Bishop of Chester's Inn, the Bishop of Worcester's Inn, with all the tenements adjoining, were, by commandment of Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI., and Lord Protector, pulled down and made level ground in the year 1549. In place whereof, he builded that large and goodly house now called Somerset House."

There is something Homeric in the pains-taking detail with which each tenement is described, and then, after the mind has been duly impressed by this tedious process with the importance of each, they are merged together by a rapid recapitulation, solely for the purpose of showing them swept away to make room for the princely palace of the proud Protector. And, after all, this enumeration conveys but an inadequate idea of the dilapidation effected by Somerset. Spelman says that neither the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry nor the Bishop of Llandaff had any recompense for their destroyed palaces: the Bishop of Worcester, who had been chaplain to Somerset, was glad to put up with a house in White Friars. Besides the palaces above-mentioned, several other buildings were pulled down to supply materials for the erection of Somerset House. Among others were the nave, aisles, and bell-tower of the Priory Church of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell; the chapel called Pardon Church Haugh, or Hawe, on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral, with the cloisters surrounding it (except the east side), in which was painted Macabee's, or Machabree's, 'Dance of Death;' a chapel founded by Walter Sheryngton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and a Canon of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry VI., near the north door of the same cathedral; and the contiguous charnel house and chapel on the same side, which was probably of very early foundation. Stow says (quoting Reginald Wolfe as his authority in the margin) that the bones of the dead, which had been "couched up in a charnel under the chapel, were conveyed from thence into Finsbury Field (by report of him who paid for the carriage), amounting to more than 1000 cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground, in short raised by the soilage of the city, to bear three mills."

The indignation which this heartless and indecent violation of the sepulchre excited in the public mind was made one of the means of accelerating Somerset's downfall. The space for his palace was levelled in 1549; in the October of that

year he was proclaimed by the Lords of the Privy Council; and in January, 1552-3, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. The house devolved to the Crown, of which it has ever since remained an appanage. It has, however, been so tenacious of its founder's name, in the quaint words of Fuller, "though he was not full five years possessor of it, that it would not change a duchy for a kingdom, when solemnly proclaimed by King James Denmark House, from the King of Denmark lodging therein, and his sister, Queen Anne, repairing thereof." Could the walls of the old Somerset House have spoken they might have unfolded many a strange tale. In Elizabeth's time it was assigned at different periods for the reception of foreign ambassadors. In Lord Burghley's 'Notes' of this reign, printed at the end of Marsden's 'State Papers,' is the following singular passage:—"Feb. 1566-7. Cornelius de la Noye, an alchemist, wrought in Somerset House, and abused many in promising to convert any metal into gold." Anne, the consort of James I., held her court here, which, according to Arthur Wilson, "was a continued Mascarado, where she and her ladies, like so many sea-nymphs or Nereids, appeared in various dresses to the ravishment of the beholders." Somerset House was afterwards the scene of the bickerings between Charles I. and his new-made wife's French domestics, which elicited from that King a brief and pithy note, often re-printed, to "Steenie" (the Duke of Buckingham), directing him to dispatch "the beasts" to France without delay. Oliver Cromwell lay here in state; and here was laid the scene of the tragic romance of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's murder.

A like fate awaited most of the episcopal residences along the Strand after the triumph of Lutheranism. The Inn of the Bishops of Exeter became first Paget House, and afterwards Leicester House, and finally Essex House, being the residence of that favourite of Elizabeth, and the covert where he turned to stand at bay. The Inn of the Bishop of Bath became Arundel House. The Inn of the Bishop of Durham passed into the possession of the Beaufort family. The Inn which belonged originally to the Bishops of Norwich, and had been by them transferred to the Archbishops of York, was acquired by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The water-gate erected for that favourite by Inigo Jones still survives, under the designation of York Stairs, and, with the names of the neighbouring streets, is all that remains to mark the place of the mansion. And what became of the bishops? A curious document, exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1797, in part answers the question. It is indorsed "Thomas Shakespeare's Bill," and contains a claim for allowance for "charges and pains" in delivering letters, by Queen Elizabeth's command, to several prelates in the year 1577. Thomas Shakespeare states that he found the Bishop of London "at his house at Fulham;" the Archbishop of York "at Tower Hill;" the Bishop of Chichester "at Westminster;" the Bishop of Durham "in Aldersgate Street;" and the Bishop of Worcester "lying at Paul's Churchyard."

The right loyal nobles of England seem to have followed closely the example set them by King Henry VIII., who laid violent hands on Whitehall, and even to have "bettered it in the acting." Of the Strand residences of the nobility, only two of any note were not transferences from the bishops—and even these were acquired at the expense of the Church.

In March, 1552, a patent was granted to John Russell, Earl of Bedford, "of

the gift of the Covent, or Convent Garden, lying in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, near Charing Cross, with seven acres, called Long Acre, of the yearly value of 6*l.* 6*s.*, 8*d.* parcel of the possessions of the late Duke of Somerset." This was a modest slice of the church lands the Duke had obtained possession of. On this grant the Earl of Bedford shortly after erected a mansion, principally of wood, for his town residence, near the bottom of what is now called Southampton Street. This building was called Bedford House; it was inclosed with a brick wall, and had a large garden extending northward nearly to the site of the present-market place: it remained till 1704.

Northumberland House, at once the oldest and most aristocratic in its appearance of the existing houses of the nobility, was also erected on ground that had once pertained to the Church. On its site once stood an hospital or chapel of St. Mary, founded in the time of Henry III.; suppressed along with the alien priories by Henry V., but restored for a fraternity by Edward IV. After the dissolution of monasteries, this site was granted by Edward VI. to Thomas Carwardon. The estate afterwards came into the possession of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who erected on it a splendid mansion designated Northampton House. On his death, in 1614, it was inherited by his kinsman, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, from whom it received the name of Suffolk House. On the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk, with Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, the mansion passed with the bride into the possession of her husband, and was re-baptised Northumberland House which name it has since retained. The edifice originally formed three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth side remaining open to the Thames. The reputed architect was Bernard Jansen, but the frontispiece to the street has been attributed to Gerard Christmas, who rebuilt Aldersgate, in the reign of James I. The principal apartments were originally on the Strand side; but Earl Algernon (who disliked the noise of that crowded thoroughfare) had the quadrangle completed by a fourth side (including the state rooms) towards the river, under the direction of Inigo Jones. Considerable alterations and additions were made by Sir Hugh Smithson, who became a Percy on the decease of Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset, in 1749-50; two new wings were annexed to the garden front; the quadrangular court was faced with stone; great part of the northern front was rebuilt, but the central division—the entrance gateway—still exhibits the original work of Gerard Christmas. Other alterations and repairs were made after a fire, which, in March, 1780, consumed most of the upper rooms on the north side.

Northumberland House has its social and political associations. Evelyn visited it in June, 1658, and has left in his diary a criticism of the mansion and inventory of the pictures. The collection has been greatly increased since his time, and is now extremely valuable. There is likewise a noble library. Horace Walpole attended a fête here in the reign of the first Smithson; his caustic yet brilliant account of it has been quoted in an earlier number of 'London.' It was from Northumberland House that Horace sallied with a gay party to pay a visit to the Cock Lane ghost. In 1660 General Monk, who had taken up his quarters at Whitehall, was invited to this house by Earl Algernon; and here, in conference with him and other nobles and gentlemen, some of the measures were concerted which led to the re-establishment of the monarchy. With such remi-

niscences to inspire him, the Northumbrian lion above the gateway might well hold out his tail as stiffly as he does, even if he were not the guardian of the mingled bloods of Smithson and Percy.

[Craven House, Wych Street, 1800.]

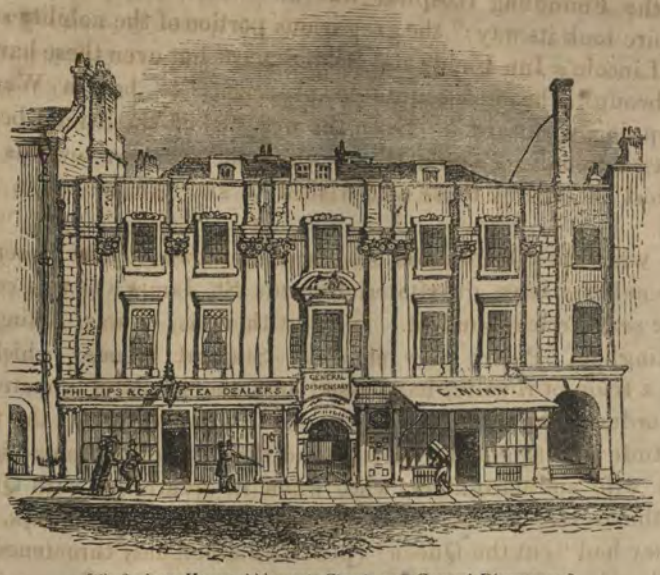
At the corner of Drury Lane and Wych Street stood Craven House (rebuilt on the site of that of the Druries, the father the friend of Essex, and the son the patron of Donne the poet), the residence of Earl Craven, and the abode also of the daughter of James I., the wife of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia. On her husband's death she became a dependent on this nobleman who had fought valiantly in her cause, and who, at the restoration, brought his royal mistress here. She died in a few months after her arrival, but the Earl lived till 1697. Portions of the house remained till a comparatively recent period, and a painting of the Earl was preserved on the wall at the bottom of Craven Buildings. The Olympic Theatre now occupies the site on which the house formerly stood.

During the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth the houses of the nobility were influenced by two diverging attractions. On the one hand there was the desire to be near Whitehall, and (which influenced politicians of the lower House as well as those of the upper) to be near the Houses of Parliament. On the other, there was the desire—the necessity with the nobility of the popular party, to keep well with the City. In these unsettled times the City of London, for a brief period, almost entirely re-assumed its ancient importance. It was the treasury of the Commonwealth party, and supplied them with some of their best regiments. Accordingly we find the Parliamentary General—Robert, Earl of

Warwick, occupying at this time what is still proudly called Warwick House, in the vicinity of Smithfield, though occupied by a shopkeeper. This mansion, though it has now lost all external appearance of antiquity, is believed to have been built in the time of Elizabeth, on ground once belonging to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, purchased by the Earl's ancestor, Sir Robert Rich, from Henry VIII., in 1544, for the sum of 1064*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* The right to continue St. Bartholomew's Fair, as when in possession of the Prior and Convent, was conveyed along with the land. Hence the origin of the title "Lady Holland's Mob," which used to be bestowed on the uproarious crowd which was wont to congregate on the eve of St. Bartholomew, to "assist," as the French say, in proclaiming the fair. It is strange the influence that property exercises over men: one might almost say with more propriety, that they are possessed by it, than that it is possessed by them. Queen Elizabeth was mainly made and kept a "nursing mother" of the reformed Church of England by the necessity of adopting its tenets as the only ones upon which her right to the crown could be argumentatively established; and the nobility whose houses were built on church land were, by their ownership, impelled, two reigns later, further than their natural likings would have led them, in the ways of revolution. It is not in fables like those of the Niebelungen alone, that wealth sways the destiny of its seeming master. Even an empty name would seem to have its influence, and the collocation of the words "Lady Holland's Mob" to be typical and prophetic of the popular tendencies of those who bear the title, through all generations.

Even after the Restoration, when London had again subsided from its temporary and factitious importance, it proved no easy matter to weed the old nobility entirely out of the City and the liberties. In Aldersgate they were thickly sown, as the name of many a court and blind alley, erected on the sites of their mansions, testifies to this day. In some solitary instances the houses themselves may have survived, though at present the only one that dwells in our recollection is Shaftesbury House, now, by the transmutations of Spencer's "Mutability," converted into a Lying-in Hospital. There was a propriety in an Earl of Shaftesbury residing so close to the City—the old political fox, who, among his other devices, had himself elected alderman at one time.

Among those families which lingered longest in the precincts of the City was that of Newcastle, the site of whose mansion, erected where once the Convent of Benedictine Nuns stood in Clerkenwell Close, is still pointed out by the buildings called "Newcastle Place." The ground on which it was built was alienated by the crown in the time of Edward VI., and came afterwards into the possession of Sir Thomas Challoner, who, if Weever may be believed, built a house in it:—"Within the close of this Nunnery in a spacious fair house, *built of late* by Sir Thomas Challoner, knight, deceased." Challoner died in 1565. From his family the house and grounds passed into the possession of Sir William, afterwards Earl, Marquess, and Duke of Newcastle, distinguished for his loyalty to Charles I. Newcastle House was the residence of two singular women. First came the right noble Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, authoress of a multitude of high-flown and most unreadable works; of whose history of her husband Pepys says, that it "shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an ass to suffer her to write what she writes to him, and of him;" and of whose



[Shaftesbury House, Aldersgate Street, now General Dispensary.]

self that very husband said, "a very wise woman is a very foolish thing." Next came Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle, and afterwards of Montague, an incident in whose life has been dramatised, by Colley Cibber, in "The Double Gallant, or Sick Lady's Cure." This lady, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, after the death of her first husband, resolved with all the gravity of lunacy, that a lady of her personal charms, mental gifts, and vast estates, was entitled to a royal husband. On this hint Ralph, first Duke of Montague, wooed and won her, as Emperor of China. After marriage he played the tyrant to the poor insane creature he had wedded for her property, and kept her in such strict confinement, that her relations compelled him to produce her in open court, to prove that she was alive. She survived him nearly thirty years, and at last "died of mere old age," at Newcastle House, in 1738. Till the time of her death she is said to have Empressed it, and to have been constantly served on the knee. The last occupant of Newcastle House, according to Brayley, was "an eminent cabinetmaker, named Mallet," after whose death, about the close of last century, it was demolished.

But even in the heart of the City some of the old nobility continued to linger till the commencement of the eighteenth century. Devonshire Square, in the Ward of Bishopsgate, marks the site of a residence of that noble family, inhabited as late as 1704, by a Countess of Devonshire, and frequented by numerous aristocratic visitors.

These, however, were exceptions. Immediately after the Restoration the full tide of aristocratic life set in with a strong current westward. It crossed the valley from Clerkenwell, and straggled along the north of the Holborn line. There was Montague House, now the British Museum, and disappearing by piecemeal as the new and larger buildings, required to contain the continually increasing collections, grow up around it. To this associated itself in time a Bedford House, on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, and a Lansdowne House,

near where the Foundling Hospital was afterwards erected. "Westward the course of empire took its way:" the gregarious portion of the nobility settled down for a time in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Soho Square, but even these have long been abandoned through the unaccountable propensity to be, in Wordsworthian phrase, "stepping westward." Even the west end of the Strand began in time to be thought too remote. The declivity which shelves down towards St. James's Palace was most affected by those who wished to sun themselves in the rays of majesty.

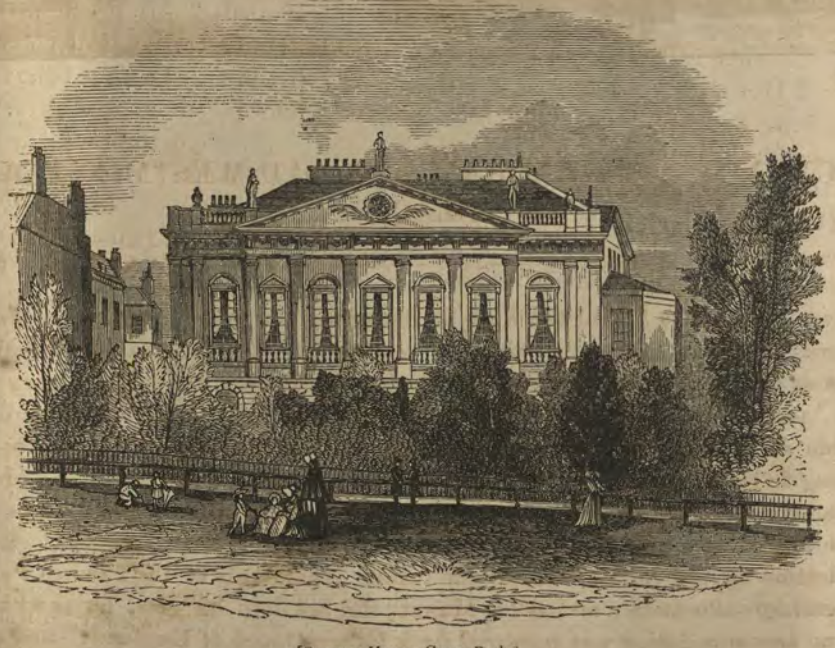
Beginning with the Restoration, and coming down to the present day, the houses of the nobility have gravitated towards St. James's as to a centre, forming concentric semicircles round it. In front there is, or was, Arlington House (where Buckingham Palace now stands); Stafford House (which, destined originally for a scion of royalty, has passed into the hands of a mere nobleman, inverting the order of the other's progress); Marlborough House, the tribute of a nation's gratitude to a successful warrior, and the scene of the magnificent impertinence of his wife and daughters, who, when he quarrelled with Queen Anne, used to show themselves at their windows in *negligée* on levee-days, in order to denote that they had "cut the Queen" (poor Brummell only threatened to cut the Regent!); Schomberg House (which has been cut up into three private dwellings); Carlton House (which, like Arlington House, passed into the occupancy of royalty, and has since disappeared); Wallingford House (converted into the Admiralty); Melbourne now Dover House (called, by Sheridan, a "round house"), in which the Duke of York had been incarcerated. Between these and the next semicircle stand, or stood, two groups: one at the corner of the Green Park, consisting of Bridgewater House (recently pulled down), Spencer House, &c.; the other in St. James's Square, Litchfield House (of political notoriety), Norfolk House, &c. The second semicircle alluded to may be called the line of Piccadilly, and has been sufficiently noticed in our paper on that street. It begins with the mansion of "sober Lanesborough dancing with the gout," and ends with the site of Leicester House, the pouting-place of the first Princes of Wales of the Hanoverian line, or perhaps it may be extended down to Northumberland House. Some of these are rich in associations. Burlington House and Devonshire House among those still existing, and Arlington and Clarendon House among those which have passed away, live in the pages of Pepys and Evelyn. Bath House (near Ashburnham House) is memorable as the seat whence the Tantalus of modern English politics, old Pulteney, looked out upon St. James's; and Apsley House is, in our day, what Marlborough House was in the age of Queen Anne. Almost in a line with the mansions now under consideration is Chesterfield House, where Johnson sat "nursing his wrath to keep it warm" at being made to kick his heels in the antechamber, and burst into a Johnsonian explosion, when Colley Cibber, issuing from the penetralia of the patron's shrine, showed whose conversation had been preferred to his; and Lansdowne House, whose noble owner followed Bentham, when that most "impracticable" of sages was on a visit to him, to his bedchamber, with the awkward question—"Mr. Bentham, can you serve me?" A third but more straggling semicircle is formed by Grosvenor House, near Hyde Park, the mansion of the Duke of Port-

land in Cavendish Square, and was terminated by Newport and Grafton Houses, near where there is now a market named after the former.

Few of the existing mansions of the nobility differ in their external appearance from those of other wealthy individuals; and their internal arrangements, though sumptuous, are all of a strictly private character. Nothing of the feudal or governing character remains about them to warrant public intrusion. The mansion of a Roman noble is the mansion of a public character—of the prince—and, with its halls and galleries, is meant to be public. But the mansion of a British nobleman is the residence of the man, where none but friends are expected or allowed to enter. Some of them, however, do still bear on their front the characteristic stamp of a lordly residence. This has been already remarked of Northumberland House, and applies to Burlington House, and to the ducal mansion of the Bentincks in Portman Square. There is an exclusive, almost fortified air about these buildings, as if meant to lodge troops of retainers and keep the "profanum vulgus" at a distance. They are citadels, into which the "morgue aristocratique" may withdraw and secure itself from intrusion. The solidity and almost gloom of the Bentinck mansion, in particular, seems to fit it for being tenanted with—

> "Sour dames of honour, once who garnished
> The drawing-room of fierce Queen Mary."

Spencer House is also remarkable for its architectural pretensions, and Grosvenor House for its combination of sculpture with architectural ornament.



[Spencer House, Green Park.]

[Throne Room, Buckingham Palace.]

CXXXIII.—BUCKINGHAM AND OLD WESTMINSTER PALACES.

"BUILD me a palace," said the King of Bavaria a few years ago to his architect, in words we have before had occasion slightly to refer to, "in which nothing within or without shall be of transient fashion or interest; a palace for my posterity, and my people, as well as myself; of which the decorations shall be durable as well as splendid, and shall appear one or two centuries hence as pleasing to the eye and taste as they do now." Such was one monarch's idea of what a royal palace should be, and grandly has the idea been realized: let us now glance at that of another. "George the Fourth," says Mrs. Jameson, "had a predilection for low ceilings, so all the future inhabitants of the Pimlico Palace must endure suffocation; and as his Majesty did not live on good terms with his wife, no accommodation was prepared for a future Queen of England;" and that monarch's views and tastes have also been done thorough justice to. Klenze, the architect of Munich, in his way, is not more worthy of the Bavarian sovereign than Nash, in his, of the English. Unfortunately, there is considerable difference

between the ways, and the result is, that whilst the capital of Bavaria possesses a palace of which it may well be proud, since the edifice is the admiration of Europe, London has that of Buckingham! There are some facts, so significant in their naked simplicity, that they only lose force by comment,—this is one of them.

The Palace derives its name from the house that previously stood here, which was built, in 1703, by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who took the trouble to describe it at great length in a letter that has been frequently published, but somewhat unnecessarily, it appears, so far as its architectural value is concerned; the House is described as appearing, just before it was pulled down, "dull, dowdy, and decent, nothing more than a large, substantial, and respectable-looking red brick house."* The Duke at the same time gave us some particulars of his domestic life in it, none of which are half so interesting as that feature of it which he did not give—his "constant visit to the noted gaming-house at Marylebone, the place of assemblage of all the infamous sharpers of his time. His grace always gave them a dinner at the conclusion of the season, and his parting toast was, 'May as many of us as remain unhanged next spring, meet here again.'"† Among the many sins laid to the authors of the Palace, it is curious to find the choice of the locality enumerated, seeing that the site is that of the once famous Mulberry Gardens, which used to be considered remarkable for "amenity" of situation, and seeing into how beautiful a place has been converted the meadow, with its formal canal, that formerly extended in front of the spot: we refer to the enclosure.

Buckingham Palace was commenced in 1825, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. Nash, and completed only recently by Mr. Blore, who, after the former gentleman's death, in 1835, assumed the direction. The general character of the structure, with all its merits or demerits, of course belongs to the original architect, whose successor, we have no doubt, has not the slightest desire to be invested with the reputation of the design. Perhaps the most forcible impression conveyed to the mind in examining the well-known eastern front, is that of wonder at the ingenuity—as we might almost call it—shown in preventing a pile of such large dimensions from appearing large, and in gently letting down, at it were, step by step, as the spectator moves to different points of aspect, the natural idea of grandeur with which he comes prepared to invest a building erected for the residence of the Sovereign of the British Empire. It is very pretty, no doubt; and Waagen says it looks "as if some wicked magician had suddenly transformed some capricious stage scenery into solid reality." Would that the same magician could re-transform it, and at the same time return the many hundreds of thousands of pounds it has cost into the Exchequer! If it is not grand, then, in its general effect, is it original? By no means, says one critic, and an able one (Mr. Leeds), "both the arrangement and the composition being often of the most common-place and hackneyed kind." Well, if borrowed, is it well borrowed? has the artist shown a thorough appreciation of all the essential qualities of his original, and how they may be best adapted to his own purposes? "Oh, dear no," replies another, smiling even at the question; "look at that bald-

* Leeds' Illustrations of Public Buildings—Buckingham Palace.

† Pennant's 'London,' ed. 1791, p. 132.

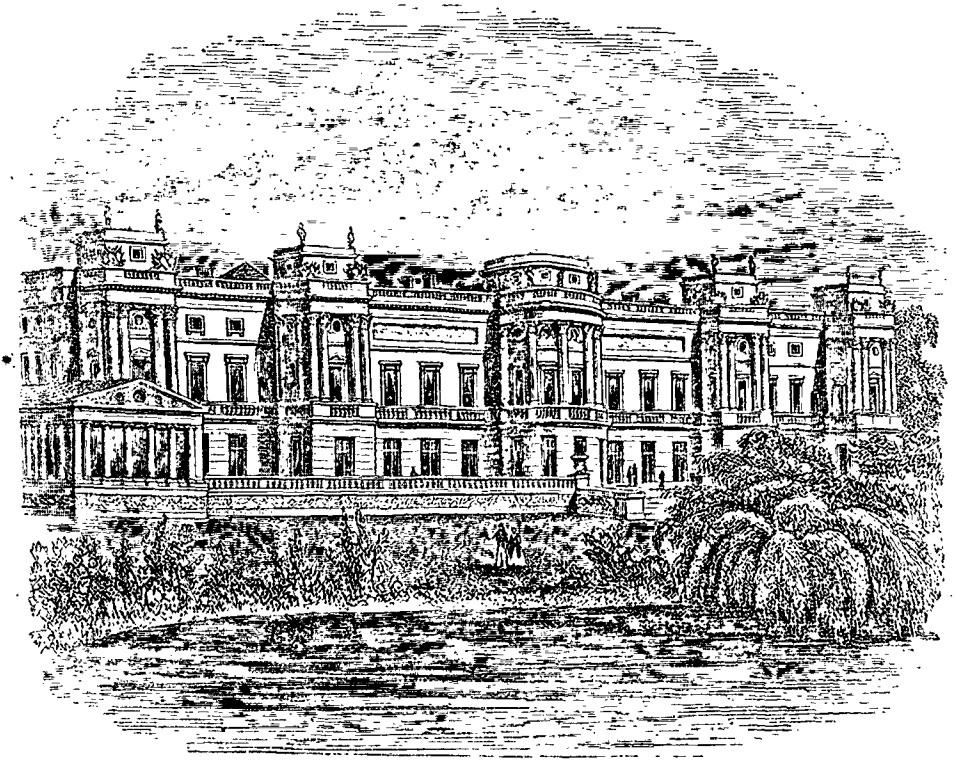
looking Doric of the basement, so carefully stripped of its characteristic frieze, and then look at the elegant Corinthian of the upper order, a contrast without harmony in itself, and therefore, if for that reason alone, most un-Grecian." Neither grand nor original, nor deeply versed in the classic lore of his art, the designer was of course a thorough practical architect, one who, if you turn him to the mysteries of architectural arrangement with all its mighty maze of halls, and saloons, and chambers,

> "The Gordian knot of it he will unloose
> Familiar as his garter?"

Why, not exactly, remarks a third critic; "for instance, these wings, when first built, were found too small, and in consequence had to be pulled down and enlarged; the attic from a similar cause had to be raised, and thus we lost what would have been the one picturesque feature of the pile, the pediment of the central portico standing out strongly relieved against the sky; and it may also be added, an architect of the class you describe would hardly have committed such a solecism as to build a dome which he should afterwards have to acknowledge he was not at all aware would be visible from the Park." In the name of common sense, then, it is asked for the last time, and impatiently, "Why was such an architect chosen?" to which it can only be replied, We cannot tell, unless it be that the choice lay with the "finest gentleman in Europe;" that George IV. was King.

But let us now examine the interior. A sumptuous hall receives us, as we pass below the portico; a hall surrounded with an extensive range of double columns standing on an elevated continuous basement, every one formed of a single piece of veined white (Carrara) marble, with gilded bases and capitals. The floor is also of variegated marble, and the steps of the grand staircase on the left solid masses of the same costly material, and the rail of mosaic gold. The reader may imagine the effect of such a combination, which is enhanced to a surprising degree by the play of the lights and shadows through the place, the former streaming down from the staircase, the latter produced by the depth within the columns. Directly facing the entrance, we have at times also another addition to the architectural picturesqueness of the scene, in the vista between the pillars directly facing the entrance,—through the sculpture gallery which it crosses,—and so on through the open door of the library, or council-room, with its semicircular termination (forming the inner portion of the projection seen in our view of the garden front), to the very windows that open on the opposite side of the building. The library, which is very large, is used as a waiting-room for deputations, which, as soon as the Queen is prepared to receive them, pass across the sculpture gallery into the hall, and thence ascend by the grand staircase through an ante-room, and the green drawing-room to the throne-room. The library, with the other rooms on each side of it, are furnished and decorated in a manner that happily combines elegance and luxury with simplicity and comfort, whilst their situation is truly delightful, opening as they do directly upon a terrace, having the conservatory at one extremity, the new chapel on the other, whilst over the balustrade, with its elegant vases of flowers, appears the beautifully varied and undulating surface (of course artificially made) of the park-like grounds, "a mimic Arcady embosomed in deep foliage," as it has been called, "a gay delicious solitude

rescued from the *fumum strepitumque Romæ*." The sculpture in the gallery consists chiefly of busts of eminent statesmen, and members of the royal family, ranged on each side through the gallery, which extends the whole length of the central portion of the front of the edifice. Ascending the grand staircase towards the State apartments, we find these latter comprise—to mention the principal only—an ante-room, the green drawing-room, and the throne-room, in the eastern front of the palace; and a dining-room, music-room, and two drawing-rooms in the western or garden front, with a picture gallery over the sculpture gallery, between the two ranges. All that luxury can desire, or skill and wealth accom-



[Garden Front.]

plish, to make these apartments magnificent, in the ordinary modes of obtaining magnificence, is to be found here in an extraordinary degree. The green drawing-room well deserves its name, for it is one continuous illustration of that colour in all its varieties of tints, from the walls with their striped satin hangings, down to the smallest article of the furniture, the whole beautifully relieved by gilded borders and mouldings. The play of the subdued light which enters through the slightly dimmed glass of the windows (from which one looks through the pillars of the portico upon the marble arch, and the delicious little panorama of the inclosure), is peculiarly magical, caught and reflected back as it is in endless repetitions in the glazed pannels of the door, and in the pier glasses, or sportively dancing to and fro among the pendant drops of the richly cut lustres that hang at intervals from the ceiling. The height of this, as well as of all the other apart-

ments on this floor, is thirty-two feet. The prevailing colour of the throne-room is crimson, the walls being hung with crimson striped satin, and the alcove with crimson velvet, both also relieved by a profusion of golden hues. The ceiling is richly carved and gilt; and the frieze below, adorned with bassi-relievi by Baily, after designs by Stothard, illustrative of the wars of the White and Red Roses. The scene presented in the throne-room on State occasions is as picturesque as it is splendid. Then her Her Majesty appears on the throne in her regal robes, with the Prince on her left, and a most brilliant group of attendant ladies on her right, whilst the members of the deputation, to whom audience is given, advance through a broad avenue formed by the gentlemen-at-arms, in their peculiarly rich and graceful costume, each bearing an axe on his shoulder: a relic of past times which is not quite in harmony with the glitter around. From the throne-room we pass to the picture gallery, which charms us at the first glance by the admirable distribution and arrangement of the light, which is admitted by a treble range of skylights extending through the entire length of the gallery. There are, consequently, no bad places for pictures. The collection is very valuable, though, rightly considered, it should form but one division of a complete regal picture gallery, since it comprises in the main works of the Flemish and Dutch schools. The chief exceptions are Reynolds' 'Death of Dido,' and his 'Cymon and Iphigenia,' a landscape by Gainsborough, with a few recent English works, some pictures by Watteau, and—an interesting evidence of Titian's versatility—a landscape, with herdsmen and cattle, by that master. Of the extraordinary wealth of the collection in the schools we have mentioned, some idea may be formed from the enumeration of the number of works by their chief artists:—three by Albert Durer, seven by Rembrandt, seventeen by Teniers, five by Ostade, six by Gerard Dow, nine by Cuyp, eight by Wouvermans, three by Paul Potter, six by Rubens, five by Vandyke, in addition to his various portraits of children, and a great number of others by masters scarcely less famous. Among Rembrandt's pictures, we must specially mention the 'Wise Men's Offering;' among Vandyke's, the 'Marriage of St. Catherine;' among Albert Durer's, the 'Miser;' and, among Rubens', the portrait of his wife. Claude's 'Europa' also enriches the collection. The history of the pictures here explains the great number of Dutch pictures found among them; they belonged, for the most part, to George IV., who purchased them from Sir Francis Baring, and was proud enough ever afterwards of his acquisition.

From the pictures, we pass to the range of rooms that occupy the western or garden front of the same story, namely, the dining-room at the southern extremity, then the music-room with its orchestra, and other appropriate fittings up, next the bow drawing-room, in the centre, so called from the semicircular projection; whilst beyond, towards the northern extremity, we find the yellow drawing-room, the most superb of the whole. Full length portraits of members of the royal family, painted in pannels on the walls, form a conspicuous feature. As an illustration of the sumptuous character of the decorations of this and the other drawing-rooms, it may be mentioned that the floor is bordered with satin and holly-wood, inlaid with devices of rose and tulip-wood. The most interesting portion of these rooms, to our mind, however, is the series of sculptures in relief by Pitts. In the bow drawing-room, the frieze on the side, facing the bow, represents

Eloquence, that on the south Pleasure, that on the north Harmony. It is not difficult to perceive the artist had a noticeable and appropriate meaning in these works. In the yellow drawing-room he has given us a series of twelve reliefs, descriptive of the origin and progress of pleasure, namely, Love awakening the Soul to Pleasure—the Soul in the bower of Fancy—the pleasure of Decoration—the invention of Music—the pleasure of Music—the Dance—the Masquerade—the Drama—the contest for the Palm—the Palm resigned—the struggle for the Laurel—the Laurel obtained. Lastly, in the third drawing-room, within arches produced by the elliptical curving of the ceiling, immediately above the cornice, are three reliefs representing the apotheoses of the poets Spenser, Shakspere, and Milton—each comprising numerous subordinate figures. The private apartments of Her Majesty extend along the whole of the northern front of the palace, and are therefore directly connected with the suite we have just noticed. One almost invariable feature of the numerous rooms of the palace is a piano, in all places a pleasant and genial-looking instrument from its associations; here the very number of such instruments suggests more than ordinarily interesting fancies and speculations: some wandering and most magical touch, we have heard it whispered, will at times make such sweet sounds float to and from them, now here now there, now high now low, that the surprised and spell-bound listener, whom fortunate chance has accidentally brought within hearing, might almost ask in the words of Ferdinand, in the 'Tempest,'—

"Where should this music be? i' the air or earth?"

and sigh to add—

"It sounds no more."

It will be seen from the preceding pages that the interior of Buckingham Palace is truly superb; that marble pillars with gilded bases and capitals, marble and inlaid floors, gorgeous hangings and mirrors, sumptuously adorned ceilings, have been scattered about with a prodigal hand; your decorative builders, and painters, and upholsterers, are great here; but if we look beyond these matters, for that highest species of adornment to which all others in such mansions should be the mere subordinates, we are disappointed. We may look in vain at Buckingham Palace for what is the distinctive glory of the palace at Munich, a grand and harmonious system of decoration which, while affording opportunity for the development of the talents of the best artists of the time, and in that alone giving the structure a high and peculiarly suitable interest, also stamps upon every wall and ceiling, on every alcove and recess, their own appropriate expression, whether in painting or sculpture, of the uses of the hall or apartments to which they belong—of the elevating, or endearing, or fanciful associations with which particular history or general custom or feeling may have invested such places; or which, in the absence of definite uses and associations, opens to the artist a field for still greater triumphs, bidding him, in the words of the poet—

"O sweet fancy! let her loose"

into the regions of the universal, to summon from thence whatever shapes or visions of power and loveliness most powerfully attract him. No fear but he will find some connexion between them and their future local habitation, however hidden from ordinary eyes—no fear, such is the magic of art, but he will make

them see it too. And, if not, your great artist is himself a sufficient link of connexion, though he of all men will be the least inclined to rely upon that alone. To make these remarks clearer, let us glance for a moment at the Bavarian structure. At the very entrance, the key-note, as it were, of the lofty and harmonious spirit that pervades the whole, is struck, in the motto (the king's own), inscribed in golden letters, "Just and Firm," and embodied also in the grandly modelled colossal caryatid figures that support the doorway, and, in a figurative sense, the palace itself. As we pass on, we find at every turn something to stimulate thought, and awaken noble emotions. In the series of chambers allotted to the king's use, the walls are painted with subjects from the poets of Greece, commencing with the 'History of Orpheus,' from Linus, the earliest poet of that country, and ending with Theocritus. The Queen's apartments present a similar series from the German poets, arranged in a similarly artistical manner. Both form magnificent pictorial and poetical histories. But it is in the State apartments that the grandeur of the palace appears in its grandest shape. The four principal rooms are decorated by paintings in fresco, on a colossal scale, representative of the national epic, the Niebelungen Lied, by Schnorr, "one of the greatest living artists of Europe," says Mrs. Jameson, "and these four rooms will form, when completed, the very triumph of the romantic school of painting." Not only are the whole of the paintings of the palace by the greatest of the German painters, but the very decorations that accompany them are an everlasting study and delight: they are at once so graceful, so luxuriant, and so harmonious with the greater works they enfold, and with the place in which they appear. We can hardly resist transcribing another evidence of the high poetical and artistical feeling of the chief architect, Klenze, from the charming writer to whom we are indebted for these notices of the palace; for, like the whole subject, it is filled with instruction for us. We have paid dearly for a failure, and it behoves us to know how success may be obtained before there is any danger of fresh experiments by incompetent men. Fortunately, too, there is a general interest awakening to these matters, that promises, rightly directed, to be attended with the happiest results. Mrs. Jameson is speaking in the passage in question of the Queen's throne-room. "On the ceiling, which is richly ornamented, are four medallions, exhibiting, under the effigies of four admirable women, the four feminine cardinal virtues. Constancy is represented by Maria Theresa; Maternal Love by Cornelia; Charity by St. Elizabeth (the Margravine of Thuringia);* and Filial Tenderness by Julia Pia Alpinula:—

'And there—O sweet and sacred be the name!
Julia, the daughter, the devoted, gave
Her youth to Heaven; her heart, beneath a claim
Nearest to Heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.'

Lord Byron.

* The legend of this charming saint, one of the most popular in Germany, is but little known among us. She was the wife of a Margrave of Thuringia, who was a fierce avaricious man, while she herself was all made up of tenderness and melting pity. She lived with her husband in his castle on the Wartsburg, and was accustomed to go out every morning to distribute alms among the poor of the valley. Her husband, jealous and covetous, forbade her thus to exercise her bounty; but as she regarded her duty to God and to the poor, even as paramount to conjugal obedience, she secretly continued her charitable offices. Her husband encountered her one morning as she was leaving the castle with a covered basket containing meat, bread, and wine for a starving family. He demanded, angrily, what she had in her basket? Elizabeth, trembling, not for herself, but for her wretched protegés, replied with a faltering voice that she had been gathering roses in the garden. The fierce chieftain, not believing her, snatched off the napkin, and Elizabeth fell on her knees. But, behold, a miracle had been operated in her favour! The basket was full of roses, fresh gathered, and wet with dew.

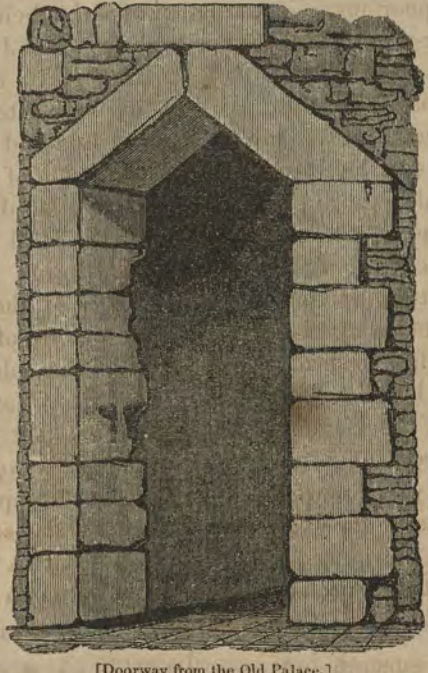
" ' I always avoid emblematical and allegorical figures, wherever it is possible, for they are cold and arbitrary, and do not speak to the heart,' said Baron Klenze, perceiving how much I was charmed with the idea of thus personifying the womanly virtues."* Is not such a palace truly a palace for the people as well as the King? a home not merely for a Monarch to live in, but one where he must be constantly reminded, in the most persuasive of modes, how to live? There remains to be noticed one circumstance in connection with our chief metropolitan Palace, and it is one of encouragement and promise. Under the auspices of her present Majesty and her consort, a new spirit is in progress of development there, which may yet work wonders even in a place so architecturally unsuitable. We allude to her Majesty's summer-house, which is in process of decoration, with fresco paintings, forming a series of subjects from Comus. The choice of subject for the place is admirable. The artists are Eastlake, Ross, Maclise, Stanfield, E. Landseer, and Uwins.

Buckingham Palace has, of course, no history of its own to recount, but as the residence of the descendants of the long line of Kings who have made the neighbouring Palace of Westminster a household word through the world, it has an intimate connection with that pile; so we have but to pass the few hundreds of yards of space that intervene, and give free play to the recollections that so fruitful a subject must arouse. And once within its precincts, almost every step we take we pass some spot that has been made memorable by the buildings that have existed on the site, or by the incidents or events that have there taken place. Here in New Palace Yard were two interesting structures, of which all vestige has long passed away,—the conduit or fountain, from whence, on occasions of great festivity, wine flowed forth for all to drink that pleased; and the lofty Clock Tower, which stood directly opposite the Hall, where now is the passage into Bridge Street. The history of this tower forms a choice story. Maitland thus relates it:—" A certain poor man, in an action of debt, being fined the sum of thirteen shillings and four-pence, Randolphus Ingham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, commiserating his case, caused the court-roll to be erased, and the fine reduced to six shillings and eightpence; which being soon afterwards discovered, Ingham was amerced in a pecuniary mulct of eight hundred marks: which was employed in erecting the said bell-tower on the north side of the said enclosure, opposite Westminster Hall gate; in which tower was placed a bell and a clock, which, striking hourly, was to remind the Judges in the Hall of the fate of their brother, in order to prevent all dirty work for the future. However, this fact seems to have been forgotten by Catlyn, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by his attempting the razure of a court-roll; but Southcote, his brother judge, instead of assenting to this, plainly told him that he had no inclination to build a clock-house." In the Chapter House of the Abbey, here on our right, the Commons of England first sat as a separate body from the Lords, and an amusing instance has been preserved of the very different position as to dignity and power they enjoyed then, compared with the present time. " On one occasion the Commons, forgetting the solemn purposes of their assembling, became so riotous, and created so great a turmoil, that the abbot waxed indignant at the profanation, and, collecting a sufficiently strong party, turned the whole legislative wisdom out of his house, and swore lustily

* ' Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad,' vol. i. p. 283.

that the place should not be again defiled with a like rabble."* It must have been a fine thing to have been an abbot in those days. We are now in Old Palace Yard, where events so crowd upon us that we can but refer, and that slightly, to the principal. In the north-east corner was the house that Percy, one of the gunpowder conspirators, took for the furtherance of the plot, and the cellar in which the powder was deposited, and at the door of which Fawkes was suddenly arrested as he came out to look about him at midnight; and who was thus prevented from blowing up himself, his assailants, and the houses, as undoubtedly he would have done had he had the opportunity, on seeing that the plot was discovered. And here in the yard, Fawkes, Winter, Rookwood, and Keys were executed. Here again, a few years later, the all-accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh suffered death on a sentence passed many years before, saying, at the close of an exquisitely beautiful prayer, "Now I am going to God." Taking up the axe he felt its edge, and smiling, observed, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." His behaviour seems to have moved even the executioner, for he paused when Raleigh, having laid his head on the block, was expecting the blow. "What dost thou fear?" said he; "strike, man!" and so he died.

The two areas we have mentioned, with the road extending from one to the other, and the river, mark pretty nearly the boundaries of the Old Palace. The Palace Yards were the courts of this edifice, and Palace Stairs still point out the spot where the monarchs of England were accustomed to pass to and from the river. The earliest notice of a royal residence at Westminster occurs during the reign of Canute, when Wulnoth was abbot, a man celebrated at once for his "great wisdom and fine elocution." And Widmore, the historian of the Abbey, says, "that for his sake that Prince came frequently to the Abbey;" and he also speaks of the Abbey as "being so near the King's Palace." Norden even tells us, that



[Doorway from the Old Palace.]

* 'Westminster Review,' Oct. 1834.

"in the time of Edward the Confessor, a Palace at Westminster was destroyed by fire, which had been inhabited by Canute, about the year 1035." However this may have been, there is no doubt that the earliest parts of the building that has been so long denominated the Palace at Westminster, were the work of the Confessor, who is supposed to have died in one of its apartments, that known first as St. Edward's Chamber, and subsequently as the Painted Chamber. The triangular arch that existed in the vaults beneath this apartment, make it tolerably certain that the walls and foundations were of the Confessor's erection, although the chamber was altered in its general appearance by Henry III., in accordance with the architecture of his time. By him also, no doubt, the paintings were placed on its walls that gave it the name of the Painted Chamber, though these were not discovered till the commencement of the present century, when the old tapestry that covered the walls was removed. The enthusiastic delight of antiquaries may be imagined when it was found that these paintings, so many centuries old, were of a masterly character, representing the battles of the Maccabees; the Seven Brethren; St. John, as a pilgrim, presenting a ring to the Confessor, in reference to the well-known legend; the Canonization of the Confessor, with seraphim, &c. In the battle-scenes there were a great number of figures grouped with admirable skill, and representing, in many cases, individual character with a remarkable force of expression. Here is an example.—

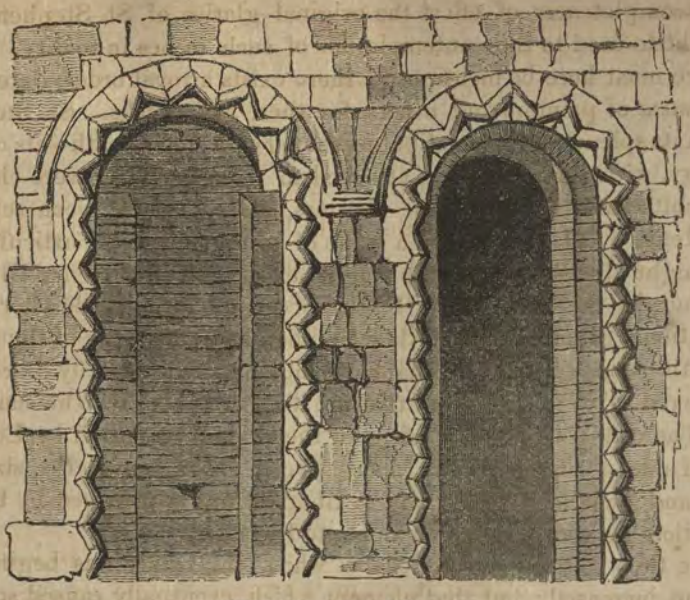
[From the Painted Chamber.]

Will it be believed that the authorities allowed the whole to be speedily coated over with whitewash? In this chamber the warrant was signed for the execution of Charles I. After the fire, the walls were raised and roofed over, and the whole fitted up for the accommodation of the House of Lords during the building of the New Houses.

Another portion of the Confessor's building was the old House of Lords, the "fair" apartment mentioned by Stow, and the one that Fawkes and his fellow-conspirators sought to blow up; and, by the way, the cellar itself where the gunpowder was deposited beneath has been discovered to have been the kitchen of

King Edward, a fact the Earl of Northampton, who presided at the trial of Garnet the Jesuit, stated he had ascertained by ancient records; and when the building was pulled down, about 1823, to make way for a royal gallery, the original buttery hatch of the kitchen, with an adjoining ambry or cupboard, was found near the south end. The recent House of Lords, the one destroyed by the fire, was also a part of the ancient building, and a curious variety of names and purposes it has known from the period of its erection to that of its destruction. First, it formed, in all probability, the Hall, before the erection by Rufus of the vast structure now known by that name, and in consequence of which erection it was designated as the Little Hall. Here occurred the incident so characteristic of the Lion Heart, which Brompton mentions in his Chronicle:—"King Richard the First, being at dinner at Westminster, in the hall which is entitled the Little Hall, received tidings that King Philip of France had entered Normandy, and besieged Verneuil; whereupon he swore that he would never turn away his face until he had met him and fought with him; and, having directed an opening to be made in the wall [the remains of which, according to the chronicler, were visible when he wrote], he immediately made his way through it, and proceeded to Portsmouth." By the time of the second Richard, Little Hall had changed to White Hall, and John of Gaunt sat in it as seneschal for the determination of claims relating to the coronation of his nephew. Next we find it as the Court of Requests, instituted in the reign of Henry VII., when it was also, according to Stow, called "the Poor Man's Court, because there he could have right without paying any money." Fortunate poor of the fifteenth century! From the Court of Requests it was converted into the House of Lords, at the time of the parliamentary union with Ireland, when the old apartment was abandoned from want of size to accommodate the new members. This was the House of Lords destroyed at the fire, with the beautiful tapestry in it, taken from the old House, representing the victories over the Spanish Armada. The order for the execution of this national memorial was given by the brave commander of the English fleet, the Earl of Nottingham, and the artists were Cornelius Vroom, the author of the design, and Francis Spiering, who executed it. Vroom had a hundred pieces of gold, and the entire cost was 1628*l*. The border was composed of the heads of the chief English commanders. The earl sold it to James I. Next to St. Stephen's Chapel, the loss of this matchless specimen was the severest, because the most irremediable, result of the fire. The windows here represented, forming a part of the southern wall of the building we have just described, and which were almost the only vestiges left in recent times of the Confessor's work, were fully revealed during that event; what remains of the building constitutes part of the present House of Commons. To all these apartments of the old palace may be added a cluster of smaller ones that hung as it were around them in the neighbourhood of Old Palace Yard, such as the Prince's Chamber; and many of which no designation has been preserved; with cellars innumerable, extending below every part of the Confessor's pile.

The Conqueror is said, but the statement is of doubtful character, to have continued what the Confessor had begun, by enlarging the palace to the north, whilst Rufus built the magnificent hall, which we shall have an opportunity of speaking of at length in our ensuing Number, on the New Houses of Parliament, and



[Windows from the Old Palace.]

shall not therefore dwell upon here. The next noticeable addition was St. Stephen's Chapel, built by the king of that name, and afterwards rebuilt by Edward I., then burnt in the "vehement fire" of 1298, once more rebuilt in the reigns of Edward II. and III., and completed in that of the latter about 1363, in that exquisite style of architecture which one can never be wearied of admiring, the Gothic in its purest form, divested of all the rudeness that accompanied it in its earlier stages, but not yet overlaid by the excess of ornament that marked it subsequently. But the decorations of this chapel form the most interesting part of its history now, as showing—what parts of the neighbouring Abbey and the Temple Church have also satisfactorily demonstrated—that the art of decorative painting, in the higher meaning of the term, like the arts of sculpture and architecture, was in those "dark ages" in a high state of development. When the chapel was first fitted up for the Commons, in the reign of Edward VI., the walls were wainscotted, a new floor raised above, and a new ceiling below the original ones; in consequence, the artistical treasures were completely hidden—forgotten—lost. Their re-appearance caused no little sensation among antiquaries and lovers of art. The Commons, like the Lords, had to make fresh arrangements at the Union in 1800, so the whole side walls of the beautiful chapel were taken down, except the buttresses that supported the old roof, and thus the paintings were discovered. Many of these were in oil. They comprised, in numerous compartments, the histories of Jonah, Daniel, Jeremiah, Job, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, from the Old Testament; from the New there were the Ascension of Christ, and the miracles and martyrdom of the Apostles. At the same time it was found that the walls had been originally adorned with sculpture (twelve full-length statues of stone raised on piers are mentioned), gorgeously decorated in colour and gilding, and that the windows had been filled with stained glass, illustrating a similarly double series

of stories from the Bible. But it is impossible now to recal to the imagination in all their completeness of effect the original glories of St. Stephen's Chapel: we are too little used to the contemplation of such scenes in reality. A curious circumstance must here be mentioned: there exists a royal order, dated 1350, for the *impressment* of painters and others for these very works. St. Stephen's was not alone in its splendour: its vestibule—chapel or crypt beneath—its cloister—its small oratory, with chantry above, attached to the cloister, all were characterised by their architectural beauty. The cloisters, indeed, having been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII., presented a scene of sumptuousness, particularly on the roof, that might almost vie with the neighbouring chapel of Henry VII. To lose all this either by the fire itself or by the necessary demolitions afterwards, was indeed a national calamity. As King Stephen had very little of the saint about him, whilst the name given to his chapel might make one naturally conclude it is he who is referred to, we may remark that the king dedicated it to his namesake the martyr. The collegiate establishment of the chapel, as settled by Edward III., consisted of a dean, twelve secular canons, twelve vicars, four clerks, six choristers, a verger, and a chapel keeper; and so liberally was it endowed by him, that at the dissolution the yearly revenues amounted to nearly 1100*l.*

We have thus noticed the periods at which the palace was begun, and from time to time increased; but that element which eventually caused so much ruin to the remains of the old palace, had more than once before played some exceedingly mischievous pranks of the same kind, and rendered extensive re-buildings necessary. Nothing, indeed, but the wonderful strength of the walls which the Confessor's workmen erected could have enabled those portions we have referred to of his structure to escape so long as they did. In 1263 the Little Hall, with many other houses adjoining, were consumed by fire, and had to be extensively repaired. The incidental injuries must have been serious. This fire occurred towards the end of the reign of Henry III., who, besides making some minor additions, greatly adorned the palace with the paintings which he caused to be executed in the Painted Chamber, and, no doubt, in other parts also. Only thirty-five years later occurred the "vehement fire," which caused so much destruction that the King, Edward I., was obliged to remove his Court to the Archbishop of York's Palace at Whitehall, which he continued thenceforth to occupy occasionally till his death. The rebuildings necessitated by this event were of a most extensive character; so much so indeed that Edward left the greater part to his son, in whose reign, and principally during the years 1307-1310, they were carried into effect. The Chapel alone seems to have been left unrestored, till Edward III. rebuilt it entirely in the splendid manner we have already described. These re-buildings of the second Richard have an interest attached to them of a noticeable character. In 1389 Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works here, as well as at the Tower, and at the Mews near Charing Cross—a fact which naturally suggests the enquiry, Did the great poet really fulfil in person, or only by deputy, the duties of the position?—If the former, the very selection, for such a post, is something like evidence of a more than ordinary amount of architectural ability on the part of the author of the 'Canterbury Tales.' Messrs. Britton and Brayley observe,* "It seems probable that this office was granted to Chaucer

* From Britton and Brayley's 'History of the Palace,' a work to which we here beg to acknowledge our obligations.

more with a view of providing him with a salary under the Crown than from any skill which he possessed in architectural science; yet, in the following year and exactly on that day twelvemonth upon which his appointment had been signed, he received the royal mandate to proceed to the restoration of the collegiate chapel of St. George, at Windsor, which is described as being in a state of ruin. By another precept (tested, like the latter one, at Westminster, on the same day), William Hannay, the then Comptroller of the Works at the Palace of Westminster, &c., was directed to verify the accounts of the said Geoffrey, for the repairs of the said Chapel, in order that the same should be discharged at the King's Exchequer." Now, it is to be observed, in answer to the presumption with which this passage sets out, that not only do the facts following bear every mark of the regular business-like proceedings that would characterise the connection of the real architectural man of business and his employers, but it is also to be noted that in the division of our public men into two classes—those useful to the public, and those useful to themselves only, it is not now the custom, and in all likelihood never has been, to permit "clerks" of any rank to luxuriate in the latter position, except where time and an altered state of things may have left none of the more important original duties of the office to be performed. That was evidently not the case with Chaucer's appointment. But the writers we have referred to, add that "In January, 1391, Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works; but he was himself superseded a few months afterwards by John Gedney, who, following his predecessor's example, appointed a deputy on the 16th of September, in the same year, and who continued in office during the 15th and 16th years of Richard II." That the said deputy was *not* appointed before seventeen months had elapsed from the date of the appointment, and until, as we have seen, Chaucer had been certainly engaged in the restoration of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, either as virtual or nominal architect, seems to us to tell the entire character of the transaction, that the poet was theoretically, and in a lofty sense of the term, an architect, with just as much practical knowledge as was sufficient to develope his views when any important occasion called them forth. One offers:—great reparations are going on in one of the most important public buildings of the country, Chaucer's court connection causes his talents to be known, appreciated, and put in requisition; his plans are begun under his own inspection for many months, and then the poet, desiring to pursue his own proper vocation, meditating too at the very time, if not actually engaged in his glorious work, the 'Canterbury Tales,' appoints his deputy to continue the course shaped out. The same hypothesis explains why, in that time of incessant turmoil and change, he, a man of action as well as reflection, might be dismissed from his office without any material injury to the work, and why his successor should so coolly follow his example by naming his deputy almost immediately after his own appointment. Chaucer, we may add, resided within the Palace precincts, in a house that stood in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel, on the very spot now occupied by Henry VII.'s Chapel. His duties as clerk of the works very probably first led him to this house, which he afterwards leased for a long term, and there, it is presumed, he died. To the reputation of the illustrious scholar, ambassador, patriot, and poet, there should seem no need to endeavour thus to add that of the artist-architect, but the grandly built and "all sided" minds of some of these older worthies could not appreciate that

modern view of human nature, which demands mere poets in literature any more than mere heads of pin-makers in political economy, and it is pleasant to dwell upon the fruits of their faith.

A third fire occurring in 1512, was a very successful imitation of the second; again was immense damage done; again was the King (Henry VIII.) driven to York Place. And there he stayed. From that time ceased the history of the Old Palace as a place of regal residence. The Great Hall, with the courts of law and some of the offices, were restored, but as to the rest, the act of parliament, annexing York Place to the King's Palace at Westminster for ever, speaks very plainly. It was then, and had for a long time been, "in utter ruin and decay." It is not necessary, and would be far from interesting, to trace, step by step, the process of restoration from that period to the fire, as the different parts were found to be required for the accommodation of Parliament and the Courts of Law; we therefore conclude with a few notices of a more important character relating to the latter.

We need hardly say that the Courts of Law were originally considered in fact, as well as in name, the King's Courts, in which he personally presided; the *Bench* was his seat,—and which courts, even at first, moved about with him as he moved. The inconvenience of this arrangement seems to have caused their permanent settlement at his chief residence, the Palace of Westminster. So early as 1069, we find a law court here, in which Elfric, Abbot of Peterborough, was tried before the King. The Courts of Chancery and King's Bench sat till within the last twenty years or so in the Hall, whilst those of the Common Pleas and the Exchequer were accommodated in the old apartments of the Palace, ranged along the side of the Hall. These, with numerous others, were all swept away to make room for the new courts, erected by Sir John Soane, 1820-1825, in which all the courts are to be now found. Having already given one amusing story in connection with the legal reminiscences of Westminster, we add another of a different character, and of higher interest. Our readers will remember the admirable scene in Shakspere's Second Part of Henry IV., between Henry V., immediately after his father's death, and the Chief Justice, who had once committed Henry to prison for striking him on the judgment seat; the incident to which this scene refers stands not alone, the Placita Roll of the 34th of Edward I. furnishing incidentally an interesting parallel:—"Roger de Hexham complained to the King that whereas he was the justice appointed to determine a dispute between Mary, the wife of William de Brewes, plaintiff, and William de Brewes, defendant, respecting a sum of 800 marks which she claimed from him, and that having decided in favour of the former, the said William, immediately after judgment was pronounced, contemptuously approached the bar, and asked the said Roger, in gross and upbraiding language, if he would defend that judgment; and he afterwards insulted him in bitter and taunting terms, as he was going through the Exchequer Chamber to the King, saying to him, Roger, Roger, thou hast now obtained thy will of that thou hast so long desired." William de Brewes, when arraigned before the King and his council for this offence, acknowledged his guilt, "and because," continues the record, "such contempt and disrespect, as well towards the King's ministers as towards the King himself or his court, are very odious to the King, *as of late expressly appeared when his Majesty*

expelled from his household, for nearly half a year, his dearly-beloved son, Edward, Prince of Wales, on account of certain improper words which he had addressed to one of his ministers, and suffered him not to enter his presence until he had rendered satisfaction to the said officer for his offence; it was decreed by the King and council that the aforesaid William should proceed, unattired, bare-headed, and holding a torch in his hand, from the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, during full court, to the Exchequer, and there ask pardon from the aforesaid Roger, and make an apology for his trespass." And after that he was committed to the Tower during pleasure. The terrible Star Chamber may be here fittingly noticed as—what in effect it was—an irregular appendage to the Courts of Law, whose rules it contemned or overruled as it pleased. A time there was in England when even the *King's* courts could not satisfy the desires of the King, thirsting for arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects. The building that was pulled down within the present century was of the date of Elizabeth; erected then, it should seem, with a kind of prophetic knowledge that there was a great increase of business coming, for from the close of her reign down to what might be almost called the close of that of Charles I. in 1641, the Star Chamber became the peculiar dread and abhorrence of the people. We owe the Commonwealth some gratitude for putting down that frightful nuisance, whatever we may think of its other deeds. No doubt the Chamber of Elizabeth (the building shown below) was erected on the site of the older one. The name has been explained in various ways. Star Chamber, according to Sir Thomas Smith's conjecture, "either because it was full of windows, or because at the first all the roof thereof was decked with images or stars gilded;" or, according to Blackstone's, from its being a place of deposit for the contracts of the Jews "called starra or starrs, from the Hebrew shetar."

[The Star Chamber, Westminster Palace.]

[Westminster Hall, with the ancient surrounding buildings restored.]

CXXXIV.—WESTMINSTER HALL AND THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

One need not desire a more striking illustration of the recently altered state of public feeling and knowledge on the subject of our great national edifices than is furnished by the contrast between Buckingham Palace and the new Houses of Parliament; all that, in grandeur and characteristic expression, the first—as we have endeavoured to point out in a previous number—is not, but ought to have been, it is now tolerably certain the second will be. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say, that if the works now in progress are carried on in the spirit with which they have been commenced, we shall not simply possess a structure that may bear comparison with any foreign structures of the same era, but that will at once take English architecture out of the shadow of its own greatness, by rivalling the glorious productions of our forefathers, the builders of the wonderful abbeys and cathedrals. And as with architecture, so with painting and with sculpture: the artists of England will long have reason to remember the rebuilding of these houses; centuries hence their historians will refer to it as the most momentous event in the records of English art: "Then it was," we may imagine them saying, "the impulse was given that has gone on steadily increasing in power down to the present time, when English art are words of scarcely less potent meaning than English poetry, through the civilized world." Not the least surprising, and, when rightly examined, possibly not the least gratifying feature of the change to which we have referred, is the mode in which it has been brought about, in so short a time. The change is the work of no enlightened but des-

potic sovereign, who may create a temporary taste in accordance with his own—to die, most likely, when he dies, unless his exertions have been attended by peculiarly favourable conjunctions of circumstances; it is the work of no very great artist—who may not only also produce tastes favourable to his art but make them permanent into the bargain—for we have of late had no such man; nor of any body of artists combining together for the purpose, as the Academy once proposed to do in connection with St. Paul's; it is not even the work—though they may lay claim to a noticeable portion of it—of critical writers in the press and enlightened men of taste in the world: it seems rather the result of a variety of agencies working, at first, apparently unconnected with each other, but suddenly brought into conjunction by the unexpected demand for a national edifice of the very highest character. Modern public buildings, for instance, have long been, as a whole, a subject of dissatisfaction with the best judges; and no wonder, when we consider the jobbing, the ignorance, and the presumption that has so often disgraced those who have had the choice of the architect and, in a great degree, the direction of his labours; wonderfully, therefore, was the architectural atmosphere purified by the introduction of the system of open competition, and the subsequent appearance, through its instrumentality, of such a plan as that by Mr. Barry. The decorations of our buildings were little better, when they had any; and where they had not, the effect of the naked and chilling-looking walls, roofs and windows, was felt, even before men generally were aware of the cause; whilst, to those who were familiar, either personally or by descriptions, with the recent structures of Munich, such walls became barer and chillier than ever; and there only needed the successful experiment of the Temple Church to satisfy all parties that in going back to the glow of colour and gilding we were not going back, as it would have been thought twenty years ago, to barbarism. But naked walls did not suggest these feelings only. The absence of the loftiest school of painting has also been a continual subject of regret with those who have meditated upon the importance of the pictorial instruction of a nation in the history of the events that have mainly contributed to make it what it is; and of something more than regret with the ambitious and able artist, thus debarred from the highest powers and triumphs of his profession. But how was such a school to be established? One of Britain's greatest historical painters—Barry—would have starved but for his extraordinary powers of self-denial; and since then wealthy patrons have remained as indifferent as ever, or have lived in houses too small for the admission of pictures on the usual historical scale. There was but one hope of a solution of the problem—namely, that in satisfying the general and growing thirst for information which characterised the time, artistical knowledge and tastes might be diffused among the people themselves, and thus lead, directly or indirectly, to the artistical adornment of our public buildings. Our Penny Magazines and other cheap publications have solved that problem; in familiarising, through the medium of engravings, their hundreds of thousands of readers with the productions of the greatest masters. The rest was and is easy with a Minister personally distinguished for his enlightened and liberal patronage of art; and who, not only as a minister, but as a member of the Commission appointed by her Majesty to inquire whether advantage might not be taken of the rebuilding of the Houses, for the encouragement of the Fine Arts, now

carries the same qualifications into the service of the country. It is to this Commission we owe the interesting scene lately presented in the Hall—the exhibition of the Cartoons; which has in itself proved that the materials are ready for a great advance, namely, artists capable of showing the way; a public not merely ready, but eager, to follow.

Numerous as are the divisions of the new houses, owing to the great number of apartments required for committee-rooms, offices, and for the residences of the several officers of the Houses, from the Speaker of the Commons downwards, the whole is characterised by a grand and harmonious simplicity of arrangement. We may thus briefly describe the plan. The chief entrance will be through Westminster Hall, forming, we should imagine, the noblest vestibule in the world. From thence, the visitor, ascending the flight of stairs at its extremity, turning to the left, and then ascending a second flight, will find himself at the commencement of St. Stephen's Hall (built on the site of St. Stephen's Chapel, or the old House of Commons, and its lobby), with a long vista before him, first through the Hall itself, ninety feet long, then through the octagon hall, the grand centre of the pile, sixty feet in diameter, and so on through the corridor beyond to the distant waiting-hall connected with the entrance from the opposite side of the building, in the middle of the river front. The breadth of St. Stephen's Hall will be thirty feet, its height the same as the octagon hall, fifty feet. As the latter is reached, the whole of the main features of the plan will become at once apparent. From hence branch off to the left in one continuous range, the Commons' corridor, then the lobby, then the House itself; and, to the right, in still grander succession, the corridor, lobby, and House of the Peers; beyond which, in the same line, lies the Victoria Gallery, one hundred and thirty feet long, forty-five wide, and fifty high, in close connection with the Royal entrance, beneath the Victoria Tower, a work which does as much honour to the architect's courage for having proposed it, as it will do to his skill when he shall have completed it. One can hardly tell how to believe it, and yet it is certainly true, that a tower, larger than the largest of our cathedral towers, is in course of erection during this the nineteenth century. The manner in which the corridors, open courts, libraries, offices, and residences of the officers of the Houses, are grouped around the more important portions of the edifice, is admirable for its combination of utility with beauty of arrangement. We may note how happily are connected the guard-rooms and Queen's robing-room, and the immense Royal Court, with the Victoria Tower and Gallery; the Speaker's residence at the north-east angle, with the House over whose sittings he presides; the different committee-rooms, and the libraries with the Houses to which they respectively belong; and the Conference Hall, with both, commanding—as the place for a meeting of the two estates should—the noblest position that the magnificent river front can furnish, namely, the spot over the entrance gateway in the centre of the facade. The dimensions of the two Houses are as follows:—The Peers 93 feet long, 45 wide, and 50 high; the Commons 83 feet long, 46 wide, and 50 high. The height, therefore, of all the chief portions of the interior is the same. The ceiling, in both Houses, as well as in the Victoria Gallery, Conference Hall, and other apartments of the Palace generally, will be flat, the only exceptions being St. Stephen's Hall, and the octagon hall, where the roofs will be groined in stone.

We should have been glad to have furnished our readers with a view of the exterior, either as it is in its unfinished state, or as it is to be according to the designs of its author; but the objections, we understand (and we must own very naturally), are so decided against the first course as liable to convey inadequate ideas of the whole; and against the second, from the alterations that in the course of the works are constantly being made in matters of detail; that we deem ourselves at once obliged and fortunate in being able to give a sketch even of a small portion of the river front, that may serve simply to indicate the sumptuous character of the architectural and sculpturesque decorations. The whole of this front, with its wings, is now fast approaching to completion; and it may here be

[Sketch of the Decorations of the unfinished South Wing of the New Houses of Parliament.]

remarked, as a proof of the uselessness of copying the original designs, and presenting them as engravings of the building, which we still see from time to time done, that elegant turrets have been substituted for the buttresses originally proposed; that the niches with statues, a most important feature, have been added, and that generally the whole surface has been most surprisingly enriched. Every square yard of it is now a study. The statues, both on the east and on the west fronts (forming the ends of the pile, as we might call them from the length of the latter), represent the same series of monarchs, that is from the Heptarchy to the Conquest; a repetition, we own, of which we do not see the peculiar beauty. Of the statues themselves it is impossible to speak too highly. The arms, coronets, and names in black letter fashion, all in high relief, of every four monarchs (the number comprised in each bay, two above and two below), are grouped together

into a most rich-looking piece of workmanship, forming the chief ornament of the broad band of decoration that divides the two chief stories. The smaller statues of the river front comprise all the sovereigns from the Conquest down to Her present Majesty, whose reign will be signalised by the erection of the structure. It was an odd coincidence that the number of places for the statues should be exactly that of the number of statues required to complete the series. Of the two towers, the only portions yet visible are the cluster of arches that are to bear the clock tower, and the massive and most elaborately designed piers of the other, with the crown conspicuously sculptured on each side of the two that will form the entrance. The state of the interior demands no particular mention, as the walls have scarcely yet reached the height of the principal floor, on which are the apartments and halls to which we have referred. It may here be observed that the architect proposes an extension of the original site marked out for his labours, which from its importance in enhancing the effect of the exterior of the pile, and the uses to which the additional space obtained may be turned, is likely enough to be acceded to either at present or at some future time. Mr. Barry observes,* "It has ever been considered by me a great defect in my design for the New Houses of Parliament, that it does not comprise a front of sufficient length towards the Abbey, particularly as the building will, perhaps, be better and more generally seen on that side than upon any other. This was impossible, owing to the broken outline of the site with which I had to deal. I propose, therefore, that an addition should be made to the building, for the purpose of enclosing New Palace Yard, and thus of obtaining the desired front. This addition would be in accordance with the plan of the ancient Palace of Westminster, in which the Hall was formerly placed in a quadrangle [as shown in our view, where the old buildings, the clock tower, &c., are restored], where, in consequence of its low level, it must have been seen and approached, as it would ever be under such circumstances, to the best advantage. The proposed addition would, in my opinion, be of considerable importance as regards the increased accommodation and convenience that it would afford, in addition to what is already provided for in the new building, as hitherto proposed. It has long been a subject of serious complaint and reproach, that the present law courts are most inconveniently restricted in their arrangements and accommodation. If it should be determined to retain the Courts at Westminster, the proposed addition would admit of the means of removing the cause of complaint; it would also afford accommodation for places of refreshment for the public, for which no provision has been made in the new building; also for Royal Commissions, and other occasional purposes required by government, and now hired, most inconveniently, in various parts of the town, at a considerable amount of rental, or for such of the government offices as may, without inconvenience, be detached from the rest; such as, for instance, the Office of Woods, or for a Record Office, and chambers or residences of public officers. It will also afford the opportunity of making an imposing principal entrance to the entire edifice, at the angle of Bridge Street and St. Margaret's Street; a feature which is at present required, and which would add considerably, not only to the effect of the building, but also to its security in times of public commotion." In continuation, Mr. Barry points out the necessity

* In his Report to the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, recently published in their Second Report.

of bringing Westminster Bridge more into accordance with the New Houses as respects elevation, outline, and character, and which is scarcely less necessary as regards the first for the Houses, than for the convenience of the public itself, the steep ascent of the bridge being both dangerous and inconvenient.* He also urges the necessity of embanking the river on the south side, at all events, if it cannot be accomplished on the north also. "Having maturely considered the subject," he observes, "I think it would be practicable to obtain a public road of ample width upon arches, from the termini of the South Eastern and Dover and the Brighton Railroads, at the foot of London Bridge, to the terminus of the South Western Railway, at Vauxhall." And how imperatively such a road is needed for health, and for the making the Thames appear as so noble a river should, when surrounded by all the wealth and splendour and luxuries which it has done so much to create, we need not urge here: of course, the architect, whilst weighing these advantages, naturally feels anxious for so commanding a point of view of his structure as that part of the embankment directly opposite would form. As it is only fair that the south side should present something in return for the glorious view to be there enjoyed, Mr. Barry proposes that the arches be of considerable height, so as not to interfere with the waterside frontages of the wharfs, and of sufficient depth to allow of the erection of handsome masses of buildings for residence, along the back. We have not yet exhausted the architect's views of the improvement which it is desirable should accompany the erection of the Houses. He evidently warms with his subject. "Old Palace Yard is proposed to be considerably increased in size by the demolition of the houses which now occupy that site, as well as the houses on both sides of Abingdon Street, by which means a fine area for the convenience of state processions, and the carriages of peers and others attending the House of Lords, as well as a spacious landing place adjoining the river, would be obtained. The Victoria Tower, as well as the south and west fronts of the building, would thus be displayed to the best advantage. The Chapter House would be laid open to public view, and if restored, would form a striking feature in conjunction with the Abbey; and a considerable extent of new building frontage that would be obtained by this alteration might be occupied with houses of importance, in a style of architecture in harmony with the Abbey and new Houses of Parliament, by which a grand and imposing effect, as a whole, would be produced. As one means of improving the approaches, it is proposed that the noble width of street at Whitehall should be extended southwards by the removal of the houses between Parliament Street and King Street, by which the Abbey would be wholly exposed to view as far as Whitehall Chapel. The houses on the north side of King Street should be removed for the purpose of substituting houses or public buildings, if required, of an imposing style of architecture. Millbank Street is proposed to be widened and improved, in order to make it a convenient and effective approach from Millbank Road to the Victoria Tower and Old Palace Yard. Tothill Street is also proposed to be widened and improved, in order that it may be made an equally convenient and striking approach to the Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, and

* Professor Hosking, the able lecturer on architecture, at King's College, was amongst the first to suggest such an alteration of Westminster Bridge as should make it at once convenient, and in harmony with the great building near it.

Whitehall, from the west end of the town. St. Margaret's Church, if suffered to remain in its present position, should be improved in its external decorations, in order that it may not disgrace, as it now does, the noble pile of the Abbey which rises above it." The magnificence and far-sightedness of view apparent through all these arrangements need no comment nor illustration, unless it be to say, that if the architect's views should be carried out, it will be a question whether the works within or the works without the new palace will redound most to his honour; he will be, in a word, realising an approach to the almost sublime architectural views of Rufus when he built the famous hall, which Matthew Paris thus refers to, in a very interesting passage, not often transcribed: "In the same year," observes the old chronicler, "King William, on returning from Normandy into England, held, for the first time, his court in the New Hall at Westminster. Having entered to inspect it, with a large military retinue, some persons remarked that 'it was too large,' and 'larger than it should have been;' the King replied that 'it was not half so large as it should have been, and that it was only a *bed-chamber* in comparison with the building which he intended to make.'" Pretty well this, in relation to the largest hall in Europe unsupported by pillars! "Panting *Art*" would, we fear, however, in any age, "toil after" such a monarch "in vain;" and Mr. Barry will not succeed in making Westminster Hall shrink in comparison to the dimensions of a bed-chamber; sufficient will it be, if all around us, before we enter, and all we find beyond after passing through it, be on such a scale as to make the Hall appear but of natural dimensions: that will be a triumph that may satisfy any reasonable ambition.

We now approach the great subject of decoration. Mr. Barry, it appears, proposes that all the plain surfaces of the walls, that is the parts not concealed by the paintings or the sculpture, be covered with suitable architectonic decoration, or diapered enrichment in colour, occasionally heightened with gold, and blended with armorial bearings, badges, cognizances, and other heraldic insignia, emblazoned in their proper colours. The groined roofs of St. Stephen's Hall and the Octagon Hall to be similarly decorated, with, occasionally, works of art so interwoven with the diapered ground as not to disturb the architectural effect. The flat ceilings to be formed into compartments by moulded ribs, and enriched with carved heraldic and Tudor decorations, relieved by positive colours and gilding, with occasional gold ground, also diapered, and further enriched with legends and coloured heraldic devices. The screens, pillars, corbels, niches, window-dressings—and in parts also the door-jambs and fire-places, which are proposed to be of highly-polished British marbles—to be all decorated in the same gorgeous style. The floors to be formed of encaustic tiles, similarly enriched in colours and heraldic emblazonry, and laid, in combination with British marbles, in margins and compartments. The steps of the several staircases to be of solid marble. Lastly, the walls, to the height of eight or ten feet, to be lined with oak-framing, containing shields with armorial bearings, emblazoned in their proper colours, with an oak seat in all cases running along the front of and attached to the framing; the windows to be doubly glazed, to temper the light and prevent the direct rays of the sun from interfering with the due effect of the splendour within—the outer glazing consisting of plain ground glass, the inner of stained glass, richly blazoned with arms and other heraldic insignia, on a

diapered warm yellowish ground, the whole set in an ornamental design in metal. Such are the proposed minor decorations of the new Houses; the greater ones will be those which the arts, in the loftiest sense of the word, shall spread over every wall, or range—as in sculpture—through every avenue. And here we must acknowledge there seems to us a great deal of room for improvement in the proposed plans of decoration; perhaps because there has not been sufficient opportunity for fairly maturing them. In order the better to explain our meaning, it will be only necessary to notice the proposals for the four most important of those parts of the building which alone admit of extensive artistical operations, namely, the Victoria Gallery, the Central Hall, St. Stephen's Hall, and Westminster Hall. The gallery will admit, it appears, of sixteen paintings, each about twelve feet long by ten high, for which the chief subjects proposed are the most remarkable royal pageants of British history. Statues of Her present Majesty may fill each of the central niches at the ends of the hall, whilst the other niches, with the pedestals between the pictures, may receive statues of Her Majesty's ancestors. The statues to be of bronze, either partially or entirely gilt. The Central Hall cannot, from its form and divisions, receive any paintings, but may be extensively decorated with sculpture; as, in the centre, of a statue of Her Majesty, upon a rich pedestal of British marble, highly polished, and relieved in parts by gold and colour; whilst the statues in the niches of the walls and screens may represent, in chronological order, Her Majesty's ancestors, from the Heptarchy. In front of the eight clustered pillars in the angles of the hall, sedent statues of some of the great lawgivers of antiquity. The paintings of St. Stephen's Hall it is proposed to make commemorative of great domestic events in British history, whilst the statues may represent celebrated statesmen, past, present, and future. In addition to these works, the upper portion of the hall will contain thirty niches, which may be filled with the statues of the eminent men of the naval, military, and civil services of the country. Lastly, Westminster Hall, with its spaces on the walls for some twenty-eight pictures, of the largest dimensions, its twenty-six statues on pedestals between them, and its proposed avenue through the central space, of additional statues, twenty in number, is devoted in the plan to the representation, in the first case, of the most splendid warlike achievements of English history, both by sea and land; in the second, to the commemoration of naval and military commanders; and in the third, to the similar commemoration of present and future statesmen whose services may be considered by Parliament to merit such a tribute to their memories. The dormer windows in the matchless timber roof are at the same time to be enlarged, in order that, while showing the latter to better advantage, sufficient light may be obtained for the due effect of the works of art. As to the idea of making the hall a depository, as in former times, of the trophies obtained in wars with foreign nations, we would humbly suggest that the times are past for such displays, which can answer no other purpose than that of fostering the evil passions and prejudices which are the true basis of war; and as there seems to be a mistake with regard to the fact alleged, the hall having never been so used before the reign of Anne, the worst possible time for obtaining precedents in matters of taste, we do hope we shall hear no more of tattered flags or rust-eaten weapons. Art may give us battle-fields, but then it will assuredly, if it be art, raise us into

a loftier region than the mere scene represents; the flag is a memento of the struggle, the bloodshed, the victory—nothing more. The one, if it does descend from the calm and serene regions that it best loves, will do so to raise us up; the other can have no effect in these solemn halls of legislature but to lower the tone of thought and feeling when elevated to its highest pitch by the combined influences of architecture, painting, and sculpture in their loftiest developments.

The chief objections we would venture to urge to these proposals for the arrangement of the paintings and the sculpture, are as follows:—First, there seems to be no one grand and harmonious idea pervading the whole, of which the different parts of the structure shall be each, to a certain point, a development; and secondly, the plan, as it is, would seem to imply that ours, whilst a very fair respectable old country on the whole, and especially remarkable for sovereigns and heraldry, had yet very little history to boast of, or at least, very few great men, which is coming to the same thing, as they make history. How else are the striking repetitions to be accounted for? Two series of kings before the Conquest, and one since, on the exterior; then the same thing again, in part, at least, in the Victoria Gallery, and yet again in the Central Hall; then, as to statues of Her Majesty—one on the exterior, two in the Victoria Gallery, one in the middle of the Central Hall. As to the minor decorations, heraldic arms and insignia will meet us everywhere—floor, walls, roofs, windows; surely, it would give even greater effect to the decorations of this kind that are chosen (a meaning being attached to every one of them that shall be worthy the pausing to find out), if they were fewer; whilst it would be in every sense better if the subjects or works of art "so interwoven with the diapered ground as not to disturb the harmony or the effect of the architectonic decorations, or interfere with the elementary features of the architectural composition," should come upon us more than "occasionally" among these minor decorations. Or how, again, but on the hypothesis suggested, are we to account for the truly magnificent Victoria Gallery being devoted chiefly to mere royal pageants? But, thirdly, there is even a positive confusion of arrangement of the subjects: to say nothing of the statues of the lawgivers of antiquity, sitting in close juxta-position with such monarchs as Edward II. and Henry VIII., the inevitable result of the series system, we are to find in Westminster Hall, along the walls, pictures of naval and military achievements, with statues of naval and military men; very well: is not the Hall large enough, but that the niches in St. Stephen's must be again devoted to them, with a sprinkling of eminent civilians? On the other hand, has not St. Stephen's ample accommodation for all our "celebrated statesmen—past, present, and future," but that a double line of offshoots must press into the Hall of Rufus? If not, we can only say they must come very thick and fast in the said future, before the whole forty-two niches will be occupied.

It would be presumption in us, thus lightly scanning the subject, to attempt to answer the question of what ought to be done. But every suggestion that can be thrown out at the present time may, if not useful in itself, be the humble means of developing others that are; and in consequence, we venture to submit a few remarks. It appears, then, to the writer, that our first object in such an inquiry should be to discover some principle, inherent in the building itself or in its associations, that shall afford, when looked at in a large spirit, ample scope for

illustrations, to be characterised throughout by their local fitness and universal interest, by variety, and yet to be at the same time all so many harmonious manifestations of that one principle. With public buildings it can seldom be difficult to find such a principle. Their history—when they have history—in which, of course, their uses are included, would be one; or their uses only, when they had not. Apply this to the Houses of Parliament, and what a field is at once opened. *Their* history is *too* rich for the artist to hope to escape some uneasiness and anxiety as to the selection. Then, as to the local fitness, what, we may ask, would be the effect of making every hall and gallery and apartment tell their own story—that story, at the same time, being one that England will never be tired of listening to? But is it practicable? A very moderate degree of diligence in the study of the history of the two Houses would, we think, show that it is. At all events, we can answer decidedly for the principal portions of the structure. Do we want pictures, for instance, for the Speaker's apartments? Here is but one of many waiting for the touch that shall describe them in more glowing language than the pen can command. The walls of the old House of Commons are dimly visible in the back ground; the place is filled with the members in the highest state of excitement; Charles, the King, is in the front demanding the five who have offended him; the Speaker, the chief figure, is on his knees, with a mingled look of firmness and respect, uttering his memorable words, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the House was pleased to direct him, whose servant he was there, and humbly begging pardon that he could give no other answer. With such pictures, and with portraits (and statues, if required) of such men, would we adorn the Speaker's apartments. St. Stephen's Hall, as we have before had occasion to mention, occupies the exact site of the old House of Commons—now, as the new houses present no opportunity for the commemoration of the great events which have signalised the local history of the Lords and Commons, what better alternative than to take the Hall for that purpose? The right wall we would appropriate to the history of the Lords' House, the left to that of the Commons, as suggesting and harmonising with their respective positions. And, passing from thence, where our thoughts might rest undisturbed upon such memorials, what could be finer than the bustle, the reality, the life of the very thing itself memorialised, the contrast of what was with what is? It were idle to speak of individual subjects here. No reader but will at once be able to recall many and mighty ones to his mind. Of course, they would be arranged chronologically. Between the pictures, and everywhere corresponding with them in point of time, if not even still more intimately, statues of all the more eminent members of the Houses in past times would find their suitable home: orators, statesmen, patriots, philanthropists, philosophers; their order, and the known design of the place resolving the different elements of so goodly a company into perfect harmony. As the Octagon Hall lies midway between the Houses, ideas connected with the Crown which the estates on either side may be said to support, should determine the subjects for the chief statues, but ideas connected with it entirely in its public capacity, and as more immediately relating to the business of the legislature; in short, we would have here the monarchs who have distinguished themselves by their enlightened views and acts—legislative, governmental, legal, constitutional, commercial. Conspicuous, here, should be seen Alfred. In the

stern features of Edward I. we would here forget the ravager of Scotland and Wales in remembering the services of the English Justinian. The smaller statues in the niches might be happily filled with the servants of the Crown and of the people, who have by their labours in the council, the closet, or on the bench, made memorable their names in connection with the same subjects. And, as your chief legal reformers in the middle ages were the mailed barons, the statues of the men of Runnymede should not be absent. There remain, now, the two grand approaches; the one for royalty through the gallery, the one for the people through the old hall. They should, in consequence, without descending to repetition, present a kind of fine uniformity of tone and feeling; both should prepare the mind generally for the better examination and study and enjoyment of all that relates to the essential business of the Houses, which, according to the suggestions thus hastily made, would be more and more evident to the eye, as we approached nearer and nearer; both also should have reference to those for whose instruction art pours forth its hoarded treasures of thought and feeling, of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity. Let, then, the Victoria Gallery be a royal gallery, let the Hall be the people's. Let the first be devoted to a grand chronological series of statues, as proposed by the architect, of all the sovereigns of England, whilst the paintings, between and above, shall represent the great or noble events in which the sovereigns of England have been personally, as it were, engaged (especially choosing subjects, where practicable, that mark excellence and nobility of personal character), and where nothing truly worthy of commemoration of this kind presents itself, then of the greatest events which signalised the reign. How many fine "morals" would not such a principle of choice and arrangement "point" to the most cursory observer? It may be observed in passing, that mere personal histories or incidents relating to our monarchs would find suitable place in the robing-room; and battle-subjects, naval and military, would be happily placed in the adjoining guard-room. Such might be the approach of royalty. Westminster Hall demands more careful consideration, if it be only that its own history and associations are too high and important to be at once thrown overboard, even for the development of a good principle. Fortunately, there is no need. That history furnishes, with something like chronological regularity, a series of events from the very earliest time, bound up with its own walls and roofs (and never may they be disunited), most of which are at the same time among the events of general history which artists are constantly selecting for their pencils on account of their universal interest. Were it only for the sake of the fine old hall, these, from the size of the pictures representing them, should predominate, and form, indeed, a something as closely appertaining to the hall, as its roof or its floor. But something still would be required. Here is the hall, with its glorious past history written on the walls; but the history is not complete; what is the hall now?—The people's approach to the imperial legislature: then let the remainder of the paintings tell that part of the history too. As the Victoria Gallery has honoured, wherever circumstances would permit, the sovereign, let the hall honour all that history has shown to be peculiarly deserving of honour in the people. This, like all the other parts of our subject, is a vast and almost unexplored field; but the principle indicated would, we think, guide in safety through it. One particular illustration we must mention; we would include

illustrious individual examples of the virtues that adorn the citizen, or that endear and elevate the social life. The statues round the walls should be but additional manifestations of the two principles of arrangement—the history of the hall and the history of the people. What remains? The central space is yet unfilled. We scarcely mention the words before we fear we are anticipated in the idea of the use to which we would devote it. Legislation, law, government, can doubtless influence, to some degree, the characters and happiness of the people, but are themselves too much a mere reflex of the people to do so to any very material extent; who are then the men who do mould and temper, soften and elevate, and so prepare the way for an advance in the only possible mode of advance, that is, by general mental and moral improvement? Who, but the great poets, and philosophers, the men of science, art, and literature? Here, then, midway, as it were, between the outer world and the powers which rule it, is their place: could we desire a nobler or more fitting connection between the two?

And now, quitting the subject of decoration, with a rapid notice of the history of the Hall we must conclude. It was built by Rufus in all probability for the express use to which it was for a considerable period afterwards chiefly devoted, that of a grand banqueting hall for royalty, on occasions of high festivals, as holydays and coronations; for which last purpose it has only ceased to be used in our own time. In our account of Westminster, we have had occasion to speak generally on the subject of the coronations of our kings, and the ensuing feasts; we shall only therefore now add an interesting incident from Holinshed, relating to a coronation, not long after the erection of the hall. Henry II., having obtained the assent of a General Assembly of his subjects, met together at Windsor, caused his son Henry to be crowned in his own life-time, and when the feast took place in the great hall, a striking scene was presented. The old king himself, "upon that day, served his son at the table as sewer, bringing up the boar's head, with trumpets before it, according to the manner. Whereupon, according to the old adage

'Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores,'—

the young man, conceiving a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more stately countenance than he had wont; the Archbishop of York, who sat by him, marking his behaviour, turned unto him, and said, 'Be glad, my good son, there is not another prince in the world that hath such a sewer at his table;' to this the new king answered, as it were disdainfully, thus: 'Why dost thou marvel at that? my father, in doing it, thinketh it not more than becometh him; he, being born of princely blood only on the mother's side, serveth me that am a king born, having both a king to my father and a queen to my mother!'" So ingenious a youth could be at no loss under any circumstances to find reasons for what it pleased him to do. It is a pity we have not an equally accurate record of his notions as to the fitness of his subsequent and repeated appearance in arms against his parent. Hospitality was a marked feature of the old English character, and no where did it appear on such a magnificent scale as in Westminster Hall, when royalty was the bounteous host. Henry III. seems to have especially distinguished himself for his liberality. On the day of St. Edward (January 5th, 1241-2), whom he held, it seems, in especial honour, he feasted sumptuously an innumerable multitude, among whom were the citizens of London, tempted hither

by the extraordinary invitation of a royal edict which subjected them to a penalty of one hundred shillings if they stayed away. The disturbed political aspect of the time was the cause, we presume, of the very un-citizen-like reluctance here indicated. At another feast given by Henry, on account of the marriage of his brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, thirty thousand dishes were prepared for the dinner. But the best of these feasts were the ones given by Henry to the poor; he is said to have had not only this but the little hall before mentioned, filled with them, year after year, on the day of his saint. Another use to which the hall was turned, and very naturally, on account of its size and imposing magnificence, was that of holding in it public assemblies of a very extraordinary kind, and subsequently of Parliaments, which sat here before the division into two Houses, and where the Lords still continued to meet after. In 1253, the Hall was the scene of an awful exhibition. The king we have just referred to had so often broken every promise made to his parliament of observing the charters, that when, in that year, he wanted money from it, he could obtain his wishes only on the condition of a fresh and most solemn confirmation of the public liberties. So on the 3rd of May, he met, in the Hall, the barons, prelates, and abbots, the latter in full canonicals, and bearing each a lighted taper. One was also offered to the king, who refused it, saying he was no priest. The Archbishop of Canterbury then publicly denounced excommunication against all who should infringe the charters; and amongst part of the terrific ceremonies which took place, the prelates and abbots threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, as the lights disappeared in smoke, "May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and be extinguished in hell!" The king, acknowledging the application of the whole proceeding, subjoined, "So help me God! I will keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." The ceremony over, Henry speedily resorted to his old habits; the scene in the Hall became but a faded dream. Turn we now to a public event of a more agreeable nature. After the famous entry of the French King and the Black Prince into London, the procession passed on to Westminster, where Edward III. sat on his throne in the Hall to receive his august prisoner. One can hardly avoid something like a sentiment of affection towards the memory of both father and son for their whole conduct in this business, however little else in their characters there may be to inspire such sentiments in any but warlike spirits. As John entered the Hall, Edward descended from his seat, embraced him, and led him with the greatest possible respect to the banquet prepared. For some time the French King remained a guest in the Palace, but subsequently the Savoy was prepared for him. There, as Polydore Vergil informs us, he was frequently visited by Edward, his queen, his son, and other members of the royal family, who strove by various means to soothe his sorrow. Failing in their indirect endeavours, Edward and the Prince begged him to lay aside his melancholy and derive consolation from cheerful thoughts. The unhappy monarch answered in the words of the Psalmist, and with a mournful smile, "How shall we sing in a strange land?" The reign of Richard II. was in every way a noticeable one for the Hall. It was then rebuilt essentially as we now see it, and the wonderful roof thrown across. The northern

front was then also first added. If any of the Norman work remained it was cased up, and lost. The expense attending this rebuilding was defrayed, as the original expense had been, by a tax upon foreigners. During the rebuilding, Richard built a temporary wooden house for the Parliament, which was open on all sides, that constituents might see what was going on; and, as Pennant slyly remarks, "to secure freedom of debate, he surrounded the house with four thousand Cheshire archers, with bows bent, and arrows notched ready to shoot." This was but the beginning of the end which the Hall was to be the scene of; it was on the 30th of September, 1399, that the Parliament being assembled, the renunciation of the crown by Richard II. was read and accepted by the Parliament, at the close of which an anxious and deeply-interested observer stepped forward, and, making the sign of the cross upon his breast, said aloud, "In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry III.; and through the right that God, of his grace, hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance, and undoing of good laws." Cries of "Long live Henry the Fourth" no doubt greeted the claim. In Richard III. we have another claimer of thrones out of the usual order of succession, and on the same spot. An amusing instance of his duplicity, or perhaps it may be called of his policy, for had matters gone well with him we should probably have found he had something better in him than cunning to make a governor, is preserved in Holinshed. Having assumed the crown, he made an open proclamation that he put out of his mind all enmities, and did pardon thus openly all offences committed against him. "And to the intent that he might show a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought there before him, who being brought out of the Sanctuary (for thither he had fled in fear of him), in the sight of the people he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced at and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity."* The last important use to which the Hall has been put, is that of State Trials, of which it boasts a truly memorable series. Here, in 1535, the great Chancellor More was tried, and after sentence, and two or three attempts to speak, which were prevented by his judges, electrified them by his boldness in saying that what he had hitherto concealed, he would now openly declare, that the oath of supremacy (in not taking which his guilt in the king's eyes consisted) was utterly unlawful. As he moved from the bar, his son rushed through the hall, fell on his knees and besought his blessing. Three years later Henry himself presided at a trial, that of Lambert for heresy; the scene is represented in our engraving. With Lady Jane Grey's relatives, the Duke of Norfolk, Strafford, and Charles I., continues the long list. A view of the Hall, during this last-named tremendous event, is here given. Then we have, beyond Charles's time, the trial and acquittal (rare occurrences here were acquittals, and implying, when they did happen, the worst of political crimes, according to some writers—namely, a most serious blunder) of the Seven Bishops in James the Second's time; the trials of Balmerino and his gallant companions,

* Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 397. Transcribed from Britton and Brayley.

TRIAL OF CHARLES I. From a Print in Nalson's Report of the Trial, 1684.

A. The King.
B. The Lord President Bradshaw.
C. John Lisle, } Bradshaw's Assistants.
D. William Say, }
E. Andrew Broughton, } Clerks of the Court.
F. John Phelps, }
G. Oliver Cromwell. } The Arms of the Commonwealth
H. Henry Marten. } over them.
I. Coke, }
K. Dorislaus, } Counsellors for the Commonwealth.
L. Aske, }

The description of the original plate ends with these words:—"The pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented to your view by an eye and ear witness of what he saw and heard there."

for their support of the same James's descendants; and, most recent of all the very important trials, that of Warren Hastings in 1778. Of the building we may add that it was new-fronted and largely repaired during the reign of George IV., and that within the last few years extensive reparations of the stone-work of the interior have been carried on. It is now, we believe, considered to be in as fine a state of preservation in all essential respects, as the admirers of a building so trebly rich in its age, architecture, and history, could desire. Many different

accounts have been given of the dimensions of the Hall, and, in consequence, we hardly know what authority to trust to; Mr. Barry's, we presume, must be from actual admeasurement; and the result is 239 feet long, 68 feet wide, and 90 feet high. This is considerably less than Pennant's, namely, 270 feet long by 74 feet broad; he, however, may have included the depth of the walls.

[Interior of Westminster Hall, as seen during the Trial of Lambert, before Henry VIII.]

[The Lord Mayor's Show, 1750, after Hogarth.]

CXXXV.—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

A LOVE of sight-seeing was a characteristic feature in our forefathers, and the remark made by Trinculo, in 'The Tempest,' that "when they will not give a doit to a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian," was a most truthful saying. This feeling generated the frequent display of pageantry on public occasions; more particularly when the Mayor of London was installed in his office—an event anciently commemorated with a degree of pomp of which spectators of a modern "Lord Mayor's Show" can form but little conception, and which was intimately associated with the office in the eyes of the ancient citizens. These *Ridings*, as they were termed, occurred so often also on the public entries into London of our kings or their consorts, or of foreign potentates and ambassadors, that they became matters of constant expectation with the gayer classes, and were ardently looked forward to by the City apprentices, as an excuse for a holiday. Chaucer, speaking of the gay apprentice, "Perkin Revelour," says that—

> ——"when there any riding was in Chepe
> Out of the shoppe thider wold he lepe,
> And till that he had all the sight yseen
> And danced well, he would not come agen."

The origin of these Ridings may be traced to the early part of the thirteenth century; for when King John, in the year 1215, first granted a Mayor to the City of London, it was stipulated that he should be presented, for approval, either to the King or his justice. From this originated the procession to Westminster, where the King's palace was situated; and as the judges also sat there, it was necessary

for the citizens in either instance to repair thither, which they did annually, on horseback. A water procession, however, came into vogue earlier than is generally imagined; the accounts of the Grocers' Company for the year 1436 contain items of expenditure for "hiring of barges"* for such water processions nineteen years before the date of their supposed introduction by Sir John Norman, who is lauded by the City Laureate, Middleton, in his Pageant for 1621, called the "Sun in Aries," as "the first Lord Mayor that was rowed to Westminster, with silver oars, at his own cost and charges." The Thames watermen, who found the alteration of most essential service to them, gratefully recorded their sense of it in a ballad, the only two existing lines of which are the often-quoted—

"Row thy boat, Norman,
Row to thy Leman."

Although the old chroniclers have left us a pretty complete series of descriptions of royal entertainments, and processions through the City,† we meet with nothing that will inform us of what the Lord Mayor's own pageantry consisted, as exhibited in his honour, on the day of his entrance upon the duties of his office, until the year 1533, when the unfortunate Anne Boleyn came from Greenwich to Westminster, on the day of her coronation; the Mayor and citizens having been invited by Henry to fetch Anne from Greenwich to the Tower, and "to see the Citie ordered and garnished with pageauntes in places accustomed, for the honour of her Grace." Accordingly "there was a common counsail called, and commandment was given to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Mayor, Sir Stephen Peacock, then was), that they should prepare a barge for the Bachelors, with a wafter and a foyst‡ garnished with banners and streamers, *likewise as they use to do when the Mayor is presented at Westminster, on the morrow after Simon and Jude.*§ Also all other crafts were commanded to prepare barges and to garnish them, not only with their accustomed banners and bannerets, but also to deck them with targets by the side of the barges, and to set up all such seemly banners and bannerets as they had in their halls, or could get, meet to furnish their barges, and each barge to have minstrelsy." Here, then, we are furnished with a good idea of the annual civic procession by water to Westminster, in the description given by Hall, of the barges of the Mayor and company. "First,

* The City companies continued to hire barges for state occasions two centuries after this period. The Grocers hired the last in 1636, when it was thought to be beneath the dignity of the company to appear in a barge which was not their own, and accordingly the Wardens and some of the assistants were empowered to contract for the construction of "a fair and large barge for the use of this Company; and that they should take care for the provision of a house and place for the safe-keeping of the said barge."

† The earliest of these shows on record is the one described by Matthew Paris as taking place in 1236, on occasion of the passage of King Henry III. and Eleanor of Provence through the City to Westminster. They were received by the Mayor, Aldermen, and three hundred and sixty of the principal citizens, apparelled in robes of embroidered silk, and riding on horseback, each of them carrying in their hands a gold or silver cup, in token of the privilege claimed by the city, for the Mayor to officiate as chief butler at the king's coronation. Stow relates that upon the return of Edward I. from his victory over the Scots in 1298, "every citizen, *according to their several trades, made their several show*, but especially the Fishmongers, who, in a solemn procession, passed through the City, having, amongst other pageants and shows, four sturgeons gilt, carried on four horses, then four salmons of silver on four horses, and after them six and forty armed knights riding on horses made like luces of the sea, and then one representing St. Magnus (because it was St. Magnus's day), with a thousand horsemen," &c.

‡ A barge or pinnace propelled by rowers.

§ The 29th of October, the regular Lord Mayor's day, until the alteration of the style in 1752.

before the Mayor's barge was a foist or wafter full of ordnance, in which was a great dragon continually moving and casting wild fire, and rounde about stood terrible monsters and wild men casting fire and making hideous noises;" this vessel serued to clear the way for the Mayor's barge, which "was garnished with many goodly banners and streamers, and richly covered; in which barge were shalmes, shagbushes, and divers other instruments, which continually made goodly harmony. Next, after the Mayor followed his fellowship the Haberdashers, next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so every company in his order; and last of all, the Mayors' and Sheriffs' officers, every company having melody in his barge by himself, and goodly garnished with banners, and some garnished with silk and some with arras and rich carpets; and in that order they rowed downward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melody."

Among the pageants exhibited upon land on the day of the Lord Mayor's "inauguration," one was generally introduced, if possible, in punning allusion to the name of the Mayor. The earliest on record, of this kind, is described by Lydgate, in his account of the reception of Henry V. by the citizens of London, on his victorious return from Agincourt, in 1415, and which far surpassed in splendour that of any of his predecessors. John Wells, of the Grocers' Company, was Mayor, and three *wells* running with wine were exhibited at the conduit in Cheapside, attended by three virgins to personate Mercy, Grace, and Pity, who gave of the wine to all comers; these wells were surrounded with trees laden with oranges, almonds, lemons, dates, &c. in allusion to his trade as a grocer. In the same way Peele's Pageant of 1591, "Descensus Astreæ," which was written for the mayoralty of William Web, contained a similar allusion; for "in the hinder part of the pageant did sit a child, representing Nature, holding in her hand a distaff, and *spinning a web*, which passeth through the hand of Fortune, and is wheeled up by Time." In 1616, when Sir John Leman was Mayor, "a *lemon-tree* in full and ample form, richly laden with the fruit it beareth," was exhibited; and to give it due importance, its fabulous virtues were enforced by the five senses, who were seated around it, "because this tree is an admirable preserver of the senses in man; restoring, comforting, and relieving any the least decay in them."

The earliest notices of pageants exhibited on Lord Mayor's day, hitherto discovered, are the entries from the Drapers' books, quoted by Herbert, in his 'History of the Livery Companies,' where an entry for 13*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* occurs for Sir Laurence Aylmer's pageant, in 1510; and in 1540, the Pageant of the Assumption, which had figured in the annual show, at the setting of the Midsummer watch in 1521-2, appears to have been borne before the Mayor, from the Tower to Guildhall. When Sir William Draper was Mayor, in 1566-7, a pageant was exhibited in which six boys were placed, who sang and pronounced speeches; in the procession appeared forty-six bachelors in gowns furred with foins,* and crimson satin hoods; twenty-eight whifflers, to clear the way; forty-eight men bearing wax torches an ell in length, and the same number armed with javelins.

* Foins batchelors and budge batchelors are frequently mentioned in all old accounts of civic pageantry; they obtained their names from the furs with which their gowns were trimmed. Foins is the skin of the martin; budge is lamb-skin with the wool dressed outwards.

Two "wodemen" or savages carried clubs and hurled squibs, to clear the way for the procession. They were constant precursors of pageants in the olden time, and are frequently alluded to by the old dramatists and authors of popular literature; and as late as 1686 "twenty savages or green-men walked with squibs and fire-works to sweep the streets and keep off the crowd," before the principal pageant. The representation here given of these wild-men with their clubs, and green-men hurling their fire-works, are derived from Bate's 'Book of Fireworks' (1635), and other contemporary sources.

William Smyth, "citizen and haberdasher, of London,' penned, for the benefit of posterity, in the year 1555, 'A breffe Description of the Royall Citie of London,' in which the best detailed account of the mayoralty-shows during the reign of the Virgin Queen, is to be met with. The water procession consisted of the Mayor's barge, wherein he sat with all the Aldermen, near which "goeth a shyppbote, of the Queen's Majestie's, being trymmed up, and rigged like a shippe of war, with dyvers peeces of ordinance, standards, pennons, and targets of the proper arms of the sayd Mayor, the armes of the Cittie, of this Company," &c. before which goes the barge of his own Company, with the bachelors' barge, "and so all the Companies in London, in order, every one havinge their own proper barge, garnished with the armes of their Company." On their return from Westminster they land at Paul's Wharf, when the Mayor and Aldermen "take their horses, and in great pompe passe through the greate street of the Citie, called Cheapside." The procession is opened by "certain men apparelled like devils, and wylde men with squibs." Then come standards, emblazoned with the armes of the City, and the Mayor, drummers, fifers, and about "seventy or eighty poore men marchinge two and two together, in blewe gownes, with redd sleeves, and capps, every one bearing a pike and a targett, whereon is paynted the armes of all them that have been Mayor, of the same Company that this new Mayor is of." These are followed by other banner-banners, musicians and whifflers; "then the Pageant of Tryumph, rychly decked; whereuppon, by certayne figures and wrytinges (partly touchyng the name of the sayd Mayor), some matter touching justice and the office of a magistrate, is represented." Then come trumpeters, "and certayne

whifflers, in velvet cotes and chaynes of golde, with white staves in their hands," to clear the way; followed by the Batchelors of the Mayor's Company, and "the waytes of the Citie in blewe gownes, redd sleeves and cappes, every one having his silver collar about his neck." Afterwards come the Livery, and the great officers of the City, followed by the Lord Mayor, attended by his sword and mace bearer, with whom rides the old Mayor. Behind them come the Aldermen, two and two together, the procession being closed by the two Sheriffs.

The Whifflers, who played so important a part in the Show, were young freemen, who marched at the head of their proper companies, to clear the way.* Douce says, in his 'Illustrations to Shakspere,' "that the name is derived from *whiffle*, a fife or small flute, the performers on which usually preceded armies or processions, and hence the name was ultimately applied to any one who went before a procession." Among the Collection of Prints and Title-pages formed by John Bagford, and now placed in the British Museum, are two very curious ones, which are here copied. They bear date, 1635, and represent a Whiffler, with his "staff and chain," and the Lord Mayor's Hench-boy, as decorated for attendance, with

[Whiffler and Hench-boy.]

a gold chain and a staff, having a bunch of flowers at top, secured by a lace handkerchief tied in a knot round the stems, and flowing below. These Pages to the Mayor derived their name, says Blackstone, from following the *haunch* of their masters, and thence being called *haunch-boys* or hench-boys. The reader will remember the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' concerning the "little changeling boy" the King of Fairies wished to make "his henchman."

* The Whifflers have long since passed away from the Mayoralty processions of London and have given place to the New Police. They existed in Norwich until the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1832, which, "at one fell swoop," abolished them, and the usual procession on Guild-days. There were four in number who held the office, which had continued in the family of one Whiffler (William Dewing) for more than two centuries; mention is made in Kemp's "Nine Daies' Wonder" of their being employed when he danced into Norwich in 1599. That very ancient favourite of the people, a dragon, was also exhibited on the same occasion; he was known as "Snap," from the movement of his jaws, which opened and shut continually as his head moved round to the amusement of children, who threw half-pence in his mouth.

The earliest Pageant of which we possess a printed description was composed by George Peele, the dramatist, for Sir Woolstone Dixie, in 1585. It consisted of a group of children who personated London, Magnanimity, Loyalty, the Country, the Thames, the Soldier, the Sailor, Science, and four Nymphs, who each addressed the Mayor in a short speech, the pageant being fully descanted on by "one that rid on a luzern" or lynx, who concluded his explanatory speech with an exhortation to the Mayor to keep the City carefully—

> "This lovely lady, rich and beautiful,
> The jewel wherewithal your sovereign queen
> Hath put your honour lovingly in trust,
> That you may add to London's dignity,
> And London's dignity may add to yours."

It was not uncommon to introduce allusions to passing events and circumstances, or even to religious opinions, in these annual Shows; thus, in Peele's Pageant for 1591, entitled "Descensus," Astreæ is intended for Queen Elizabeth, who attends with her flock at the Fountain of Truth, beside which sits a friar, named Superstition, who exclaims to Ignorance, a priest by his side—

> "Stir, Priest, and with thy beads poison this spring;
> I tell thee all is baneful that I bring."

who answers—

> "It is in vain: her eye keeps me in awe
> Whose heart is purely fixed on the law,
> The holy law; and bootless we contend,
> While this chaste nymph this fountain doth defend."

During the reign of James I. the display of pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day considerably increased, both on land and water, for it was not uncommon to place sea-chariots, with Neptune and other characters in them, upon the Thames, to address the Mayor before going to Westminster. Middleton's Pageant, 'The Triumphs of Truth,' 1613, describes "five islands, artfully garnished with all manner of Indian fruit-trees, drugges, spiceries and the like; the middle island having a faire castle, especially beautified," the whole intended as an emblem of the Grocers' Company (of which body the Mayor was a member), their East Indian trade, and recently-erected forts there. These islands, upon his return, figure in the Show by land, being placed on wheels, and having one of the five senses (personated by children), seated on each of them. The other pageants exhibited on this occasion, and the various impersonations displayed, had all some reference to morality and good government. Thus the first character who attends at Baynard's Castle to receive the Mayor, on his return from Westminster, is Truth's attendant Angel, accompanied by his champion, Zeal, who conduct him to Paul's Chain, where they are met by Envy and Error in a triumphant chariot, who propose to the Mayor, to—

> "Join together both in state and triumph
> And down with beggarly and friendless Virtue
> That hath so long impoverish'd this fair city."

They are, however, put to flight for a time by Truth, who approaches in her chariot, and conducts the Mayor to "London's Triumphant Mount"—the great feature of the day's Show. It is veiled by a fog or mist, cast over it by Error's

disciples—Barbarism, Ignorance, Impudence and Falsehood, four monsters with clubs, who sit at each corner. At the command of Truth "the mists vanish and give way; the cloud suddenly rises and changes into a bright spreading canopy, stuck thick with stars, and beams of gold shooting forth round about it." In the midst sits London attended by Religion, Liberality, Perfect Love, Knowledge and Modesty; while at the back sit Chastity, Fame, Simplicity and Meekness. After a speech from London "the whole Triumph moves in richest glory towards the Cross, in Cheap," where Error again causes his mist to enshroud it, which is again removed by Truth, a manœuvre of the machinist which is frequently repeated during the passage to Guildhall, and back to the service at St. Paul's; where it was always customary for the Mayor to attend after dinner, going in full procession with all the pageants; and when service was over, he retired to his own house, where farewell speeches were addressed to him, in this instance, by London and Truth; Zeal, at the command of the latter, finishing the day's Show by shooting a flame at the chariot of Error, which sets it on fire, and all the beasts that are joined to it.

Anthony Munday's Pamphlet for 1615, "Metropolis Coronata—the Triumphs of Ancient Drapery," in honour of Sir John Jolles, of the Drapers' Company, describes two pageants on the Thames: Jason and Medea, in "a goodly Argoe, rowed by divers comely eunuchs," and bearing the Golden Fleece; the second being a sea-chariot containing Neptune and Thamesis, together with Fitz-Alwin, the first Lord Mayor, attended by eight "royall virtues," each one bearing the arms of some famous member of the Drapers' Company. The first Show by land being "a faire and beautifull ship, stiled by the Lord Mayor's name and called Joell," filled with sailors, and attended by Neptune and the Thames. This is followed by a Ram or "Golden Fleece," the Drapers' crest, "having on each side a housewifely virgin sitting seriously employed in carding and spinning wool for cloth." Then comes "the Chariot of Man's Life, displaying the World as a Globe running on wheels, emblematic of the seven ages of man's Life; it is drawn by two lions and two sea-horses, and is guided by Time, as coachman to the life of man. The principal pageant follows: London and her twelve daughters—the twelve Companies, "foure goodly mounts" being raised as protections around them, which are—"Learned Religion, Militarie Discipline, Navigation and Home-bred Husbandrie," Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and his merry men all, conclude the display with a jovial song in praise of their lives; which is very characteristic of Anthony Munday, who was a favourite ballad writer of the day. The easy flow of the verses here selected bespeak a hand well practised in this species of composition:—

"No man may compare with Robin Hood,
With Robin Hood, Scathlocke, and John;
Their like was never, nor never will be,
If in case that they were gone.

They will not away from merry Sherwood,
In any place else to dwell;
For there is neither city nor towne
That likes them half so well."

From this it will be seen that the pageants in general were so constructed as

allegorically to allude to the Mayor or his Company; to London, as the seat of commerce, and to the riches procured by that means; to the duties of good government and wise magistracy, and were varied occasionally by the introduction of popular characters, such as that of Robin Hood and his attendants, in this year's Show.

Munday's Pageant for the following year was entitled "Chrysalaneia, the Golden Fishing, or Honor of Fishmongers, applauding the advancement of Mr. John Leman," alderman, a member of that Company, who were at the expense of the pageantry then displayed; which was constructed as much as possible in their honour. Thus the first show was "a very goodly and beautiful fishing busse,* called the Fishmongers' Esperanza, or Hope of London," in which "fishermen were seriously at labour, drawing up their nets laden with living fish, and bestowing them bountifully upon the people." This pageant was followed by a crowned dolphin, in allusion to the Mayor's arms and those of the Company; and "because it is a fish inclined much by nature to music, Arion, a famous musician and poet, rideth on his back." The King of the Moors follows "gallantly mounted on a golden leopard, he hurling gold and silver every way about him;" he is attended by six tributary kings on horseback in gilt armour, carrying each one a dart, and ingots of gold and silver, in honour of the Fishmongers' combined brethren the worthy Company of Goldsmiths. They are followed by the punning pageant on the Mayor's name, "a lemon-tree in full and ample form," which has before been alluded to.

The next device is a bower, adorned with the names and arms of all the members of the Fishmongers' Company who have been Lord Mayors. Upon a tomb within it lies the body of Sir William Walworth, who was a member of the Company, and of whose membership the Company were always proud.† It is attended by five mounted knights, six trumpeters, and twenty-four halberdiers, "with watchet silke coats, having the Fishmongers' Arms on the breast, Sir William Walworth's on the backe, and the Cittie's on the left arme, white hats and feathers, and goodly halbards in their hands;" London's Genius, a crowned angel with golden wings, sits mounted by the bower, with an officer-at-arms bearing the rebel's head on Walworth's dagger. Upon the Lord Mayor's arrival the Genius strikes Walworth with his wand, who comes off the tomb and addresses the Mayor and attendants, declaring that the sight of them

> "Mooves tears of joy, and bids me call
> God's benison light upon you all."

The last grand pageant, "memorizing London's great day of deliverance, and the Fishmongers' fame for ever," in the death of Wat Tyler, is drawn by two mermen; and two mermaids, the supporters of the Company's arms. At the top sits a victorious angel, King Richard the Second being seated on a throne beneath, surrounded by impersonations of royal and kingly virtues.

* *Busse*, signifying a fishing-boat, is a word of German origin.

† Walworth and Wat Tyler were generally exhibited whenever a Mayor was elected from this body. As late as 1700, when Sir Thomas Abney was chosen, the 'Postboy' for October 31 tells us:—"On this occasion there was in Cheapside five fine pageants, and a person rode before the cavalcade in armour, with a dagger in his hand, representing Sir William Walworth, the head of the rebel Wat Tyler being carried on a pole before him. This was the more remarkable, by reason that story has not been before represented these forty years, none of the Fishmongers' Company happening to be Lord Mayor since."

The Fishmongers' Company are in possession of a very curious drawing of this day's pageantry, which has been fully described in Herbert's "History of the twelve great livery Companies of London," vol. i., p. 209, and which agrees pretty exactly with the above description; from the inscriptions upon this drawing it appears that the pageants remained "for an ornament in Fishmongers' Hall, except that in which Richard the Second figured, and which was too large for that purpose;" a note above the drawing says, "therefore thenceforth if the house will have a pageant to beautify their hall, they must appoint fewer children therein, and more beautify and set forth the same in workmanship." The children here alluded to personated the virtues, and other emblematical characters in the pageants, and were all gorgeously apparelled.

The incongruities occasionally displayed, which, in good truth, were as unlike "angels' visits, few and far between," as possible, were amusingly satirized by Shirley, in his 'Contention for Honour and Riches,' 1633, by Clod, a countryman, who exclaims, "I am plain Clod; I care not a bean-stalk for the best *what lack you** on you all—no, not the next day after Simon and Jude, when you go a-feasting to Westminster, with your galley-foists and your pot-guns, to the very terror of the paper whales; when you land in shoals, and make the understanders in Cheapside wonder to see ships swim upon men's shoulders; when the fencers flourish and make the King's liege people fall down and worship the devil and St. Dunstan;† when your whifflers are hanged in chains, and Hercules' club spits fire about the pageants, though the poor children catch cold, that show like painted cloth, and are only kept alive with sugar plums; with whom, when the word is given, you march to Guildhall, with every man his spoon in his pocket, where you look upon the giants and feed like Saracens, till you have no stomach to Paul's in the afternoon. I have seen your processions and heard your lions and camels make speeches instead of grace before and after dinner. I have heard songs, too, or something like 'em; but the porters have had the burden, who were kept sober at the City charge two days before, to keep time and tune with their feet; for, brag what you will of your charge, all your pomp lies upon their back."‡

From 1639 to 1655 no pageants were exhibited; the unhappy civil wars of England broke out, and the City became one of the strongholds of Puritanism.

* The constant cry of the shopkeepers to their passing customers, and which was sneeringly applied to the citizens. In 1628, Alexander Gill was brought before the Council for saying, among other things, that the king was only fit to stand in a shop and cry, *What do you lack?*

† This was the patron saint of the Goldsmiths' Company; and when any of that body happened to be Mayor, he was displayed seated in the laboratory in full pontificals, and the old legend of his seizing the devil by the nose with red-hot tongs, when the arch-enemy came to tempt him while he was working as a goldsmith, was re-enacted to the life for the amusement of the spectators. In the pageant for 1687 he talks remarkably large, and promises his patronage to the company with boundless liberality, while the Cham of Tartary and the Grand Sultan crouch at his feet as he exclaims—

"Of the proud Cham I scorn to be afeard;
I'll take the angry Sultan by the beard.
Nay, should the Devil intrude among your foes—"

At which words the father of all evil rushes in, in no good humour, and loudly asks,

"What then?"

To which the holy father responds—

"Snap—thus I have him by the nose!"

which he at once seizes *sans ceremonie*.

‡ An allusion to the custom of hiring porters to carry the pageants.

Isaac Pennington, who was Mayor in 1643, rendered himself eminently conspicuous by "the godly thorough reformation" he practised in the City. At his orders Cheapside Cross was demolished, and St. Paul's desecrated: a wit of the day sticking a bill to this effect upon the door:—

"This house is to be let,
It is both wide and fair;
If you would know the price of it,
Pray ask of Mr. Mayor."*

During the mayoralty of Sir John Dethick, in 1655, the first restoration of pageantry took place; for on the day of his inauguration he exhibited the usual realization of the arms of the Mercers' Company, of which he was a member—the crowned Virgin, who rode in the procession with much state and solemnity. The number of pageants yearly exhibited continued gradually to increase until 1660, the year of the Restoration of Charles II., when the Royal Oak was exhibited as the principal feature of the day's display, and gave title to Tatham's descriptive pamphlet; after which period they gradually increased the splendour and importance of the Shows, which contained many allusions to the blessings of the Restoration and the *virtues* of Charles II., in contradistinction to the days of Oliver. Thus, in the Pageant for 1661, Justice inveighs against—

"The horrid and abominable crimes
Of the late dissolute licentious times"—

and in proportion as Charles increased in open libertinism and unmasked tyranny, just in the same degree do the City laureates ascend in the scale of praise, until, in 1682, at a time when the breach between Charles and the citizens was daily widening, the Charter of the City was suspended, and the pliant creatures of his own party only allowed office as Mayor, the walls of Guildhall echoed to a song in which his Majesty was described as a person—

"In whom all the graces are jointly combined
Whom God as a pattern has set to mankind."

From 1664 to 1671, the great fire† and the plague also, hindered the ordinary exhibition of pageantry, which generally consisted of two or three pageants on the water, one of which was, generally, Neptune and Amphitrite, the Thames and attendants, or the Story of the Voyage for the Golden Fleece, which pageants were brought to land, and swelled the procession to Guildhall. There is a curious series of wood-cuts, by Jeghers of Antwerp, representing the pageants there exhibited on great state occasions, by the various guilds, and which may have given our citizens a few ideas for their own: one of them is precisely similar to the Triumph of Neptune, as exhibited in London, bearing the same name, and agreeing in all points with the description published by the City poets; it is here copied, and is curious inasmuch as it exhibits the mode adopted for hiding the machinery and movers of the pageant, and for obviating as much as possible

* After the Restoration, Pennington was tried with twenty-eight others as regicides, was convicted of high treason, and died during his confinement in the Tower of London.

† This calamity was the excuse for omitting the usual religious observances of the day. Jordan, in his Pageant for 1672, tells us that the Mayor was now always conducted home from the hall "without that troublesome night-ceremony which hath been formerly, when St. Paul's church was standing."

[The Triumph of Neptune.]

the absurdity of water Triumphs swimming through the streets, by covering the lower portion down to the ground with cloths painted to represent water, and fishes swimming therein, having two windows in front for the men withinside to direct its motions, amid the crowd.

It would be impossible in the space we have at disposal to give but a mere mention of all the various pageants exhibited until their final discontinuance in 1702. Many displayed considerable invention and mechanical ingenuity, which involved great expenditure; thus the Pageant for 1617 cost more than 800*l.*, but they continued to diminish in cost; in 1685, 473*l.* was the outlay. Each company generally contributed its trade pageant on the mayoralty of a member; thus the Goldsmiths exhibited a laboratory with their patron, Saint Dunstan, who gratified the mob by seizing the Devil by the nose with his tongs the moment he answered the Saint's challenge to appear at his peril. The Drapers gave the Shepherds and Shepherdesses with their lambs; carolling in praise of country life, and dancing beneath the greenwood; while the Grocers generally exhibited a King of the Moors, an island of Spices, and mounted Blacks, who liberally distributed foreign fruit from panniers at their side to the crowding spectators.* In the Pageant for 1672, two great Giants, each 15 feet high, were "drawn by horses in two several chariots, moving, talking, and taking tobacco as they ride along."

The pageant produced for Sir William Hooker, of the Grocers' Company, in the year 1673, was concocted by Thomas Jordan, the most facetious of city poets,

* Among the expenses of the Pageant for 1617 we find, "Payed for 50 sugar-loaves, 36 lbs. of nutmegs, 24 lbs. of dates, and 114 lbs. of ginger, which were thrown about the streets by those which sat on the griffins and camells—*5l. 7s. 8d.*

who had formerly been an actor at the Red Bull Theatre. In the first pageant appeared a negro boy, "beautifully black," as he declares him to have been, who was seated on a camel, between two silver panniers, strewing fruits among the people as before. In the car behind sat Pallas, Astrea, Prudence, Fortitude, Law, Piety, Government, &c.: Pallas exclaiming,

"How can a good design be brought about
In mask or show if Pallas be left out?
Which makes me in my chariot of state
Present my love to London's magistrate,
And that Society of which he 's free,
The King-bless'd loyal Grocers' Company." *

The next pageant is drawn by two griffins, led by negroes, bearing banners of the city and company, and carrying Union and Courage at each corner. Behind is the God of Riches, with "Madam Pecunia, a lady of great splendour," Reputation, Security, Confidence, Vigilance, and Wit; Riches declaring himself and the rest to be fully at the mayor's service. A droll of Moors is next exhibited, working in a garden of spices, with musicians to lighten their labours with melody not too refined for any ears, as it consists of "three pipers, which together with the tongs, key, frying-pan, gridiron, and salt-box make very melodious music, which the worse it is performed, the better is accepted.' Pomona from the midst declares that she has

"——— come to see
The celebration, and adore the state
Of Charles the Great, the Good, the Fortunate,
Who from the royal fountain of his power
Gives life and strength to London's governour." †

A jovial song was composed in praise of the King and Queen who were present on this occasion, and dined in Guildhall, in company with the Dukes of York and Monmouth, Prince Rupert, the ambassadors and nobility; the first and last verses of the song ran as follows:

"Joy in the gates,
And peace in the States,
Of this City which so debonair is;
Let the King's health go round,
The Queen's and the Duke's health be crown'd,
With my Lord and the Lady Mayoress.

"Divisions are base,
And of Lucifer's race;
Civil wars from the bottom of hell come;
Before ye doth stand
The plenty of the land,
And my Lord Mayor doth bid ye welcome."

The concluding chorus to the entertainment being

"This land and this town have no cause to despair;
No nation can tell us how happy we are,

* The Grocers' Company numbered some kings among their members.

† Charles II. visited the City on the two previous Lord Mayor's days, witnessing the pageants in Cheapside, and dining afterwards at Guildhall. He continued to visit the future Mayors for the four following years.

When each person's fixt in his judicial chair,
At Whitehall the King, and at Guildhall the Mayor;
Then let all joy and honour preserve with renown
The City, the Country, the Court, and the Crown."

But perhaps as quaint and curious imaginings were exhibited on the mayoralty of Sir Francis Chaplin, of the Cloth-workers' Company, in 1677, as in any of their Shows. They were also invented by Thomas Jordan, who produced, on this occasion, a "Chariot of Fame," a "Mount of Parnassus," with Apollo and the Muses, attired as shepherds and shepherdesses in honour of the Company, and "the Temple of Fame," within which stood that venerable character, attended by six persons, representing a Minute, an Hour, a Day, a Week, a Month, and a Year; thus habited, viz:—

"A Minute, a small person in a skie-coloured robe, painted all over with minute-glasses of gold, a fair hair, and on it a coronet, the points tipped with bubbles; bearing a banner of the Virgin.*

"Next to her sitteth an Hour, a person of larger dimensions, in a sand-coloured robe, painted with clocks, watches, and bells; a golden mantle, a brown hair, a coronet of dyals, with a large sun-dyal in front, over her brow; in one hand a golden bell, in the other a banner of the golden ram.†

"A Day, in a robe of auróra-colour; on it a skie-coloured mantle, fringed with gold and silver, a long curled black hair, with a coronet of one half silver, the other black (intimating Day and Night); in one hand a shield azure, charged with a golden cock, and in the other a banner of the Cities.

"Next unto her sitteth a virgin, for the personating of a Week, in a robe of seven metals and colours, viz. or, argent, gules, azure, sable, vert, and purpure; a silver mantle, a dark brown hair, on which is a golden coronet of seven points, on the tops of which are seven round plates of silver, bearing these seven characters, written in black, viz.: ☉☽♂☿♃♀♄, which signifie the planets and the dayes; in one hand she beareth a clock, in the other a banner of the companies.

"Next to her sitteth a lady of a larger size, representing a Month (of May), in a green prunello silk robe, embroidered with various flowers, and on it a silver mantle fringed with gold, a bright flaxen hair, a chaplet of May-flowers, a cornucopia in one hand, and a banner of the King's in the other.

"Contiguously (next to her) reposeth a very lovely lady representing a Year, in a close-bodied silk garment down to the waist, and from the waist downward to her knees hang round about her twelve labels or panes, with the distinct inscriptions of every month; wearing a belt or circle cross her, containing the twelve signs of the zodiack; a dark brown hair, and on it a globular cap (not much unlike a turban), with several compassing lines, as on a globe; in one hand she beareth a target, argent, charged with a serpent vert, in a circular figure, with the tip of his tail in his mouth; in the other a banner of my Lord Mayor's."

The dissension that sprung up between Charles II. and the citizens, towards the close of his reign, acted prejudicially to the annual civic displays. In 1681 Sir John Moore was elected in opposition to the citizens, being greatly favoured by the court party. In the following year Charles again managed to get in ano-

* The arms of the Mercers' Company. † The crest of the Company of Clothworkers.

ther of his creatures, in the person of Sir William Pritchard, who was so ill-received by the livery-men that several of the Companies hesitated to accompany him to Westminster. Moore had acted with great injustice toward the Sheriffs Papillion and Dubois, who had been elected by a large majority of voters; but, being staunch lovers of the city rights and a Protestant succession, they were forced from Guildhall by a body of soldiers, and North and Rich put in their places. They, however, brought actions against the mayor, and upon Pritchard's accession to power, and his persistance in keeping them out, they arrested him publicly. The most extreme measures were adopted by Charles and the Court, and a counter-action was got up against Papillion and his friends for *a riot* in Guildhall, on the day of their election. The crown lawyers were eloquent against them, and when juries could be easily found to convict a Russell and a Sydney, it can excite but little surprise to find that Papillion was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, although not a shadow of proof was offered of any illegality on his part. Jefferies was at this time rising in favour, by such "sharp practice," and in the end the breach between the court and city widened, until Charles suspended the charter, and he and his brother after him nominated mayors at pleasure.* Among the number who were heavily fined was the unfortunate Alderman Cornish, an equally staunch defender of the city rights; he became thenceforward a marked man, and during the reign of James II. he was arrested under a pretence of being connected with the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; his tried was hurried over, he was convicted on perjured evidence by the infamous Jefferies, and hung a few days afterwards at the top of King Street, Cheapside, with his face toward Guildhall (Oct. 23, 1685), his last devotions being rudely interrupted by the Sheriffs, and his quarters set up on Guildhall.

Pageantry again revived during the reign of William III., but the spirit of the old shows had departed, and the inventive genius of the City Laureates had fled with it.

The last City Poet was Elkanah Settle; he had been preceded by Peele, Munday, Dekker, Middleton, Webster, and Heywood, the dramatists; John Taylor the Water Poet, Tatham, Jordan, and Taubman. The last public exhibition by a regular City Poet, was in 1702, on occasion of the Mayoralty of Sir Samuel Dashwood, of the Vintners' Company, and it was, perhaps, as costly as any. The patron Saint of the Company (St. Martin) appeared, and divided his cloak among the beggars, according to the ancient legend; an Indian galeon rowed by Bacchanals, and containing Bacchus himself, was also exhibited; together with the Chariot of Ariadne; the Temple of St. Martin; a scene at a tavern entertainment; and an "Arbour of Delight," where Silenus, Bacchus, and Satyrs were carousing. Settle also prepared an entertainment for 1703, which was frustrated by the death of Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne. who died on the 28th of October, the day before its intended exhibition.

This last attempt at resuscitating the glories of the ancient Mayors, being so unfortunately frustrated, and the taste for such displays not counterbalancing that for economy, no effort was made to revive the annual pageantry, and the display

* In Strype's Stow, opposite the name of Sir John Shorter, Mayor in 1687, are placed these significant words:—"Never served Sheriff, *nor a freeman of the City*; appointed by King James II."

seems to have sunk to the level at which it has remained for more than a century; the barges by water, or a single impersonation or two on land, being all that were exhibited.

Hogarth, in his concluding plate of the "Industry and Idleness" series, has given us a vivid picture of the Lord Mayor's Day in the City, about the middle of the last century, which has been copied at the head of this paper. Frederick Prince of Wales, and his Princess, are depicted seated beneath a canopy at the corner of Paternoster Row, to view the procession. Other spectators are accommodated on raised and enclosed seats beneath, the members of the various companies having raised stands along Cheapside, that of the Mercers appearing in the foreground, while every window and house-top is filled with gazers, the streets being guarded by the redoubtable City Militia, so humorously satirized by the painter, and one of whom, anxious to honour the Mayor, discharges his gun, as he turns his head aside, and shuts his eyes for fear of the consequences. The Mayor's coach, with its mob of footmen, the City companies, the men in armour, and the banners, present as perfect a picture as could be wished of this "red-letter day" in the City.

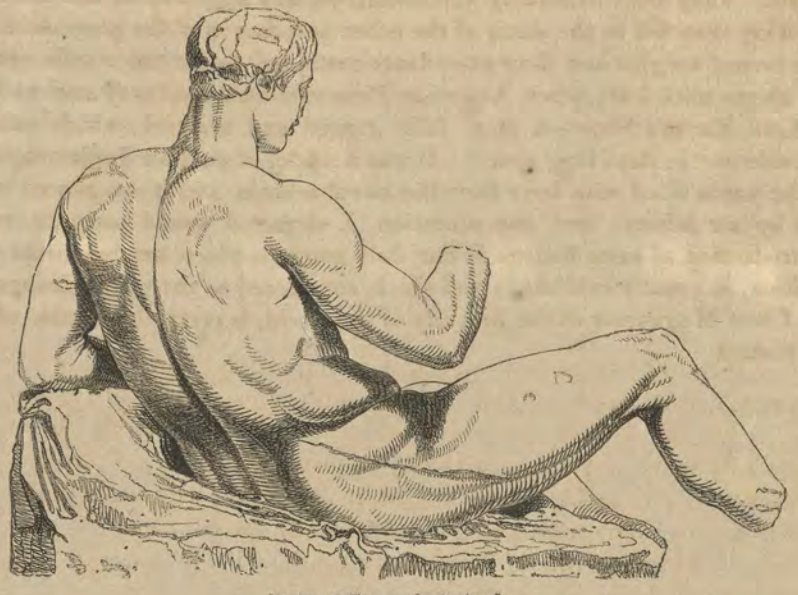
In 1761, when King George III. and his Queen, in accordance with the usual custom, dined with the Mayor on the first Lord Mayor's Day of their reign, a revival of the ancient pageants was suggested and partly carried out. Among the City Companies, the Armourers, the Braziers, the Skinners, and Fishmongers particularly distinguished themselves; the former exhibited an Archer in a Car, and a Man in Armour; the Skinners were distinguished by seven of their company being dressed in fur, "having their skins painted in the form of Indian princes;" while the Fishmongers exhibited a statue of St. Peter, their patron saint, finely gilt; a dolphin, two mermaids, and two sea-horses.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, in 1711, was the last Lord Mayor who rode in his mayoralty procession on horseback, since which time the Civic Sovereign has always appeared in a coach, attended by his chaplains, and the sword and mace-bearers, the former carrying the pearl sword presented to the City by Queen Elizabeth upon opening the Royal Exchange; the latter supporting the great gold mace, given by Charles I. to the corporation. The present coach, which is the most imposing feature of the modern show, was built in 1757, at a cost of 1065*l.* 3*s.* Cipriani was the artist who decorated its panels with a series of paintings, typical of the Virtues, &c., which may not unaptly be considered as the last relics of the ancient pageants that gave their living representatives on each Lord Mayor's Day, to dole forth good advice to the Chief Magistrate of London.

Men in armour are the anticipated "sights" of our modern civic displays. The armour is generally borrowed from the Tower, or from the theatres. The number of these "armed knights" varies at different times; in 1822, three of them were exhibited, with their attendant squires bearing their sword and shield, accompanied by banner-bearers and heralds. In 1825, five were exhibited, one in copper armour, one in brass scale armour, a third in brass chain mail, the other two being armed in steel and brass. In 1837, the far more attractive novelty was something like a revival of the ancient pageantry, in two colossal figures, representing Gog and Magog, the giants of Guildhall; each walked along by

means of a man withinside, who ever and anon turned their faces; and, as the figures were fourteen feet high, their features were on a level with the first-floor windows. They were extremely well contrived, and appeared to call forth more admiration than fell to the share of the other personages of the procession.

The armed knights and their attendants continued to be the staple ornament of the shows until 1841, when Alderman Pirie exhibited that very ancient feature of a Lord Mayor's Show—a ship, fully rigged and manned, which sailed up Cheapside as "in days lang syne." It was a model of an East Indiaman of large size, the yards filled with boys from the naval schools, and it was placed in a car drawn by six horses; and the attention it attracted would seem to warrant the introduction of some feature in the dull common-place arrangements of the procession, as usually exhibited; and which, considered as the public inauguration of the Chief Magistrate of the first city of the world, is certainly capable of much improvement.



[Statue of Theseus, back view.]

CXXXVI.—THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

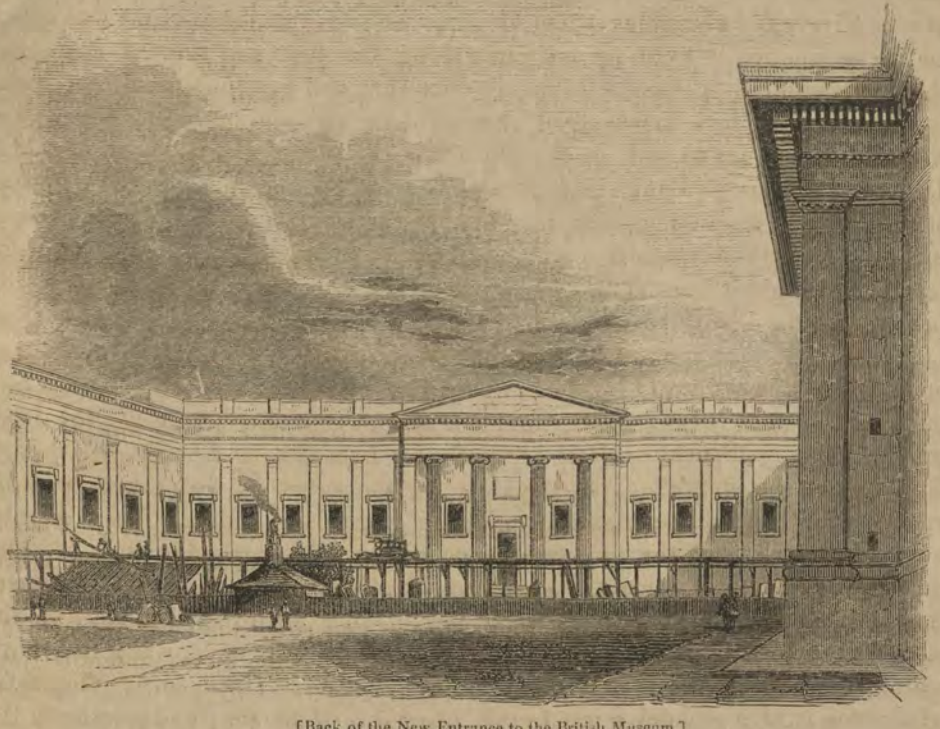
LOOKING at the commencement only of schemes proposed for the benefit of the public, the sanguineness of projectors has become a bye-word among us; and it must be acknowledged not without reason; though at the same time the want of that quality among their audience would, we suspect, appear equally remarkable, if we took a different point of sight, and looked backwards from the existing prosperity of the many important establishments around us, through their previous history, even to the time when they too were but "schemes." We repeat, it must be acknowledged, that projectors are often sanguine; but it is neither without interest or instruction to note in how many instances their visions have been, after all, but as shadows thrown before of the coming event, when compared with the ultimately obtained reality. The British Museum, for example, is a striking case of this kind. Little, we may be sure, did the benevolent Sir Hans Sloane dream of *this* mighty establishment, when he, in effect, founded it, by directing in his will that his library of books and manuscripts, his collection of natural history and works of art, should be offered to the Parliament after his decease for 20,000*l*., its cost having been not less than 50,000*l*. That collection as a whole was the marvel of his day; what would be thought of it now were it separate, we may judge from looking at the fate of its chief department, natural history, which, we are told by competent judges, has insensibly but materially diminished in its comparative value, as the science to which it belonged became better known and appreciated. But, of course, it is not kept separate; and Sir

Hans, if he could revisit his collection in the interminable series of rooms, and the no less interminable series of cases in each room containing it, would be assuredly—whilst bewildered and delighted with the amazing extent and variety of the whole—not a little humiliated to see how small a portion of its essential value was derived immediately from him. Still less would the founder of the Museum have anticipated that the books and manuscripts of which he was so proud should have swelled into that almost unfathomable ocean of literature which we now call the Museum Library; or that his few and not very valuable works of art, then forming a mere appendage to the department of natural history, would be the germ of a grand school for English sculpture, where the richest treasures of ancient Greece should be the daily text-books of a host of students. Above all, although of course he, and his Parliamentary and other supporters, talked and thought about a *people* as the recipients of the benefits to be conferred by the new establishment, it is impossible that, with a knowledge of the tastes and education of the middle and poorer classes of the eighteenth century, they could have anticipated the future crowds among which one should with difficulty make way through the Museum Halls; that, in short, the word—people—could have meant with them what it now means with us, half a million or more of general visitors to this single institution in the course of one year (1842), and which, if the recent rate of increase be continued, will speedily be doubled; that half million, being too, exclusive of the 5672 student visitors to the Sculpture, the 8781 visitors to the Print Room, and of a still more important class of visitors, those to the Reading Room, who, from less than 2000 in the year 1810, have increased to nearly 72,000 in the past year! Contrast this fact with the state of things when Robertson, the historian, thought an introduction to the Reading Room so important a favour, as to demand grateful mention of the friend through whose agency it was accomplished. The growth, indeed, of the British Museum, and of the ideas of the uses to which it might be directed, and, as a natural consequence, of the multitudes who now come hither for study or enjoyment, are among the most significant and satisfactory signs of the times: they mark a great era of social change and improvement, which, of course, Sir Hans, and those who carried out his plans, could not be expected to see, but which they have, however, unconsciously greatly contributed to promote. For the good aimed at, and the still greater good achieved, let us not forget then to honour the name of Sloane; although the authorities, relying perhaps upon the feeling which made Brutus only the more thought of, because his statue was *not* where it ought to have been, seem to have considered it unnecessary, as yet, to erect the statue of their founder, where one naturally looks to find it, in the Court or in the Hall of the Museum.

Those among our readers who may yet have in store the pleasure of a first visit may form some kind of vague notion of the wealth of the Museum, from the mere statements we have given of the numbers whom it annually attracts; but we think it may be safely affirmed that only personal and often repeated inspection, guided too by no inconsiderable amount of acquired knowledge and tastes, can give an adequate idea of this wondrous storehouse of objects brought hither from all parts of the globe, at an expense that is literally incalculable, owing to the variety of modes by which they have been obtained, purchase, gifts,

bequests, loans. From the period of the opening of the Museum, January 15, 1759, there has been a continual stream of additions to every department, some of which, individually, almost equal, whilst two certainly far exceed, the original value of the entire repository. Such was the library of George III., given by his successor, estimated to have cost 200,000*l.*; such were the Elgin marbles, purchased in 1816 for 35,000*l.*, but the true value of which can hardly be over-estimated. In the present century, the building in which the collection was first deposited was found unable to meet any longer the incessant demand for room—room! and on the arrival of the Egyptian monuments, acquired by the capitulation of Alexandria, in 1801, and given by George III. the year after, it became necessary to consider how additions might be made. The Townley marbles and the King's Library set this question at rest, by showing that a new building was necessary. Hence the works still in progress. Montague House, we may pause a moment to state, was built by Ralph Montague, Esq., afterwards Duke of Montague, in the style of a French palace, though from the designs of an Englishman, the celebrated mathematician Hooke. The decorations, chiefly by French artists (Pope's sprawling Verrio among them), were of the most sumptuous character; and the mansion, on its completion, was esteemed the most magnificent private residence in the metropolis. This, however, was not exactly the building purchased for the Museum, a fire having destroyed all but the walls in 1686. Not even a solitary countryman of the Duke was permitted to interfere with the pile which was quickly restored, and, if possible, with enhanced splendour, upon the burnt walls and foundations. Peter Puget was the architect: De la Fosse, Jacques Rousseau, and Baptiste Menoyer, the foremost men in their time and country, in their several walks, were the decorators; the first presiding over the ceilings, the second over the landscapes and architectural paintings of the walls, whilst the third, emulous apparently of the attributes of the floral goddess, scattered about him at every step a profusion of charming and gaily-hued flowers, wooing you by their beauty almost to try if they were not fragrant into the bargain. The Duke was no doubt a rich man, but the expenses of this double erection, the employment of French artists, and the fact that the owner had been twice ambassador to France, taken in connection with the political features of the time, suggested a notion which became widely diffused that Louis XIV. himself undertook the office of treasurer during the rebuilding. It may not be true; but the Duke knew, no doubt, that there was a capital precedent for any such transactions to be found in high places. This was the building subsequently purchased for 10,250*l.* from Lord Halifax, and which is now "nodding to its fall," for as soon as the new works shall be completed, every vestige, we believe, of Montague House will rapidly disappear. These new works may be briefly described as forming chiefly a vast quadrangle, inclosing an inner court, extending about 500 feet from north to south, and about 350 feet from east to west. As a slight indication of the interior arrangements it may be mentioned that the King's Library, a magnificent apartment a hundred yards long, occupies the principal floor of the east side, with the eastern Zoological Gallery above it; that the Reading Room and General Library are on the north side, over which extend, side by side, the north Zoological Gallery and the North Gallery with its minerals and fossils; and that the

Egyptian Saloon, and the Grand Central Saloon (from which last branches off a suite of apartments consisting of an ante-room and the Phigaleian and Elgin Saloons) occupy the lower portions of the finished half of the western side, with the Egyptian and the Etruscan Rooms above. In advance, on each side of the main building or square, houses for the residence of the chief officers of the establishment are in course of erection; whilst, lastly, there is to be a grand street-front to the pile, about 600 feet long, inclosing an outer court, through which we shall pass as at present to the entrance-doors of the Museum. Of the architectural character of any portions of the exterior it were unfair, perhaps, to judge from the specimen that is before us, the view of the buildings of the inner court, as with regard to them it may have been thought unnecessary to aim at any very lofty architectural effects; yet one cannot but fancy so grand an opportunity should have been turned to better purpose.



[Back of the New Entrance to the British Museum.]

Let us now enter, premising by the way that whilst there are few places of exhibition which should not be visited more than once, if worth visiting at all, it is, as respects the British Museum, absolutely necessary not only to come again and again, but to pass through it on something like system, if we would avoid being confounded by the multiplicity of objects that surround us, or by the essential differences that exist between the different departments. The best mode, perhaps, is to go through the whole Museum at once on the first visit, in order to understand its general arrangement, and to learn which portions of it will be most interesting or valuable to us on our subsequent visits, when we can throw

ourselves familiarly at once into whatever corner best pleases us, and there examine and reflect, and compare and inquire, without troubling ourselves as to what objects may be behind or before, satisfied that when we want them there in their proper locality they will be. Most regular and easiest managed of households is this, with all its ranks of conquerors and warriors, civilized and barbarian; its herds of animals, from the giraffe down to the tiniest of four-footed animals; its shoals of fish, and swarms of insects. Sesostris, or, as they call him here, Rameses the Great, mightiest of statues of mightiest of monarchs, seems to look even more benignly placid than ever in such an atmosphere; the terrible-looking gods of the New Zealanders seem to whisper that, grim and blood-stained as they look for consistency's sake, they would not in reality hurt a hair of our heads; the very wild animals, looking so meek and domestic, would evidently roar gently, like Bottom, if it were permitted to them in such an establishment to roar at all. But, in truth, there is something strangely interesting in the general appearance of such diversified assemblages and objects, and a fruitful fancy might find never-ending occupation in twisting and untwisting the fantastic links of connection that are continually presented to it. A somewhat less busy day than the present, however, it must be acknowledged, is needful for such employment; scarcely can we pause a moment to look on the statues in the hall of the lady-sculptor, Mrs. Damer, of Sir Joseph Banks, or of Roubiliac's fine Shakspere, or on the paintings of the staircase, doomed, we fear, to quick destruction. Nay, if we do not press on too, we shall be overwhelmed: seeing already, in imagination, the wonders of the unexplored regions beyond, this party of young visitors from the country directly behind us can see nothing else apparently. Their enthusiasm will wear out but too speedily as they grow older; let them then revel in its impulses now. And mark as they sweep into the rooms where the curiosities from the lands which have long been to them as full of romance as was ever Bagdad itself, the lands which Cook, or Bruce, or Park, or Parry, or Franklin, or Ross have made as familiar and as marvellous to them as are the scenes of that other favourite voyager Sindbad's discoveries and exploits; mark how, amid all their delight, now suppressed from the impossibility of giving adequate expression to their feelings, now bursting almost into a scream of pleasurable surprise at some unanticipated marvel, mark how religiously careful they are to avoid injury to the meanest article within their reach. But why should they *injure* what they have learnt to *value* and even to look upon as, in a measure, their own? Youthful admiration is of a somewhat wandering, insatiable character; and presently the strange dresses, and arms, and furniture, and ornaments, the hideous wooden idols, and thousands of other articles, describable and indescribable, from the Polar regions, New Zealand, or Mexico, are passed with a rapid step; even the poisoned arrows, and the carved bows, cannot detain them many seconds, and the original Magna Charta there in the window they don't understand; so the Mammalia Saloon next receives them ripe for fresh wonders. And now how they run along from case to case, exchanging exclamations with each other, There's the lion! and Here's the hyena! what a running fire of names is kept up, of dogs, foxes, gluttons, bears, hedgehogs, flying squirrels, opossums, antelopes, ant-eaters, and sloths; and above all, when the central spot is reached, where a whole herd of cattle and deer, some of the

last bigger than the first, are seen penned in on one side of the walk, and a mighty giraffe peeping, as it were, out of the lofty skylight on the other, with an enormous walrus, spreading its shapeless bulk along by its feet, there are no bounds to the expressions of youthful amazement. That giraffe has determined in their eyes the satisfactory character of the establishment; the reputation of the Museum is henceforth safe. In vain all this while they are told of the systems of arrangement so admirable here; in vain of distinctions of rapacious beasts and hoofed beasts; in vain of genera and kinds. But they have not yet arrived at the portion which forms the greatest treat of the whole, the birds; the ostriches, the eagles, the vultures; and by the time they do get to the long gallery, which is full of them, from the gigantic emu down to the diminutive humming-bird, they have, as it were, blunted the too eager appetite, and may be observed listening, with something like interest, to the remarks that drop from the speakers around, describing some trait, or relating some anecdote illustrative of the habits or history of the birds before them. This boy here has been listening these last ten minutes to the interesting account of the dodo, that bird once supposed to be fabulous and still believed to be extinct, yet whose existence at no remote period appears to be as unquestionable from the facts recorded, as from the existence of a veritable foot, and head, still preserved, the first here, the second at Oxford: of which head however there is a cast placed beside the foot. And the dodo may well excite the surprise of even older and wiser heads than our young friends here, if the curious painting at the back of the case represents it truly, as there is good reason for presuming it does: the head and foot there, for instance, agree with the head and foot we have referred to. The corroborative historical evidence is also strong. Well, we see in that bird the colour and shortness of wing of the ostrich, with the foot of the common fowl, and the head of the vulture; a combination of characteristics sufficient even to puzzle a Linnæus or an Owen, and make it as difficult for them to place the bird to which they belong in any theoretical system, as the authorities of the Museum have found it to determine the proper position in their practical one. But we must pass on, and we see our country juveniles have not waited for us, but are by this time busy among the shells, far ahead.

We have already incidentally spoken of the excellence of the arrangements that prevail throughout the Museum; and cannot but pause a moment here to give an illustration from the ornithological department. The system observed is that of Temminck, whose generic names are in most cases adopted, with the specific names of Linnæus, and the English synonymes of Latham. Thus we have in cases 1 to 35 the Raptorial birds: vultures, eagles, falcons, buzzards, kites; the last five being confined to the nocturnal birds of the division, such as the owls of different kinds; in cases 36 to 83 we have the Perching birds, subdivided into the wide gaped, as the goat-suckers and swallows; the tenuirostral, as the honey-eaters and wheat-ears; the conirostral, including the crows and finches; and the scansorial, as the parrots and woodpeckers: to these, in cases 84 to 106, succeed the Gallinaceous birds: pigeons, turtles, pheasants, partridges; in cases 107 to 134 the Wading, comprising the ostriches, trumpeters, storks; and lastly, in cases 135 to 166 the Web-footed, as the flamingos, swans, and ducks. An extensive series of cases of eggs of birds, ranged to correspond with the cases of the birds themselves, and placed opposite them, gives completeness to the whole. All

the other departments of natural history are illustrated in the same simple but scientific manner. And with this remark we must pass rapidly by the shells, with their elegant and diversified forms, their transparent surfaces and fairy-like hues, though not without a glance at the "glory of the sea," and the no less glory of the collectors who are fortunate enough to get hold of the precious thing, and at the Iris wave shell, which gives out when wetted brilliant prismatic reflections, and above all at the little nautilus shell, of which Pope sings, and—fiction though the idea contained in the lines is alleged to be—shall continue to sing to us—

> "Learn from the little Nautilus to sail,
> Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale."

Neither must we dwell upon the Portraits, one hundred and sixteen in number, which line the walls of this gallery, longer than will suffice to mention the mere names of a few of the most interesting, as the two portraits of Cromwell in armour, one of them painted by Walker, and given by the great Protector himself to Nathaniel Rich, then a colonel of horse in the Parliamentary army; a Queen of Scots, by Jansen; her obdurate sister-Queen of England, Elizabeth, by Zucchero; Charles II., by Lely; Peter the Great, and Charles XII.; Vesalius, by Sir Antonio More; and Britton, the small-coal man. There is also here a landscape, by Wilson. The Northern Zoological Gallery is devoted chiefly to Reptiles, preserved dry or in spirits, as the lizards, serpents, tortoises, crocodiles; to the Handed beasts, comprising the apes and monkeys; to the Glirine mammalia, under which scientific denomination we are to look for rats and mice, porcupines, hares, and squirrels; and to the Spiny-rayed and anomalous fish. Insects; crustacea, including such animals as the crab and the lobster; corals, star-fish, and sponges are the chief contents of the tables that extend along the floor of the same gallery; whilst over the cases against the walls, containing the animals and fishes, are ranged the larger fish which could not be accommodated within, such as the famous flying sword-fish, sturgeon, and conger. In no department probably is the Museum richer than in its Minerals; the Collection is already superior to any in Europe, and is daily increasing. We can only notice two or three features of it, such as the beautiful specimen of branched native silver, the sculptured tortoise in the centre of the room, brought from the banks of the Jumna, near Allahabad, in Hindostan, and the famous stone used by Dr. Dee and his assistant Kelly, during their communications with spirits, and in which stone the angels Gabriel and Raphael appeared at the call of the enchanters. Hence Butler's lines—

> "Kelly did all his feats upon
> The devil's looking-glass—a stone."

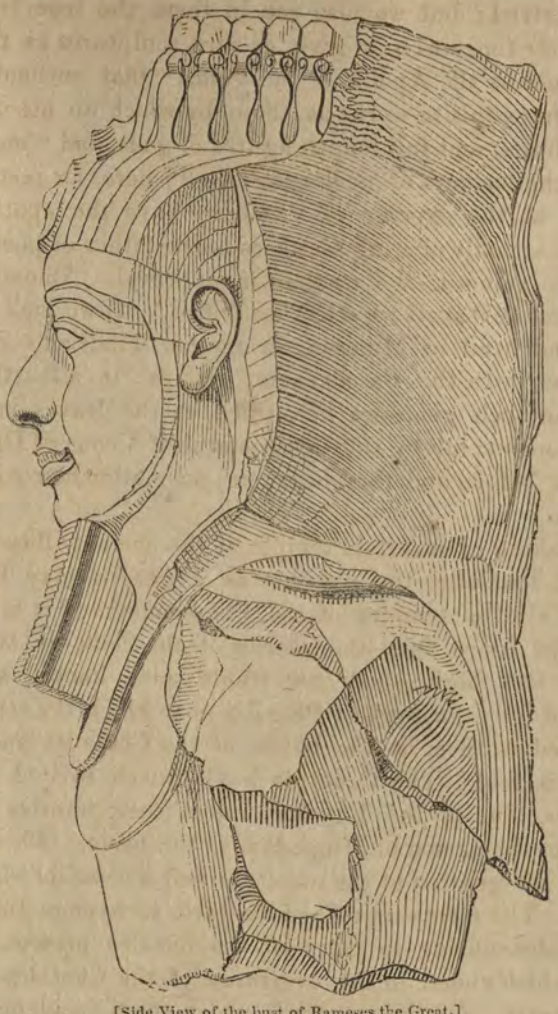
A rich collection of Fossils lines the walls of this gallery, which of itself would form materials for a pleasant volume; but a something infinitely more attractive, the sculptures of Egypt, and Greece, and of Rome are before us, and demand every line of our yet available space. Before, however, descending to the saloons below, containing the sculptures, there are two rooms that should be visited, not merely for their great intrinsic interest, but as furnishing a valuable preparative for the due appreciation of the first series of sculptures, the Egyptian; we allude to the Egyptian room and the Etruscan room, the latter containing a rich collection of vases, the former, every conceivable variety of article relating to the

domestic life, religion, manners and customs, and funereal ceremonies of the people of Egypt. The amazing extent of this collection may be judged from the mere fact that the enumeration of the different objects, with the briefest possible description attached, occupies forty closely-printed pages of the Museum catalogue. Ancient Egypt here revives before us—Osiris and Isis are no longer mere names, we behold them face to face, as their worshippers beheld them; who are here also represented, and that so numerously in their mummies and mummy cases, and who look so life-like from out their portraits upon us, that one is half tempted to question them; and many a knotty riddle could no doubt be solved if the humblest of them would but speak. Yes, here are the very people of Egypt themselves; we see the expression of their faces, the colour of their hair, the outlines of their form; we know their very names, and their professions; this, for instance, is Otaineb, no Egyptian born, but one, no doubt, by naturalization, as the gods of the country are exhibited on the case taking especial care of him; Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury, is there seen introducing him to the many deities

[Mummy Case, or Coffin of Otaineb.]

to whom the different parts of his body are respectively dedicated. This again is Hor, or Horus, incense-bearer to the abode of Noum-ra; this, Onkhhapê, a sacred musician; this, Khonsaouonkh, a sacerdotal functionary and scribe; this, Kotbi, a priestess of the Theban temple of Amoun; that, Har-sont-ioft, a priest of the same building. From hence we descend a staircase to the Egyptian Saloon, passing midway the unrolled papyri, on the walls of a small vestibule leading to the Print room, which is famous through the European circles of artists and collectors, for its Drawings and Prints of the Flemish and Dutch schools, and which may be considered wealthy in most departments. The arrangements of this part of the building are, it appears to us, remarkably happy. The mind brought into a fit state by the contemplation of the miscellaneous antiquities of Egypt,—we step into the saloon, and find ourselves suddenly introduced into a strange and primeval looking world of art, peopled by gigantic statues, and still more gigantic parts of statues; a studio such as the Titans might have revelled in, had any of them ever turned artists. And finely, most finely, does the aspect of the place harmonise with its essential history. It is what it appears; the broken and scattered portions of the mighty foundation upon which the subsequent schools of Greece and Rome were built up, and by means of which the sculptors of those countries raised the Greek and Roman names to their highest points of permanent glory: for what are the other glories of those nations now? who would willingly exchange the possession of a Theseus in our museums, for the record of the mightiest of Grecian conquests in our books? who would not willingly, if it were possible, give back to oblivion the whole of the Roman victories, if oblivion would teach us in return where to find some of the many great works of art belonging to that country, and mentioned in ancient writers, which have been lost? But, to return, the sculptures in the Egyptian Saloon are scarcely less valuable in themselves than in their connection with artistical history. Is there not something inexpressibly beautiful in this head of Sesostris (the young Memnon, as it was formerly but incorrectly called) in spite of the disadvantages attending the conventionalisms of art at the period of its execution? Here are thick lips, projecting eyes, rounded nose, besides other less striking deviations from the loftiest standard of human beauty; yet such was the power of the artist that he has made them as naught; he has, in spite of them, left to remotest posterity on that enormous block of hard stone, so hard that our finest tempered tools can hardly make any impression upon it, an evidence of genius, that may rival, all things considered, the loftiest of succeeding ages. This work, the most precious of Egyptian remains, was found among the ruins of the Memnonium at Thebes, and brought from thence to the Nile by Belzoni, who gives a very interesting account of the difficulties of his task, having no other implements than "fourteen poles, eight of which were employed in making a sort of car to lay the bust on, four ropes of palm leaves, and four rollers, without tackle of any sort," no other assistants than a few ignorant Arabs; and having, in addition, to contend with the intrigues of the local governor, and of the French consul, and the fright of the boat-owner, lest his vessel should be sunk. The bust, which is above eight feet high, formed part of a sitting statue, about twenty-four feet high.

Among the multiplicity of other important works in the Egyptian Saloon, we



[Side View of the bust of Rameses the Great.]

may particularly direct attention to the colossal seated statue of Amenoph III., from the Temple of Memnon; the sarcophagi of different forms, some sculptured and one painted; the numerous statues of Bubastis, the Egyptian Diana, having the head of an animal upon a human body; the colossal lions; and the Rosetta stone, containing three inscriptions of the same import, one in hieroglyphics, another in the ancient vernacular language of Egypt, and another in the Greek, recording the services of Ptolemy V., and which were engraved by order of the high priests, assembled at Memphis to invest him with the royal prerogative.

Facing us, in the centre of the Grand Saloon, are some of the newly-obtained Xanthian marbles, also most appropriately placed midway between the Egyptian Saloon and the saloons and apartments containing the Phigalian, Elgin, and Townley marbles; for whilst these last exhibit Grecian art in its perfection, the first show that same art in its earlier stages, struggling, as it were, for emancipation from Egyptian bondage; we see in them a certain stiffness and precision that serves to remind us of the country of the Nile, from which most probably those

qualities were derived; but we also see in them the true Greek feeling and touch which in later times were to give us such sculptures as those of the Parthenon, such statues as the Apollo, or the Venus "that enchants the world," or, we may add, such exquisite works as those by which we are here surrounded; these heads and busts, and full length figures of gods, and "men like gods," not wanting, too, in the honours of deification itself; here, for instance, in this bas-relief, purchased at the expense of 1000*l.*, we have the apotheosis of Homer where figures are actually offering sacrifices to the father of poetry, whilst Jupiter looks on from the summit of Parnassus in approval. Among the many other gems of the saloon how shall we select for notice? If we look in one direction there is the grand head of Minerva, in another Hadrian's sumptuous statue, in a third the vase with the Bacchanalian groups; in a fourth—but it is useless to go on, for such gems are here thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa; so we pause for a moment only by this lovely statue of Venus or Dione, naked to the waist, but draped below, and then hurry on, no matter how reluctantly, into the Phigalian Saloon.

Pausanias, speaking of a certain temple at the ancient Bassæ on Mount Cotylion, says of it, that after the temple "at Tegea, it may be considered the most beautiful of all the temples of the Peloponnesus;" it is of this building that we possess the frieze from the interior of the cella, in twenty-three slabs, each about two feet high; and the whole now known as the Phigalian marbles, so named from the town of Phigalia near which the temple stood. The subject represented on them is the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. The story may be thus told. The Centaurs having been invited to the marriage-feast of Pirithöus, king of the Lapithæ, one of their number, called Eurytion, offered violence to the person of Hippodamia, the bride. Theseus, the friend of Pirithöus, in his indignation at the insult, hurled a vessel of wine at the offender, who fell lifeless. The Centaurs rushed forward to avenge their companion, at the same time endeavouring to carry off the females present, when a general combat ensued, which ended in the overthrow of the Centaurs and their being driven from Thessaly. Of the manner in which these incidents are represented in the sculptures, our engraving of one of the slabs will give the best notion. We need only observe that the lofty beauty of the figures, the harmony of the composition, and the wonderful vigour and life that informs the whole, make

[Slab from the Phigalian Marbles.]

it not improbable that they are from the designs of Phidias himself. Ictinus was the architect of the Temple of Apollo, to which the Phigalian marbles belonged, the same who was associated with Callistratus in the erection of the Parthenon, during the administration of Pericles, and at a time when Phidias had the general direction of the public works. Now we know that this great sculptor superintended the decorations of the one temple, and that many of them were from his own hands; it is probable, therefore, the same arrangement prevailed as to the other. The similarity between the styles is most striking, as the visitor will at once acknowledge, if stepping from the frieze of the Phigalian Saloon he goes direct to the Metopes of the Parthenon in the Elgin Saloon, where the same subject is represented. It is strange the Greeks should have prevented their sculptors from doing their best to prevent such doubts, in forbidding them to inscribe their names upon their productions, as it is evident they did. Phidias is a memorable instance. The interior of the Parthenon was enriched with a statue of Minerva, one of Phidias's master-pieces. On the shield of the goddess a figure was seen, old and bald, uplifting a stone, which Cicero says was done by the artist to perpetuate his memory, since he was not permitted to inscribe his name upon the statue. Aristotle further informs us that the shield was constructed with such extraordinary ingenuity that removal was impossible, without causing the fall of the whole group among which the artist had placed himself. But his was a name the world would not—will not—let willingly die, inscribed or not inscribed. The loftiest desire that a truly great mind can cherish is that of influencing the minds of others kindred to its own, and through them the world generally: Phidias died more than two thousand years ago; but behold the power of genius—daily and hourly is the spirit of the Greek sculptor teaching and inspiring our students, and extending its subtle and penetrating influence through every department of our arts. The means by which such potent effects are achieved are the Elgin marbles, so named from the Earl of Elgin, who obtained them between the years 1801 and 1812, chiefly from the remains of the Parthenon. This grand temple was constructed entirely of white marble, and decorated as never building was before or since. The sculptures in the Museum which belonged to it are of three kinds; Metopes, the square-shaped intervals between the raised tablets or tryglyphs of a Doric frieze, the Frieze itself, imperfect, and Statues, broken or entire, from the pediments. The Metopes, we have already incidentally stated, represent the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. The frieze is devoted to the solemn procession called the Panathenæa, which took place at Athens every five years in honour of Minerva, the guardian divinity of the city, when something like a whole people conveyed the sacred veil to the temple, which was to be hung up before the statue of the goddess within: one of the mightiest subjects sculpture ever attempted, and the most mightily executed. In the original state of the frieze, which occupied the upper part of the walls within the colonnade, the figures advanced in parallel columns, one along the northern and the other along the southern sides of the temple, then turning the angles of the west front met towards the centre as ready to enter. What remains of the frieze is now arranged around the walls of the saloon, so as to appear in the same order to a visitor here as they would formerly have appeared to a spectator who, approaching the temple by the east, should walk in succession round the north, west, and south sides. These remains are very considerable, amounting

to about 249 feet, to which may be added plaster casts of 76 feet more. The chief deficiency is in the western frieze, of which but a single original slab remains, and that is of such exquisite beauty as to enhance the sense of the loss we have incurred by the absence of the remainder. But, probably, the finest portions of the whole are found on the northern frieze, where the chariots and charioteers are seen sweeping on in the procession, followed by a train of horsemen. Movement is here so vividly represented that you can hardly fancy but that the whole are actually passing away before your eyes; whilst if you examine into the details, the perfect form and spirited action of the horses, the graceful and airy costume, and elegant *abandon*, as it were, of the *seat* of the riders, every one of whom the artist must have intended to "witch the world with noble horsemanship," you can only feel how inadequate will be any praise or admiration that can be expressed in words of the marvellous productions before you. Then the variety—it is endless. Of a hundred and ten horses introduced, no two are in

[The Panathenaic Frieze.]

the same attitude; each is characterised by a marked difference of expression. The bridles of the horses were originally of gilded bronze. The principal Statues in the Elgin collection belonged to one or other of the two pediments of the Parthenon; one of which represented the birth of Minerva, the other the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the guardianship of Attica. The recumbent statue called Theseus belonged to the first; and the statue of Ilissus, or the river god, to the second: both are seriously mutilated, and both are, notwithstanding that drawback, esteemed by our greatest artists as the grandest individual specimens of sculpture the world can furnish.

The Townley Collection was begun at Rome, by Charles Townley, Esq., of Townley, in Lancashire, about 1768, and was so unremittingly and liberally increased that, when the whole was offered to the nation (at two different periods), the sums voted by Parliament for their purchase amounted to 28,200*l*. These are arranged partly in the Grand Saloon, and its ante-room, but chiefly in the series of rooms that extend southward from the Grand Saloon, and which will shortly be rebuilt in continuation of the line formed by the latter and the Egyptian Saloon. As this gallery forms the general or miscellaneous collection of the

Museum in antiquities, many important additions have been made to it, since the period of the purchase. Returning through the Phigalian Saloon, towards the ante-room, our eyes are attracted by the two great pediments which decorate the upper portions of the walls of the saloon, which it appears are exact copies in size and in decoration of the eastern and western extremities of the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina. The statues also, which give to the pediments such a striking effect, standing out like so many real figures, are mostly originals, and occupying their original position. The restorations that have been made were confided to admirable hands—Thorwaldsen's. For the information necessary for restoration of the pediments, and the general arrangement of the statues in them, we are indebted to Mr. Cockerell, who, with other gentlemen, carried on careful and extensive excavation among the ruins of the Temple. As the ante-room is chiefly devoted to Roman sepulchral antiquities, we need not delay there, but pass on to the first of the series of rooms above mentioned, the Room XII. of the Catalogue. Here, among a variety of beautiful works, such as the Cupid sleeping, the head of Adonis covered with a hood, is the bust of a female, issuing from amidst the petals of a flower, which Mr. Townley esteemed the gem of his gallery, as we know from a curious anecdote connected with it. During the Gordon riots, Mr. Townley, as a catholic, was marked out by the mob, who intended to attack the house in Park Street where all his darling treasures were collected. He secured his cabinet of gems, and casting a long and lingering look behind at his marbles, was about to leave them to their fate, when, moved by some irrepressible impulse of affection, he took the bust in question into his arms and hurried off with it to his carriage. Fortunately the attack did not take place, and his "wife," as he called the lady represented, returned to her companions. In Room XI. the most valuable piece of sculpture probably is the Discobolus, which is supposed to be an ancient copy in marble of the celebrated bronze statue by Myro; who, by the way, like Phidias, secretly rebelled against the rule we have referred to; for he put his name on a statue of Apollo, but in letters almost imperceptible, and upon a part of one of the thighs where it would be likely to remain undiscovered, except upon close search. The intoxicated Faun, the sleeping Mercury, the bronze Hercules, and the bronze Apollo, of this room, are scarcely less distinguished for their excellence. Sir William Hamilton's miscellaneous collection of antiquities occupies the tenth room, and in the ninth, on the upper floor, ascended by a staircase on the left, is the unique Portland or Barberini vase, so often described. The eighth room of the series is unoccupied, and the seventh devoted to British antiquities, upon which our space will not permit us to dwell: so we pass on at once to the last of the rooms that we shall notice, the sixth, rich beyond measure in the finest treasures of the past. Did ever poet or sculptor, for instance, conceive any thing more exquisitely lovely in form than this broken, headless, leg-less, and all but arm-less torso of Venus still appears, in spite of all injuries and mutilations? Or any thing more expressive, more Cupid-like, than the statue of the mischievous divinity bending his bow, ready for action, as shown in our last page? There is a speculation connected with this work of a noticeable character Pausanias observes, speaking of Praxiteles and the courtesan Phryne, that the latter, "whose influence over the sculptor seems to have been considerable," was "anxious to possess a work of Praxiteles, and not knowing, when she was desired

[Torso of Venus.]

to choose for herself, which of two exquisite statues to select, devised the following expedient. She commanded a servant to hasten to him and tell him that his workshop was in flames, and that with few exceptions his works had already perished. Praxiteles, not doubting the truth of the announcement, rushed out in the greatest alarm and anxiety, exclaiming, 'all was lost if his Satyr and Cupid were not saved.' The object of Phryne was answered; she confessed her stratagem, and immediately chose the Cupid." Now, is not the statue in the Museum a copy of the one here referred to? If the statue of Cupid, described by Callistratus as a most admired work of Praxiteles, be Phryne's, which is most probable, then, as the Museum statue agrees exactly with that description, there is little doubt but we are in possession of a copy of the favourite work of this illustrious Grecian artist. It is not quite two feet high, and was found in 1775 enclosed within a large vase, about twelve miles from Rome: the vacancies in the vase round the statue were carefully filled with earth.

We have thus noted the more prominent objects that arrest the attention in passing through the Museum; but what a host remain behind, scarcely if at all less worthy of note, in every apartment we have passed through! Nor is that all. There are entire departments of which we have said nothing, or referred to but incidentally, and of which we can now but give little more than the names. Such are the Medal Room, an aggregate of several collections, each of an extensive character; the Manuscript department, the very catalogues of which form a small library; the General Library of printed books, now, in connection with the King's, on a par with the greatest continental libraries, and which is constantly increasing through the new books brought into it by the operation of the Copyright law, and in consequence of the sum of money set apart, nearly 2000*l.* yearly, for the purchase of old or foreign works; and the Banksian, or Botanical, department, which is on the very first scale of magnitude and completeness. Truly the *British* Museum is worthy of its name.

It will be evident that the expenses of such an establishment must be considerable; and that many persons must be occupied in fulfilling the duties attached

to it; but the number of the last will surprise, we fancy, those who are but slightly acquainted with the economy of the place. There is first a Principal Librarian, next a Secretary, then there are seven keepers of departments, next six assistant keepers. In addition to these, above 30 persons of literary eminence are constantly employed as assistants. A clerk of the works and an accountant are also permanently attached. Lastly, there is a little army of attendants dispersed through the libraries, saloons, and apartments, nearly seventy strong; with a corps of subterranean bookbinders, averaging probably thirty strong, with a few fumatori * or cast makers, exclusive of other regular and irregular appendages, such as household servants and labourers. The reader will now be prepared to see a somewhat considerable sum mentioned as the annual expenditure in this way alone; and it is considerable, namely, for the year 1842, 15,258*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; the entire expenses of the establishment in the same period being 31,658*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, which, we need hardly say, was chiefly defrayed by the annual parliamentary vote.

* It will interest those who may not be already aware of the circumstance, that casts of the finest things in the Museum can be obtained at an expense that is little more than sufficient to cover the actual costs. Thus a cast from Mr. Townley's favourite bust is charged only half-a-guinea.

[Statue of Cupid, Townley Collection.]

[Hanover Square Rooms.]

CXXXVII.—MUSIC.

THE earliest known pieces of English musical composition which present even a semblance of approach to melody and harmony, as we now understand these words, are the song of the battle of Azincour, the offspring, no doubt, of some enthusiastic and patriotic musician of the time, which is preserved in the Pepysian collection, Cambridge; and a canon in unison, in four parts, with a free tenor and base added by way of burden, set to the delightful old Anglo-Saxon song—

"Summer is y coming in
Loud sing cuckoo;" &c.

neither of these pieces exhibiting any remarkable qualities, from which we might infer that their predecessors must have been either numerous or excellent. How low then must have been the state of English music up to the period in question seems to be a remark naturally suggested by the consideration of such facts. Yet whilst it is sufficiently evident that music, during the middle ages, was not what

it is now, there are many things which seem to show that—such as it was—music was more universally appreciated and enjoyed among our forefathers than it is among ourselves, notwithstanding our concerts, festivals, and oratorios, our monster halls, orchestras, and audiences. The proofs for instances are innumerable, that one of the most valuable features of a truly musical people, and which is also one of the most indispensable conditions of their existence, the power of playing on one instrument at least, was deemed a necessary part of the education of all persons of superior rank and condition, from the very earliest periods. It was by no accident of individual taste, for instance, that Alfred was enabled to assume the disguise of a minstrel, during his dangerous visit to the Danish camp; for we find that several other princes, Saxon and Danish, adopted at different times the same expedient. Bede even tells us that the harp, of which distinct forms will be perceived in the accompanying engravings, was in com-

[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, showing various Musical Instruments, from the Cotton MSS.]

mon use among his countrymen on festivals, when he adds the custom was for it to be handed round the company, that *all* might sing and perform in turn. If we look to another class, and a mighty one in numbers alone, apart from other

considerations, the clergy, we perceive, at a glance, that the very duties of their office, involving a continual study and practice and exhibition of the art, must have made them essentially a musical class; but it was more than a duty, a pleasure also; from the day St. Augustine and his companions first sung or chanted before King Ethelbert, down to that when Thomas, archbishop of York, in the twelfth century, not content with the ordinary resources of the church, pressed into the service whatever song tunes of the minstrels pleased him, we find the members of our cathedrals and abbeys, and parochial churches, constantly doing something to diffuse, to develop, or to improve the art. We learn from the author before-mentioned that the pope, in 678, sent one John from Rome expressly to teach music to the English clergy; and that, in consequence, they began universally to use singing in their churches. An amusing instance of the value attached to a little musical knowledge, in the following century, is furnished by the appointment of one Putna, "a simple man in worldly matters," but well instructed in ecclesiastical discipline, and especially accomplished in song and music for the church, to the bishopric of Rochester. And, probably, he got on very well while there were no particular difficulties to be surmounted in the performance of the onerous functions attached to his rank; but on the spoliation of his church by the Mercians a few years after, he went contentedly off to Servulf, Bishop of Mercia, and there obtaining of him a small cure and a portion of ground, remained in that country; not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learn music, wheresoever he was required or could get entertainment."* But sterner minds could sympathise with the taste if they would not, under similar circumstances, have followed the example of the simple-minded Putna. Dunstan was almost as famous for his harp-playing as for his peculiar conferences with princes and potentates, natural and supernatural. As to the people, it is not difficult to see what must have been the inevitable effect of the influences thus surrounding them, in the musical tendencies of the two great and governing, and in every way, influential classes. Wherever they moved, music met them—now with its mighty voice pealing forth from the organ, as they stepped into the sacred edifice, and now rising upon the simple but sublimely-sounding chant of the passing procession as they hurried along to their daily labour; now echoing through the halls of their feudal lord, commemorating the glories of his line, in which they had so material a share, and now rousing them to renewed exertions as he led them forth to fresh fields of warfare. We might almost say music never left them: scarcely had one festival passed before another was expected; the minstrel guest of to-day—of all guests the most universally acceptable and welcome, from the battlemented castle to the humblest hut—as he poured forth his collected treasures to the absorbed groups about him, was told of the songs of his predecessor of yesterday; the very watchmen of the neighbouring city walls—the original *waits*, made musical the night by their "pipings" the long year through.

But we are not left entirely without evidence of a more direct and positive character. The true classical land of Britain, if we believe the Irish historians,

* Holinshed.

[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, representing a Dance with Musicians, from the Cotton MSS.]

was the Green Isle itself, and certainly the position of that country was as remarkable for its superiority, at a very distant period, as it is now for the reverse. We have before had occasion to show the literary obligations of England to Ireland; its musical appear to be equally signal. And in this it stands but in the same position as Wales and Scotland; the national music of the whole having been traced to Ireland. Nay, there have not been wanting Italian writers to confess their faith in the Hibernian paternity of the Italian school. The state of the instrumental music of such a nation, then, is an interesting subject, and Giraldus Cambrensis gives us a passage, of some importance, relating to it. Having described their instrumental music as, beyond comparison, superior to that of any nation he had known, he says their modulation "is not slow and solemn, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are accustomed, but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet, at the same time, sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful how, in such precipitate rapidity of the fingers, the musical proportions are preserved; and how, by their art, faultless throughout, in the midst of their complicated modulations and most intricate arrangement of notes, by a rapidity so sweet, a regularity so irregular, a concord so discordant,* the melody is rendered harmonious and perfect." Then, again, in another department, the same writer tells us, the Welsh practised vocal harmony in many parts, and that the people of York, and beyond the Humber, were accustomed to sing in two parts, treble and base. Lastly, as to song singing, it should seem that following the Italian scale in the eleventh century, the Italian style had crept in by degrees, before the thirteenth, when John of Salisbury says of the singers in the churches, that they "endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude

* Ford might have been thinking of this passage when he wrote the following lines, in his exquisite account of the contention of a bird and a musician:

> "Upon his instrument he plays so swiftly,
> So many voluntaries, and so quick,
> That there was curiosity and cunning,
> Concord in discord, lines of different method,
> Meeting in one full centre of delight."

with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain luxuriancy of voice." Still later, Chaucer, in his 'Romaunt of the Rose,' describes a lady's performances in terms that imply no mean style of the art at the period.—

"Well could she sing, and lustily,
None half so well and seem-e-ly,
And could make in song such réfraining,*
It sate her wonder well to sing.
Her voice full clear was, and full sweet
She was not rude, ne yet unmeet,
But couthe† enough for such doing
As longeth unto carolling."

Some of these notices seem to show that even the art of music can hardly have been so low, in the early ages of our history, as a slight glance at some of the facts we have mentioned would lead us to suppose. Look, for instance, at the number of instruments possessed by the Anglo-Saxons. In some of their illuminations we find the minstrels with the pipe and tabor, violin, base flute, lute or cittern, and treble or old English flute; in the one at page 178, a harp, violin, horn, and a kind of straight trumpet; and in page 180, a lyre, and a double-flute, which, remarkably enough, are of the exact classical shape. Here we have apparently the parent of the modern trombone. Bells, of course, were common.

[[Anglo-Saxon Illumination, from the 'Cotton MSS.']]

The cymbal and drum were also among the Anglo-Saxon instruments. The chief instrument of the church was the organ, the making of which we find the Archbishop of York before mentioned sedulously engaged in teaching to his clergy soon after the Conquest. In the fourteenth century Chaucer, in 'The Flower and the Leaf,' speaks of

——— "Minstrels, many one,
As harpes, pipes, lutes, and sautry,
Alle in green;"

whilst in the band, as we may call it, of Edward III.'s household we find mention made of performers on the oboe, clarion, and tabret; and, lastly, in an illumination of the period, we are presented with the hand-organ, or dulcimer.

* Refrain, the burden of a song, or return to the first part. † Knew.

How then is it that we have no remains of the music of so musical a people, older than the fifteenth century? The answer we think must be, that putting aside technical considerations relating to the art, which was, of course, as an art, in a very rude state prior to the invention, by Guido d'Arezzo, of the scale in the eleventh century; and of the other improvements that speedily followed,

[Dulcimer and Violin.]

the fact seems to be that music in ancient times in Greece, and Rome, as well as in England, meant poetry even more than music; that the last, though studied —and most assiduously studied—was intended rather as a delightful vehicle for the accompanying words, than for its own sake. But in such a view there is nothing opposed to the position with which we set out. On the contrary, the ground-work of all music, even in its loftiest developments, melody, must have flourished under such circumstances. When the minstrel's heart swelled with his theme, and his voice sought to give it adequate expression in song, he was placed under the most favourable influences for the production of essentially good, because characteristic music; and it is hardly too much therefore to say, that could we summon from the shadowy regions of the past a Taillefer, to sing us the song of Roland, as he poured it forth in leading the attack at the battle of Hastings; or could we ourselves be carried back into them, and listen to the song of Blondel as he raised it near the castle where he thought the Lion Heart might be confined, and had the exquisite delight of immediately hearing the continuation sung, by way of answer, from one of the windows: could we really know the value and amount of the musical stores of such men,—we should never again think of the paucity of our musical remains with any other sentiment than that of regret at the consideration of how much we must have lost.

In the general invigoration of feeling and intellect produced by the Reformation, our musicians did not fail to participate; from that time we may date the origin of modern English music. Then began to arise, in quick and remarkable succession, a host of men whose works, in many instances, are not merely known but enjoyed at the present day. Tye was the earliest of these; who was music-

preceptor to Prince, afterwards King, Edward VI. Rowley, the dramatist, makes the Prince thus speak to the doctor in one of his plays:

> "Doctor, I thank you, and commend your cunning.
> I oft have heard my father merrily speak
> In your high praise; and thus his highness saith—
> England one God, one truth, one doctor hath
> In music's art, and that is Dr. Tye,
> Admir'd for skill in music's harmony."

Surely there is nothing new under the sun: What is this but the original of the famous exclamation, "One God, one Farinelli"? This is the musician who, at a later period, was playing somewhat too scientifically before Queen Elizabeth, and caused her to send the verger to tell him that he played out of tune; to which the testy doctor returned, that "her ears were out of tune." Contemporary with Tye were Tallis and Bride—the latter the author of the glorious '*Non nobis, Domine.*' These were chiefly distinguished for their church music. But the time of Elizabeth is still more remarkable for its madrigalian composers, who, in number and excellence, almost form to music what the dramatists of the same period are to poetry. Morley was one of them; Dowland—the immortalised of Shakspere's poems;

> "Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
> Upon the lute doth ravish human sense"—

was another, whose madrigals are so exquisitely beautiful as to give ten-fold interest to the lines; Wilbye, a still greater name, was a third: to these, among many others, must be added, Ford, Ward, and Gibbons; the last equally illustrious for his cathedral music. Suddenly the growing prosperity of the art was arrested by the civil wars, and the ensuing Commonwealth, when music and musicians were alike proscribed; although it is a noticeable trait in Cromwell's character that he, who had so just an appreciation of what was most valuable in art as to purchase the Cartoons, seems to have been also devotedly attached to music in its sublimest forms. When the great organ of Magdalen College, Oxford, was forcibly removed, the Protector caused it to be carefully taken to his palace at Hampton Court, and placed in the gallery, where it formed one of his especial enjoyments, when he could steal an hour from the absorbing cares of the state, to come hither and listen. Hingston was his organist, who gave occasional concerts in his house, and these Cromwell also attended. No doubt musicians yearned for the termination of a period so generally fatal to their pursuit; but when that desire was gratified by the Restoration, the result was anything but what they must have anticipated. It was a pity that the French people did not devise some expedient of attaching permanently to their country a monarch who was so fond of all that belonged to them, and had so little respect for his countrymen. With French manners and French literature, French music also accompanied or followed the returning steps of the long-exiled prince. And although the impulse previously given was too powerful to be suddenly checked, and great British composers still occasionally appeared, fashion did as much as it could to keep down such attempts, and to a certain extent succeeded. But in this reign an event of some novelty and of great importance occurred, the in-

fluence of which in preserving a certain amount of pure taste, and consequently of genuine relish for the excellence of the native school, can hardly be overrated. We allude to the rise of concerts.

Sir John Hawkins gives but a melancholy view of the opportunities furnished to the middle and lower classes of society, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, for the study and enjoyment of music. The nobility had, of course, private concerts of paid performers, as, to a certain extent, they had, probably, always been accustomed to have; then, for a class lower in position, we find a kind of public concerts gradually growing into use, of which the chief manager was Mr. John Banister; but as to the people generally, it seems the musical portion of them was satisfied with entertainments given in public-houses, and by performers hired by the landlords. Here, says Sir John, there was no variety of parts, no commixture of different instruments; "half a dozen of fiddlers would scrape Sellenger's (or St. Leger's) Round, or John come Kiss me, or Old Simon the King, with divisions, till themselves and their audience were tired; after which as many players on the hautboy would, in the most harsh and discordant tones, grate forth Green Sleeves, Yellow Stockings, Gillian of Croydon, or some such common dance tune, and the people thought it fair music." * But a great reformation was at hand, though every one was astonished at the quarter from whence it came. There was then to be seen daily, walking through the streets of London, a man distinguished from his rivals in the same trade—that of selling small-coal from a bag carried over his shoulder—by his peculiar musical cry, by his habits of stopping at every book-stall that lay in his way, where, if there happened to be a treasure, it was sure to be caught up and purchased, and by his acquaintances, many of whom, as they paused to speak to him in the street, were evidently members of a very different rank of society to his. Ask any bye-stander you see gazing upon him with a look of mingled respect and wonder, who or what he is, and you are answered—That is the "Small-coal man, who is a lover of learning, a performer in music, and a companion for a gentleman any day of his life." It is, indeed, Thomas Britton, the founder of modern concerts. Let us follow him home. He has done his day's work, and is thinking, probably, of some interesting speculation that has been started in the course of his usual weekly meeting in Paternoster Row, with the dukes and earls, who are, like him, collectors; of more wealth, certainly, but not of greater taste, knowledge, or zeal; or else he is running over in his mind the pieces of music that he thinks of selecting for the evening's amusement. Thus, to his little coal-shed and house in Clerkenwell cheerily he goes, where all traces of the business of the day soon disappear; an hour or two elapses, and he is in the midst of a delightful circle of friends and fellow-amateurs, exchanging sincere gratulations, paying his respects to new visitors, opening music books, and tuning his violin. That is indeed a remarkable circle for a small-coal man to draw around him. Know you not the broken German of that last comer who sits down to the harpsichord?—O yes, that is Handel, the great foreign musician; and by his side is Dr. Pepusch, who is also a foreigner, and who has also adopted England for his home. That other pair are Woollaston the painter, and Hughes the poet; the former has just shown a

* 'History of Music,' vol. i. p. 2.

portrait of Britton he has this day sketched, having called him in as he went his rounds; and the latter, with an exclamation of pleasure, recognises a capital likeness of the host. The poet will not be behind the painter in contributing from the stores of his art to the honour of an excellent man, so a few lines are presently roughly traced with a pencil beneath the sketch; which is then handed round by the pleased artist, who sees how happily the two will one day preserve the memory of their friend.

[Thomas Britton.]

"Though mean thy rank, yet in thy humble cell
Did gentle peace, and arts, unpurchas'd, dwell.
Well pleas'd, Apollo thither led his train,
And music warbled in her sweetest strain.
Cyllenius so, as fables tell, and Jove,
Came willing guests to poor Philemon's grove.
Let useless pomp behold, and blush to find
So low a station—such a liberal mind."

But whose delicious silvery-sounding laugh is that on the stairs, produced apparently by the repeated trips of the laugher, as she endeavours to ascend with her usual step stairs to her of a very unusual character? She enters; her face, one of the most beautiful in the world, a little flushed with her conquest over the difficulties of the way, but radiant with good-humour; it is no less than the Duchess of Queensberry, who comes this evening to share in the musical hospitalities of the small-coal man. But the music begins, and in the taste with which it has been selected, and in the style in which everything is performed, the duchess finds continual matter of surprise and gratification.

These interesting meetings, which began in 1678, appear to have been continued till the death of Britton, which, it is painful to add, occurred indirectly through them. A justice Robe was among the members, one of those greatest of social nuisances, a practical joker. This man introduced into Britton's company a ventriloquist of the name of Honeyman, who, making his voice descend apparently from on high, announced to Britton his immediate decease, and bade him, on his knees, repeat the Lord's Prayer by way of preparation. The command was obeyed; and a few days afterward the subject of it was lying a corpse, overcome by the terrors of his imagination thus recklessly and basely worked upon.

The impulse given by the establishment of the small-coal man's concerts soon extended itself. In one direction "music-shops" of different kinds and different grades arose; whilst in another, societies sprang into existence for the mere enjoyment and promotion of music only, apart from any pecuniary considerations. First of these, and therefore the first of such societies in England, was the Academy of Ancient Concerts, established in 1710, for the practice of ancient vocal and instrumental music; among the principal founders being Dr. Pepusch and Bernard Gates of the Queen's Chapel. A library was commenced; and, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the chapel, the choir of St. Paul's, and the boys from each, a powerful executive formed. For above eighty years did this society exist (it was dissolved in 1792), during which many and weighty were the especial services rendered by it to music, apart from the beneficial tendencies of its general course. One of these occurred in 1732. Handel, after rising to the summit of popularity, had offended his more aristocratic supporters during his management of the Italian Opera, and, in consequence, been driven into retirement with the loss of 10,000*l.*, and with a broken constitution. At the time we have mentioned, the quarrel was still raging, and the great musician's position almost desperate. Then it was that during Lent the Academy brought forward the oratorio of Esther (which had been composed by Handel for the Duke of Chandos's chapel at Cannons); and performed it by means of their own members and the children of the chapel only: the boys of St. Paul's having been taken away by Dr. Greene, on the occasion of a schism in the society, who then opened the Apollo room in the Devil Tavern; on hearing of which Handel, who had been indirectly a cause of the schism, remarked wittily, "De toctor Creene is gone to the tefel!" Although thus shorn of its fair proportions, the Academy exhibited Esther with such remarkable success, that Handel thought he might try the same experiment on his own account; hence arose the custom of regularly performing oratorios in Lent. Deborah was produced in 1733, Israel in Egypt in 1738, Saul in 1740, and the Messiah in 1741; when unable any longer to endure the mortification of finding such works too unpopular even to pay their expenses, the musician determined to quit the country, and accordingly went to Ireland. Pope's well known lines will not be here out of place. Alluding to the quarrel between Handel and the nobility, the poet, in his appeal to the Goddess of Dullness, writes—

"But soon, ah! soon, rebellion will commence,
If music meanly borrow aid from sense.
Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands
Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands:

To stir, to rouse, to shake the world he comes,
And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums
Arrest him, empress, or you sleep no more—
She heard—and drove him to th' Hibernian shore;

where he was received with a fitting welcome, and from which he returned with fresh laurels to London, in 1742, to try once more his fate. Samson soon appeared at Covent Garden, and an unbroken career of success commenced at last. Under the management of Handel's friend J. C. Smith, Stanley, Linley, and Dr. Arnold, the oratorio long maintained the popularity given to it by the author of 'The Messiah;' but toward the close of the century a person of the name of Ashley started in rivalry to Arnold, and, according to the ordinary rules of managers in opposition, adopted any expedients that promised a temporary success; among them those of partially secularizing and wholly vulgarizing the performances. From that time oratorios, though continued until a comparatively recent period, and with occasional gleams of returning prosperity, produced by occasional gleams of managerial sense and spirit, kept up but a kind of languishing existence that left little to regret when they at last disappeared altogether. The two most noticeable events in their history, since Handel's time, were the re-production of 'The Messiah' with Mozart's accompaniments, and the performance of Beethoven's 'Mount of Olives.'

The madrigalians were not idle during this period. There was among the members of the Academy a Mr. John Immyns, a reduced attorney, who satisfied his pecuniary wants and his musical tastes at the same time by becoming amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch, and copyist to the Society. An ardent admirer of the good old days of madrigal singing, he had the good fortune, as no doubt he esteemed it, to light upon some compositions belonging to that class and time. Thenceforth there was nothing for it but to teach the world madrigals. It is a significant fact, that he sought for disciples at the loom and in the workshop; men whom he already knew, or had heard spoken well of, for their musical tastes and their practice in psalmody. Kotzebue says every one tries to draw a circle around him, of which he may be the centre; our attorney had now found his circle, and happy enough, no doubt, he was in it; extending the knowledge of its members, improving their tastes, developing their skill. They met in 1741 at the appropriate sign of the Twelve Bells in Bride Lane; the expenses of their music, books, paper, and refreshments being all defrayed by a quarterly subscription of 5*s.*; so that their weekly enjoyments cost them something less than 5*d.* each. And it would have done the hearts good of some of those old composers whose works they revived, to know how they performed them; *we* may judge of the excellence of the Spitalfields' weavers and their companions by seeing what men were attracted to their society as members—Dr. Arne, Sir John Hawkins, Drs. Cooke and Callcott—in short, almost all our great eminent musicians down to the very present time, in which the society looks as vigorous and healthy as ever, though but two years ago it celebrated its hundredth year.

In contrast with the Madrigal Society and its plebeian foundation, stands the Catch Club, founded in 1762, says Dr. Burney, by the Earls of Eglintoun and March, and other noblemen and gentlemen, but which Mr. Gardiner carries back

to a more distant and elevated source. "This Society, I believe, originated in the social meetings spent by Charles II. with Purcel and other *bon vivants* of that age, the portraits of whom, painted by the first masters, occupy the walls of the dining-room in that ancient tavern (the Thatched House). These convivial meetings commence on the opening of Parliament, and continue every Tuesday, with a splendid dinner at four o'clock, immediately after which the grace, *Non nobis Domine,* is sung by the whole company. After the cloth is drawn the Chairman recapitulates some of the ancient laws of the Society, namely, 'If any honourable member has come to a fortune or estate, he shall pay a per centage upon the same, or he may commute the same for ten pounds. If any nobleman, knight, baronet or esquire, shall have taken unto himself a wife, he shall pay into the treasury a fine of twenty pounds in sterling money!'" And it appears from the bank-notes that Mr. Gardiner saw handed in, on the occasion of his visit, that the rules have by no means fallen into desuetude. Music owes much to the early exertions of this Society. The Glee may almost be said to have originated with it. Up to the year 1793 gold medal prizes, of the value of ten guineas each, were annually given for the best glees, canons and catches. And among the successful candidates we find the names of Webbe, Cooke, the Earl of Mornington, Hayes, Danby, Callcott and Stevens. Two of these alone—Webbe and Callcott, obtained nearly fifty prizes. After this it were needless to expatiate upon the merits of the Catch Club. Webbe became Secretary of the Society, in 1784; and we may incidentally observe, that on the establishment, three years later, of the Glee Club—something on the plan of the Catch Club, but without prizes, and which is still existing, he was appointed its Librarian: for this Society he wrote both the words and the music of 'Glorious Apollo,' after its wanderings from one member's house to another had ceased—a feature in its early history, which is alluded to in the Glee: Arnold, Linley, Webbe, Callcott, and Bartleman, were members of this Club. But to return. The cessation of the prizes of the Catch Club has, of course, materially diminished the influence and value of the Society, and we regret to see that the original division into subscribing and professional members has been attended with a result which ought not to have been, and, most probably, was not anticipated, namely, a division into ranks: if the fact be, as stated, that the professional members "enter the room on terms of admitted inferiority," it is certain that music, as well as its professors, will suffer; the divine art knows nothing of social distinctions, and will certainly soon disappear from the place where they are insisted on.

Immediately after the establishment of the Catch Club a new evidence appeared of the rapid progress of music, as regards diffusion, which, after all, was the thing then wanted, since so many admirable composers had appeared within the previous century, that good music was at all times available. Whilst amateur, and mingled professional and amateur societies were flourishing in one direction, and the music-shops—including such really useful establishments as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, in a second, a something combining the musical character of the one and the pecuniary features of the other—subscription-concerts, on a scale of great splendour, appeared in a third.

In 1763, Abel, a distinguished German composer and performer, a pupil of the

great Sebastian Bach, and John Christian Bach, the son of the latter, commenced weekly subscription concerts in London, which for many years were highly successful. Abel himself contributed in no slight degree to this result. On that little six-stringed violoncello, or viol di gamba of his, an instrument now disused, and with some one of his many simple but elegant compositions, he performed such wonders, that the enraptured Dr. Burney says, no musical production or performance with which he was acquainted seemed to approach nearer perfection. We should have been very much surprised if Abel, then, had not highly estimated his instrument, and can fully sympathise with him when he even becomes so enthusiastic about it as he did at the dinner at Lord Sandwich's, according to Dr. Wolcot's story. After the dinner, which took place at the Admiralty, the merits of different musical instruments were canvassed, and his Lordship proposed that each one should mention his favourite. One after another did so; and harps, pianofortes, organs, clarionets, found numerous admirers; but the indignant Abel heard not a word of the viol di gamba. Other instruments followed, and still no viol di gamba. Abel could no longer restrain himself, but suddenly rose in great emotion, exclaiming, as he left the room, " O dere be brute in de world; dere be those who no love de king of all de instrument!" Numerous other concerts of the same kind followed the success of Bach and Abel's experiment; the most noticeable are the Pantheon Concerts, held in the beautiful building then standing in Oxford Street, but which was destroyed in 1792 by fire; the professional concerts, given in the rooms since so famous in musical history, those of Hanover Square, and Salomon's, by far the most important of the whole. This distinguished foreign violinist, having carefully matured his plans in 1790, set off to Vienna, with the gallant determination of bringing back with him either Haydn or Mozart, to produce in person some of their own compositions. They were so pleased with the scheme that *both* agreed to it, and arranged with Salomon that one should come over one year, and the other the next. Poor Mozart did not live to fulfil his part of the arrangement; but Haydn arrived in London in 1791, and, in the course of that and the following year, produced six of the twelve grand symphonies, that now add so greatly to the illustrious musician's name. In 1794 he came again to London, to fulfil a similar engagement with the enterprising Salomon, and the remaining six symphonies enriched that and the ensuing season. But Salomon's claims upon the musical world were to be yet incalculably enhanced. In 1798 he ventured, at his own entire risk, to bring out at the Opera Concert Room, Haydn's grandest work, the ' Creation,' the only oratorio, it is said, which will bear comparison with Handel. Of the many other subscription concerts that followed those of Salomon, it will be sufficient to mention those conducted by Harrison and Knyvett, from 1792 to 1794; by the same parties, in connection with Bartleman and Greatorex, from 1801 to 1821; and by Mrs. Billington, Mr. Braham, and Signor Naldi, from 1808 to 1810, at Willis' Rooms; whilst Madame Catalani, during the same period, opposed them at Hanover Square Rooms.

As to the musical societies of the present day, their name is Legion. We have them for all classes, of all degrees of importance, and embodying the cultivation of all schools. Then again some are for pure instruction, as the Royal Academy

of Music, established in 1822, and the multitudinous classes of Exeter Hall, from which offshoots are fast spreading into every parish of the metropolis; some for the glorification of particular musicians, as the Purcel Club; but generally, of course, enjoyment is aimed at, whether it be in the grand amateur performances of the Sacred Harmonic Society at the hall before mentioned; in the Promenade Concerts, which give us an artificial garden and Monsieur Jullien's cravat, besides all the music, for a shilling; in the Melodists' Club, one of the most agreeable, because the most universal in its plan, of musical assemblages; or in the numerous Septet and Quartet Societies which enliven our domestic circles, and occasionally occupy the concert-room. But pre-eminent above all these, and the older (existing) societies previously noticed, and exercising over most of them an indirect influence through their superiority, are the Ancient Concerts and the Philharmonic. The Ancient Concerts were established in 1776, at a period when the taste of the time promised to banish from the orchestra the works of the mighty masters who had given to it all its true glory, and when the older academy had ceased to exercise any effectual preventive influence. At the Concerts of Ancient Music all lovers of music of the highest order were promised a gratification and an instruction that they could no where else obtain, and upon the whole the institution has redeemed the pledges with which it set out. The original suggester of the society was the Earl of Sandwich, who, with the aid of other noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank, also carried it into effect, and with such spirit that royalty itself became a constant visitor; a great honour, no doubt, but attended ultimately with one serious inconvenience. George III. admired Handel greatly, and in so doing shared but an almost universal feeling; but George III. admired no one else, or if he did care to hear a few notes of Purcel, just by way of relief, now and then, why that was the extent of his toleration; and to this bigotry Greatorex, whilst director, uninterruptedly lent himself. It was out of this society that the famous Handel Commemoration arose in 1784, and which, by the grandeur of the scale upon which it was conducted, gave a new impetus to the study and enjoyment of the great musician's works, the effects of which are still strikingly visible in the grand musical movement now on foot: a movement that promises to restore the old English universality of feeling for the art, with incalculably increased means for study and enjoyment, through the advances that art has made in the last two or three centuries.

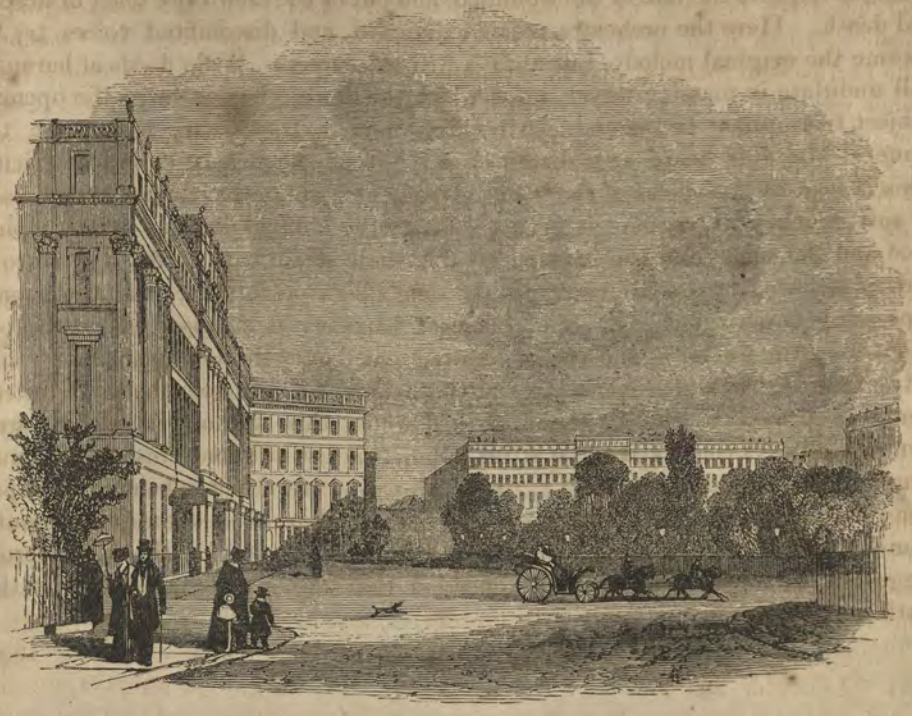
The Philharmonic was established in 1813, and from a somewhat similar motive to that which originated the Ancient Concerts. Grand instrumental compositions of the highest class, by modern musicians, had ceased to have a home, as the more important of the subscription concerts before-mentioned lost their popularity and became gradually extinct. "Never was a society formed in a better spirit and with a more commendable aim than the Philharmonic. It began where it ought; it was governed as it ought. There was no hunting after titled patrons or subscribers; no weak subserviency to mere rank. The most eminent members of the profession took the whole affair into their own hands, and entered upon their duties strong, and justly strong, in their own strength. They merged all claims of rank or precedence in one great object—the love of their art. Men of the highest musical rank were content to occupy subordinate stations

in the orchestra. Every man put his shoulder to the wheel; and this very fact impressed the public with a conviction that they were in concert."* Among the early members were John Cramer, Clementi, Crotch, Horsley, Bishop, Attwood, François Cramer, Spagnoletti, and Braham. It was fitting that the man who had before done so much in the cause in which they were engaged should preside at the opening meeting. Salomon, then an old man, led the concerts with "a zeal and ability that age had in no degree impaired." The progress of the Philharmonic was for some years equal to the preparation; and it is impossible to over-estimate the services rendered by it to the art during that period. It has since, it must be confessed, slackened in its exertions; there has not been exhibited the same single-minded enthusiasm. But we would fain hope that it will yet again arise like a giant refreshed from its slumber. The objects for which it was instituted were never more desirable than now; we might say they were never more generally desired. But it is by no petty effort, no absurd appeals to the love of novelty merely, no yielding to the caprices of fashion, that the Philharmonic can recover its once overflowing lists of subscribers. It was formed to lead, and not to follow, and must redouble its exertions, if necessary, in order to place itself once more in a position to fulfil its mission. And if that be grand, what grand instruments are not in its possession to work by? The Philharmonic band is, perhaps, the finest in the world. It is something in a lifetime to remember that first visit to the Hanover Square Rooms, on one of the eight Philharmonic nights. Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Spohr, appear there as we may no where else find them, unless it be at the representations of their operas by their own countrymen, when they occasionally visit us. Mr. Gardiner has given us a picturesque description of a great work of one of the men we have named—the 'Eroica' by Beethoven—as he heard it performed by the Philharmonic band. And, as it illustrates in an unusually clear manner the mechanism of a grand piece of instrumental music; and incidentally, the demands made by such a work on the skill of the performers, and on the capacity to guide and to hold with an unfailing hand, of the conductor; it may not be uninteresting to our readers to see it here. So let us imagine ourselves seated with the writer amidst the crowded benches of the room shown at the head of our paper, and waiting anxiously the commencement. Hush! there is the slow but sharp tap-tap of the conductor. And the Eroica "opens with two massive shocks, like the firing of cannon; after which springs up, apparently at a great distance, a solemn bewailing melody from the violoncellos, re-echoed by the grave and pensive horn. This strain is taken up in turn by all the instruments, gradually increasing and swelling in sound to an overwhelming degree. The ingenious author keeps the melody constantly in view, playing upon *platforms* of harmony, while these steady masses of sound are made to slide through the different keys. At the sixty-fifth bar a collision takes place, reiterated several times, and between every shock the dragon-like wings of the violins dart among the instruments with frightful asperity. The whole scene is wild confusion, in which some of the instruments grow mad with rage. For a moment something like repose takes place, when a running fight is represented by the

* 'Spectator' newspaper, 1843, p. 759.

violins and basses in *staccato*, driving after each other with increased rapidity. Successive crashes of sound depict the battle in close combat; the oboes and bassoons deplore the fate of the wounded, and out of the crowd rise tones of despair and death. Here the orchestra seems exhausted, and discomfited voices try to resume the original melody, but always without success. Wide floods of harmony still undulate in massive waves, upon which the double basses carry the opening subject triumphant to the end. After this most extraordinary movement, the Funeral March is heard at a distance—a strain of solemn beauty and simplicity. This is *sung* by the voices of the wind instruments, while the violins and basses, by soft touches at regular intervals, imitate the muffled drums. The weeping oboe and the solos from the bassoon fill the whole strain with gloom and sorrow. This is followed by a soldier savage-like song that runs into the last movement, expressing tumultuous joy. The blaze of harmony is intense, but agreeably relieved by the flutter of the violins, casting a veil over the loud instruments and mitigating the sound. Near the end is a delicious strain from the wind instruments—a prayer to the Supreme Being, whom this author, in his inspired moments, always conceived to be at his elbow; a few sublime crashes of sound terminate this wonderful piece." * The 'Eroica' was written in honour of Napoleon; but, on his assuming the imperial robe, Beethoven—a determined republican—changed his title of 'Sinfonia de Napoleon' to 'Death of a Hero:' suggested, we might fancy, by the reflection that the act in question *was* the death of *his* hero.

* 'Music and Friends,' p. 686.



[Belgrave Square.]

CXXXVIII.—THE SQUARES OF LONDON.

THE English "Square" is peculiar to the country. The Piazza, Place, Platz, of Italy, France, and Germany, have little in common with it. Its elements are simple enough:—An open space, of a square figure (or a figure approximating to the square), houses on each of the four sides, and an enclosed centre, with turf, a few trees, and it may be flowers or a statue—there is a square. Yet the verdant foliage and ever-green turf on earth, and the ever-varying features of our rarely cloudless sky, freely revealed by the opening amid a forest of houses, lend a charm to every square; and simple though these elements be, they are susceptible of an infinite multiplicity of *nuances* of character. No disrespect to the high architectural beauties of many a continental "place," there is a freshness and repose about an English square more charming than them all.

The square, like many other good things in this world—as, for example, roast-pig (*teste* Elia), the lyre (*vide* the legend of Mercury and the tortoise-shell), and the theory of gravitation (Newton's apple, to wit)—appears to have been in a great measure an accidental invention. Seeking to make something else, men stumbled upon the square, as the alchymists, in trying to make gold, stumbled upon truths compared with which the purest gold is valueless. Nor is it very

long since the discovery was made. The oldest squares that we know of are in London; and the oldest of the London squares, so far as our antiquarian researches have enabled us to discover, is Covent Garden. It was begun by Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, in the early part of the reign of Charles I. The earl contemplated a piazza, Italian in fashion as well as in name. Inigo Jones was employed as his architect, and commenced the erection of a piazza; one side of which was to be formed by a church, two more by houses with an open arched pathway in front under their first stories, and the fourth in all probability by the earl's garden wall—if he did not contemplate a stately palace fronting to the *piazza*. By one of those strange perversions of foreign designations so common in all languages, the name piazza has come to be applied exclusively to the covered pathway; and the open space was called the square, until the superior importance of the market and the desertion of fashionable inhabitants degraded it to Covent Garden Market.

The square of Covent Garden, though commenced so early, was probably not completed till after the Restoration; at least, the names of some of the streets abutting upon it seem to belong to that later era. In 1657, William, fifth Earl of Bedford, and John and Edward Russell, Esqrs., were abated 7000*l.* from the amount of the fines they had incurred under the Act to prevent the increase of buildings in and near London, in consideration of the great expenses which the family had incurred in erecting the chapel and improving the neighbourhood. This looks as if building were still in progress, and had not begun to pay.

The age of Charles II. was one in which the erection of squares took a decided start. Leicester and Lincoln's Inn Fields owe their origin as squares to that period. It was then that Soho Square sprung into existence, and that handsome Harry Jermyn, who, though a coxcomb, and exposed to have his head turned by the love of a queen, appears to have had as steady an eye to the main chance as any Cubitt of his age, laid the foundations of St. James's Square. Panton Square certainly (we have documentary evidence to the fact), and, to judge by their architecture, Bridgewater Square (Barbican) and Queen Square (Westminster), date from this reign. Wren, Evelyn, and other kindred spirits, endeavoured to promote the taste for this innovation. The learned would have given them finer names; but the most sovereign citizens of London were resolved that they should be simple squares, and nothing but squares. Makers of books waged war against the word for a long time, but unavailingly. In 1732, Maitland wrote about "the stately Quadrate, denominated King's Square, but vulgarly Soho Square;" and the phrase is retained in the edition of 1756. This, we think, is the latest struggle against the word square, and the most signal discomfiture of its adversaries; for not only has *square* superseded *quadrate*, but the "vulgar" *Soho* has outlived the *King*. Every extension of the metropolis since the Revolution has brought with it an addition to its squares: it would be alike idle and tedious to attempt to trace the history of their growth further in detail. In 1734 there were only 50 squares in the metropolis—including some in the suburbs both north and south of the Thames, and some of these, though dignified with the name of square, look marvellously like courts: at present there must be upwards of 100 genuine squares.

It was remarked above that there is great diversity in the characters of squares,

simple though the elements be that compose them. It is possible, however, to classify the squares of London into four grand divisions. The first embraces all the squares west of Regent Street: these may be called the fashionable squares. Two other divisions are situated between Regent Street on the west, and Gray's Inn Lane and Chancery Lane on the east. Holborn and Oxford Street form the line of demarcation between them. South of that line are situated the squares which, having once been the seats of fashion, and still bearing on their exterior the traces of faded greatness, have descended to become the haunts of busy trading life. North of it are the squares of which Mr. Croker knew nothing; inhabited by the aristocracy of the law, among whom mingle wealthy citizens and the more solid class of *literati*. Eastward of Gray's Inn and Chancery Lanes are the obsolete, or purely City squares. There are anomalous squares within some of these divisions. For example, but for its locality Finsbury Square might properly be classed among those of the third division; as, for a similar reason, Red Lion Square in the third, and Queen Square in the second division, have most analogy with the squares of the fourth; and Cadogan Square is first cousin to Russell Square. But similar obstinate exceptions from all rule, it is known to philosophers, will always bid defiance to efforts at classification based upon a combination of geographical distribution and characteristic features. In this arrangement, too, we refer only to our immediate subject—the Squares of London. In all the suburbs squares are now springing up like mushrooms: some of them (Hoxton and Kensington, for example) boast of squares of a venerable antiquity.

The Squares of London vary much in regard to the extent of ground they occupy. According to Mr. Britton, Belgrave Square measures 684 feet by 637, but the gardens belonging to the detached villas considerably augment the real and still more the apparent area. Eaton Square, adjoining, occupies an extent of 1637 by 371 feet. Cadogan Square is 1450 by 370 feet; Grosvenor Square measures 654 feet square; Lincoln's Inn Fields, 773 by 624 feet; Portman Square, 500 by 400 feet; Bryanstone Square, 814 by 198 feet; Montague Square, 820 by 156 feet; Russell, Euston, and Park Squares are all of large dimensions. It is not, however, always the largest square that tells the most effectively in relieving the sense of oppression from being long in City pent. The rapid declivity of Berkeley Square, and the gardens of Lansdowne and Devonshire houses at one end of it, by affording a wider range than the mere square to the eye, leave the impression of more open space. In Leicester Square a similar effect is produced by the mere declivity of the ground. The combination of Mecklenburgh Square and Brunswick Square with the Foundling Hospital (into which, a placard tells us, no foundlings are admitted whose mothers do not present themselves to the board in broad daylight) and its cabbage-garden between, produce an impression of extent in a different way—from our feeling that we do not see the whole at once. In most of the finest Squares of London (Belgrave is the only exception we can at this moment call to our recollection) there is a considerable slope of the ground.

Having always had a *penchant* for burying our dead out of our sight as quickly as possible, we begin with the fourth division—the City Squares. They are not numerous, and whatever may have once been the case, the dust of neglect and desertion has filled up the characteristic lines of their features, leaving an in-

tolerable sameness about them. Finsbury Square must be excepted from this remark: it is one of the third class which has by accident strayed into the City—"a sunbeam that hath lost its way." The rest—Charterhouse Square, Bridgewater Square (Barbican), Devonshire Square (Bishopsgate), Wellclose Square, Warwick Square, and even the little Squares of Gough and Salisbury, have a strong clannish likeness. In Maitland's day they were inhabited by "people of fashion," "people of distinction," "the better class of merchants," and so forth. Wellclose was originally called Marine Square, from being a favourite residence of naval officers. "How altered now!" Enter Bridgewater Square, and its ornamented edifices, with rubbed brick quoins and facings—its Brobdignaggian scallop-shells over some of the doors, remind one of its former state. But, like Wordsworth's 'Hart-leap Well,' "something ails it now," the place is—no, not quite so bad as the poet makes it, though grim and gloomy enough it looks. The elevation of the turf in the central enclosure reminds one of those minikin open spaces with green turf on them, which one so often stumbles upon in the City, and which might delude a stranger with the notion that they were the first attempts at squares—something between the court and the square—child-squares, in short, but which are in reality the fallow churchyards of churches not rebuilt since the great fire. In accordance with this gloomy view, we find on the windows of every alternate house a bill, "To let, unfurnished;" and see, staring us from a window on the south-side, the terrific inscription, GIBBET, AUCTIONEER (for the most minute inspection can scarcely detect the small pica (.) between the colossal G. and I.), surmounted by two perpendicular coffins, closed, yet reminding us of the "open presses" seen by Tam o' Shanter, in Alloway Kirk. Scarcely less grim, though more spacious, is the Charterhouse Square. The line of dead wall, the antique monastic building, the iron-gates at either entry into the square, and the soot encumbered semi-vegetation of the trees, produce almost as depressing an effect as the sepulchral habitations of Bridgewater Square. The other City Squares have more of life and humanity in their outward show. This is especially the case with Wellclose Square: probably the elastic spirits of the gallant tars, who were its earliest occupants, lent a light-heartedness to the very atmosphere that has never since deserted it. But however dull and desolate these squares may seem to the casual visitant (no such fancies dim the minds of the residents: there is probably more constant sunshine of the soul there than among more splendid regions of the metropolis), there are associations that tempt us at times to revisit them. In the quiet of Charterhouse Square we are carried back to the times when knightly penitents sought consolation from its cloistered owners; when the neighbouring Smithfield, instead of being a receptacle for live beef and mutton, was the scene of tournaments, and, yet more horribly attractive, of the triumph of those martyrs whose blood was the seed of the Reformed Church. Bridgewater Square occupies the site of the mansion of a family from which sprang the earliest promoter of that chain of inland water communication which has done so much to develop the resources of England. Devonshire Square was the spot in which lingered the last lady of rank, who clung to her ancestral abode in the City. Gough Square is still haunted by the Eidolon of Johnson; and Richardson's ghost, nervous and coy, as in life, revisits the glimpses of the moon in Salisbury Square.

Pass we on to a class of squares of more pretensions in their outer show, and with more robust vitality still animating them—the Squares of Lincoln's Inn Fields, Soho, Covent Garden, Leicester, and Golden. Covent Garden, as we have already noticed, is the oldest of our squares; the story of its origin has been told before, and, ere we close, we must again return to it. So here let it suffice to remind the reader that Sir Peter Lely and Roger North have lived in the Piazzas; that Hogarth's club had its meetings there; that the Old Hummums was long the favourite resort of the subaltern heroes of the Peninsular war; and that the adventures of the neighbourhood have supplied matter for the pens of Congreve and Fielding. The Old Hummums, by the way, was the scene of what Johnson called the best accredited ghost story he ever heard of. The ghost, that of Ford, the parson of Hogarth's 'Midnight modern Conversation,' appeared to the waiter; and as the scene was the cellar, and the ghost said nothing, possibly it had been purloining beer, and was too drunk to speak.

Lincoln's Inn Fields is, in point of antiquity, the next square to Covent Garden. In 1659, James Cooper, Robert Henley, and Francis Finch, Esqrs., and other owners of "certain parcels of ground in the Fields, commonly called Lincoln's Inn Fields, were exempted from all forfeitures and penalties they might incur in regard to any new buildings they might erect 'on three sides of the same fields,' previously to the 1st of October in that year: provided that they paid for the public service one year's full value for every such house, within one month of its erection; and provided that they should convey the 'residue of the said fields' to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, for laying the same into walks, for common use and benefit; whereby the annoyances which formerly have been in the same fields will be taken away, and passengers there for the future better secured." On the west side of the square, sometimes called Arch Row, are the most ancient houses. They have originally been spacious, and are ornamented with Ionic pilasters. At the corner of Great Queen Street is Newcastle House, the residence, in his day, of the Duke of Newcastle (*vide* Horace Walpole and Humphrey Clinker), probably the most eccentric statesman Britain has ever known. The central enclosure is one of the largest and finest of these public gardens in London. Much of the square is now used as chambers by solicitors, who have in some instances adapted noble mansions to their use, by cutting them into more than one, just as in some towns of Scotland the economical Presbyterians have sometimes carved half a dozen kirks out of one cathedral. The Society of Useful Knowledge once had its chambers here, but has left it for Bedford Square. The surgeons, whose hall and theatre are the principal ornament of the south side of the square, still stand their ground. The new law buildings harmonise finely with the associations of the neighbourhood, and promise to be a worthy completion to the square.

Soho Square arose during the reign of Charles II. It was once called Monmouth Square, the Duke of Monmouth inhabiting a house in it on the site of Bateman's Buildings. There is a tradition that, on the death of the duke, his admirers changed the name to Soho—the word at the battle of Sedgmoor. An attempt was made to force the name of King Square upon it, which failed. About the accession of George III., Soho was the gayest square in London. Here were Cornely's masquerades and balls, the suppers at which were alleged to be more

elegant than abundant. The houses, numbered 20 and 21, were originally only one mansion; and it witnessed the confidential orgies of George IV. when Prince of Wales. Graver associations clung to it, we were about to say, as we remembered that it had once contained the residence of Sir Joseph Banks, but the recollection of Peter Pindar, and the 'Emperor of Morocco,' checked the phrase.* The externals of Soho Square have little to recommend them; but most of the houses are spacious, the staircases striking and architecturally disposed, and many of them ornamented with pannel paintings of high merit. Continental literature and geography have here fixed their abode with Dulau and Arrowsmith, and the apartments are much in request with artists.

[Soho Square.]

Leicester House, from which the square derives its name, of which it was indeed the nucleus, was built before the civil war; but the square itself is not older than the beginning of last century. It has had its day of splendour—when Leicester House was the pouting place of the first Princes of Wales of the Hanoverian dynasty—but it is sadly faded now. Hogarth occupied the house afterwards converted into the Sablonnière Hotel, and at a later time Sir Joshua Reynolds a house on the opposite side of the square. John Hunter lived and formed his museum in Leicester Square; and in a house in Lisle Place, immediately adjoining it, Sir Charles Bell made his discoveries respecting the nervous system. Latterly the square has been infested with hotels for the questionable class of foreigners, wine-shades, and the like. But "Leicester's busy square" will be

* It is now the house of the dullest of London Societies—the Linnæan: no, not the dullest; we had forgotten the Statistical.

remembered as the scene of Wordsworth's moon-gazers; and the new streets now opening may, if the plan of offering sites in it to the leading scientific societies be carried out, bring to it a second life of interest and external show, transcending even the first.

The interest of Golden Square—nearly coeval with Soho—is almost entirely domestic. It is the most melancholy of all the squares of this region—the most nearly approaching to those of the City. Queen Square (Westminster) and Panton Square (Piccadilly)—also babes of the tipsy days of Charles II.—are quite City in their characteristics. Trafalgar Square (Charing Cross) will be noticed hereafter.

Remaining westward of Regent Street, but crossing to the north of Holborn and Oxford Streets, we come into a region of what may be called comfortable squares, as contrasted with the *passé* appearance of Lincoln's Inn Fields or Bridgewater Square, and their respective class-fellows on one hand, or with the imposing appearance of the west-end squares on the other. They are linked with the olden time through the instrumentality of Russell Square, once a fashionable region. One side of it was originally occupied by the mansion of the Bedford family; and Horace Walpole mentions having visited there. Lord Mansfield's house was in the adjoining corner to the east; and here occurred one of the most destructive bursts of the ferocious mob of Lord George Gordon. A more pleasing recollection is, that Bloomsbury Square was the widowed residence of Lady Rachel Russell. But the tide of fashion has rolled westward, and left Russell Square to be inhabited by the aristocracy of the City and the Inns of Court. A new element has been added to this society by the foundation of the London University and the vicinity of the British Museum. The scientific section of London literary men has thereby been attracted to this region. The wealthy, who had no particular ambition of belonging to the first fashion, have long been attracted to this quarter by its proximity to the open fields; and the formation of the Regent's Park has proved an additional inducement. A society is here formed which already rivals that of the west end, as the noblesse of robe and the rich fermiers-general rivalled in ante-revolutionary France the high aristocracy.

There is clustering around Bloomsbury Square a whole nucleus of squares, all comely, and some elegant, but all modern and middle-class, and devoid of associations to tempt us to linger in them. North of Bloomsbury is Russell Square, on the site of the former house and grounds of the Dukes of Bedford. West of Russell Square is Bedford Square, which in its architecture reminds one of the older west-end squares; and to the east, passing along Guildford Street, are Queen Square, and (what may be considered as one very striking and interesting square) Brunswick and Mecklenburgh Squares, with the Foundling Hospital and grounds between them. To the north of this range of squares is a group consisting of Torrington, Woburn, Gordon, Tavistock, and Euston Squares, all new, spruce, and uninteresting. Fitzroy Square is the monument of a failure. With great architectural pretensions, it is ponderous, and never took with the public. Its vicinity is much affected by artists, who find it convenient to live between their aristocratic patrons and employers in the west-end squares, and their possibly more lucrative employers in the houses of commons which surround the Bedford Square group.

We cannot quit this region without a word about the most disconsolate square in London—Red Lion Square. It is as deserted as the most deserted of those previously named, but has none of the gloom that wraps them. It is a bare and sterile desert, exposed in the full light of day. It is prosaic in the extreme; while they resemble ruins inspiring moonlight melancholy, it resembles a bare and sterile common thronged with passengers, in the sultry noon of summer. There was once an obelisk in the centre, but now there is nothing but a square edifice of blackened boards, the use of which it is difficult to conjecture.

It is in the west-end squares that the characteristics of this feature of the English metropolis are most perfectly developed; and on this account it may reward the trouble to examine them more in detail. Commencing therefore with the oldest—St. James's Square—we shall request the pleasure of the reader's company in a stroll through them.

St. James's Square is noticed by two of our best domestic historians—Evelyn and Horace Walpole. The former saw it in its infancy, the latter in the vigour of manhood. It may have a little declined into the sere and yellow leaf, be less fresh than it once was; but it is still, in external show, the most truly aristocratic square in London. The houses have a look of old nobility about them. The circular sheet of water in the centre of the enclosure makes little appearance from the *pavé*, but is a beautiful ornament as seen from the first-floor windows. William III. is the tutelar genius of the place, and a fitter could not be found for the favourite haunt of the king whose elevation to the throne transferred the sceptre for a time to the nobility of England. His statue ornaments the centre of the square. The corner house, on the right hand, as you enter from Pall Mall, is Norfolk House, in which George III. was born. Next door lives the Bishop of London; and fronting his Grace, on the opposite side of the square, the Bishop of Winchester. It is fitting that bishops should live under the ægis of him who turned out the king who committed the seven bishops to the Tower. It is also fitting that they should affect the square around which the future champion of high churchism, Samuel Johnson, has walked all night with Savage, when neither could find a lodging. No. 11, in the north-west corner, the mansion of the Wyndham Club, perpetuates the name of one of the most accomplished of English statesmen, whose memory would deserve to be held in honour were it only for his devoted attachment to Burke. There is something beautiful exceedingly in the enduring love of an intelligent for a great man. As beseems a club bearing the name of Wyndham, its library is one of the best in London. The memories of the foes of Warren Hastings haunt St. James's Square. The house between the Earl of Lichfield's and that of the late Marquess of Londonderry (better known by the name of Castlereagh) was the residence of Sir Philip Francis. What an association! The birth-place of George III. in the same square with the house of Junius! The future writer of the history of this, our own age, will also find the local habitation of historical names in this square. Here Byng, for more than ten lustres the Whig champion on the Middlesex hustings, resides close by Lord Stanley, whose power as an orator that party has felt both ways; and not far distant from either is the scene of the Lichfield House compact. The row of houses between St. James's Square and Pall Mall are less stately than those on the other side of the square, and turn

their back-fronts to it, in the same manner, and for the same reason probably, that Mrs. McLartie's servant, in the 'Cottagers of Glenburnie,' is said to have turned her back on the family when supping along with them—as an expression of humility. Some of them, at least, are lodging-houses: we remember a whole detachment of the Irish parliamentary brigade quartered in one. Like these dwellings *in* the square, rather than *of* it, are the Erechtheium and Navy and Army Clubs, entering severally from York and King Streets, and having windows looking into the square. The Colonial Club, like the Wyndham, fairly made a lodgment in it, having occupied for a time the mansion once inhabited by Sir Philip Francis. It has now shifted its place to the corner house, next door to the Bishop of Winchester, and looks as if it meditated slipping out of the square altogether.

We now proceed up York Street, along Piccadilly, and turn through Berkeley Street, into Berkeley Square. This square, as Malcolm has observed before us, is worthy of notice rather on account of the inequality of the ground, so much greater than is easily found in London, than for anything remarkable in its buildings. It was this picturesque character of the district that attracted the Berkeleys, Devonshires, and Clarendons of a former day to plant their mansions near it. The south, or lower side of the square, is occupied by the wall of a garden, in which stands a stone house of rather heavy proportions, built in 1765, by the favourite (or more properly the reputed favourite) Bute, and sold by him incomplete to the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquess of Lansdowne, whose designation it bears. Here were once lodged the Lansdowne MSS., now in the British Museum. The centre of the square is (not) ornamented by a huge statue of George III., on a clumsy pedestal. "The charming Lady Mary Montague" died in this square, and what would have teased her more than dying, an obituary notice was penned by another old woman, as sarcastic as herself—Horace Walpole. Hill Street, issuing from the west side of the square, reminds us of Hay Hill, granted by Queen Anne to the Speaker of the House of Commons, greatly to the horror of the political purists of that immaculate day. Is it this parliamentary association that has induced a Speaker nearer our own times, Lord Canterbury, to take up his residence in this square? There is no other modern notoriety connected with this place, nor many historical associations, except some which relate to the Berkeley family. It was here, however, if we mistake not, that the nobleman resided who was murdered one night by his butler, whose committal to Newgate made George Selwyn exclaim, "Good God, what an idea he'll give the convicts of us!" Berkeley Square, however, owing to its sloping position, and the open wooded space between it and the Green Park, is one of the most airy and picturesque of our squares. Some of the interiors are fine, having halls and staircases from designs by Kent. It is also one of the oldest squares, dating from the reign of Queen Anne.

We pass onwards in a north-west direction till we reach Grosvenor Square. It derives its name (along with Grosvenor Street, and Grosvenor Gate in Hyde Park) from Sir Richard Grosvenor, a mighty builder in his day, who was cupbearer at the coronation of George II., and died in 1732. The centre is a spacious garden, laid out by Kent, and is worthy of his landscape-gardening powers. The houses are diversified in their architectural character; the fronts are some of brick and

stone, some of rubbed bricks, with their quoins, windows, and door-cases of stone. They have all the finest feature of a British nobleman's mansion—spaciousness. We do not meet here with the shabby attempt, so common to other parts of the metropolis, to create a false appearance of greatness, by lending the face of one great building to two, three, or more comparatively small houses. The extent of the square (six acres) requires houses of a large size *to tell:* small ones would be lost around it. Within the enclosure is an equestrian statue of George I., almost hidden in summer by the surrounding foliage. It was made by Van Nost, and erected by Sir Richard Grosvenor in 1726, near the redoubt called Oliver's Mount; for the line of fortifications erected by the Londoners during the civil wars ran across the space now occupied by Grosvenor Square. In March, 1727, the Jacobites one night attached a placard to the statue, noways flattering to the original or his family. This square continues to be a favourite residence of the oldest titled families, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the Minerva Press novelists and their successors of the silver-fork school, to vulgarise it. The Earl of Grosvenor occupies, we observe, a stately mansion about the centre of the north side: possibly he may have been attracted to it by such a notion as Samuel Johnson once expressed while resident in Johnson's Court—a desire to be "Grosvenor of that ilk."

A short walk along North Audley Street, across Oxford Street, and up Orchard Street, brings us to Portman Square. The building of this square commenced in 1764, but twenty years elapsed before it was completed. In extent it is equal to Grosvenor Square, the central enclosure is equally well laid out, and the houses are all but equally imposing in appearance. Portman Square appears, however, to be a shade less a favourite with the high nobility—possibly because it is a little further from the Park, and deeper in the mass of houses. The north-west angle of Portman Square is occupied by Montague House, once the residence of the queen of the blues. Here were the feather-hangings sung by Cowper, here Miss Burney was welcomed, and here Sam Johnson for a moment grew tame. It was the custom of Mrs. Montague to invite annually all the little chimney-sweepers in the metropolis to a regale in her house and garden, "that they might enjoy *one* happy day in the year." These May-day festivals have ceased, as have those of Jem White, celebrated by Elia: but, in recompense, there is reason to hope that the day of the sufferings of little chimney-sweeps also is passing away. The well-wooded garden of Montague House adds to the charm of Portman Square. It was at one time ornamented (?) by a moveable kiosk, erected by a Turkish ambassador who occupied the house, and who used there to smoke his pipe surrounded by his train.

Montague Square and Bryanstone Square are twin deformities, the former of which is placed immediately in the rear of Montague House. They are long narrow strips of ground, fenced in by two monotonous rows of flat houses. In the centre of the green turf which runs up the middle of Bryanstone Square is a dwarf weeping ash, which resembles strikingly a gigantic umbrella or toad-stool; and in the corresponding site in Montague Square is a pump, with a flower-pot shaped like an urn on the top of it. A range of balconies runs along the front of the houses in Bryanstone Square; but the inmates appear to entertain dismal apprehensions of the thievish propensities of their neighbours, for between every

two balconies is introduced a terrible chevaux-de-frise. The mansions in Montague Square are constructed after the most approved Brighton fashion, each with its little bulging protuberance to admit of a peep into the neighbours' parlours. These two oblongs, though dignified with the name of squares, belong rather to the anomalous "places" which economical modern builders contrive to carve out of the corners of mews-lanes behind squares, and dispose with a profit to those who wish to live near the great.

Returning to Portman Square, we bend our course eastward to Manchester Square. Manchester House, which occupies the north side of the square, was commenced in 1776: the square was not completed till 1788. A square, to be called Queen Anne's Square, with a church in the centre, had been contemplated in the reign of that Queen, but the plan was not carried into effect. The ground, lying waste, was purchased by the Duke of Manchester, the house erected upon it, and his title given to the square that grew up in front of it. On the sudden death of the duke in 1788, his mansion was purchased by the King of Spain as a residence for his ambassador. It subsequently came into the possession of the Marquess of Hertford; but has remained in a great measure a diplomatic palace. It is at present occupied by Count St. Aulaire, the French ambassador. It is indeed a princely mansion. The other houses of the square have nothing remarkable about them. Yet will this square live in song, as witness the classical ode of Tom Browne the Younger:—

> "Or who will repair
> Unto Manchester Square
> And see if the lovely Marchesa be there?
> Oh bid her come with her hair darkly flowing;
> All gentle and juvenile, crispy and gay,
> In the manner of Ackermann's dresses for May."

Cavendish Square and Hanover Square, north and south of Oxford Street, have, from their proximity, the appearance of being connected by the ligature of a short street. They were commenced about the same time. Cavendish Square was planned in 1715, and the ground laid out two years afterwards. Hanover Square was not built in 1716: in 1720 it is mentioned in plans of London.

The large gloomy mansion, enclosed by a blank wall, on the west side of Cavendish Square, now occupied by the Duke of Portland, was built by Lord Bingley, the foundation-stone being laid in 1722. The north side consisted originally of four houses, of considerable architectural merit; but some Goth has recently erected a staring yellow structure between two of them. The Duke of Chandos—Pope's contemporary—purchased the whole of this side of the square, intending to erect a magnificent mansion upon it. Only the two wings, however, were erected—the two end houses. The two centre houses, ultimately built instead of a central mansion, are fine buildings of Portland stone. It was not here, but in Chandos House, Chandos Street, that the terrible blow struck the *grand* duke, as he was called, which brought him to his grave. Preparations with which all England had rung were made for the christening of his infant heir; the King and Queen stood sponsors in person; the child was seized with convulsions in the nurse's arms, and died during the ceremony, the presumed cause being the excessive glare of light. The domestic annals of England do not

record such another withering rebuke of vain ostentation. The duke died soon after; and the duchess shut herself up in the house which had witnessed the blasting of her hopes, where she moped till death released her. To return to Cavendish Square—the central statue of the Duke of Cumberland, and the Revolution title of Portland, supply associations that render it an appropriate partner to Hanover Square. It is strange how whiggish most of our Squares of any standing are: the new ones may have more of the other side when they are old enough to have historical associations.

Oxford Square was originally intended to have been the name, but adulation of the new dynasty suggested the change to Hanover. A list of the original occupants has been preserved: they are almost all Generals. This is characteristic of the early period of the revolutionary era, when standing armies grew up in consequence of the country being so much more implicated in Continental brawls; and because they were needed to put down the feudal retainers of the Tory chiefs —a feat beyond the powers of the City "trained bands." There is another characteristic of the first Georgian era that clung to Hanover Square: its progress was for many years impeded by the bursting of bubbles, from 1718 to 1720. There is something peculiar to this square in the approach from the south. The street joins its centre, and the houses on either side converge as they recede from the square. This gives the ground-plan somewhat the appearance of a gridiron—the church of St. George supplying the nob of the handle. Hanover Square forms, in some sort, a connecting link between the squares immediately west and those immediately east of Regent Street; for though it has not lost all its original brightness, nor had its excess of glory obscured, something of its exclusiveness hath departed from it. An hotel and a concert-room have a gravitating tendency to bring it to the level of middle-class squares; but to compensate for this it has now become the site of the British and Foreign Institute, where, after playing in turn the parts of mariner, editor, statesman, lecturer—after voyaging far beyond the Pyrenean and the river Po—the perturbed spirit of Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who from the extent of his travels, is, since Ledyard, the person most liable to the suspicion of being an incarnation of the wandering Jew, may rest from his labours, and sing "Home, sweet home."

Our subject now leads us to a subdivision of the West End squares of very recent growth. The district immemorially known as *The Five Fields*, "where the robbers lie in wait," was laid out about twenty years ago by the noble proprietor, with a view to its being constructed into streets and squares. The principal part was engaged in 1825 by the Messrs. Cubitt, who immediately began raising the surface, and forming streets and communications. The whole of the district was also intersected by immense sewers, which having a considerable fall to the Thames, through a dry gravelly soil, secure even the lower stories against damp. Such an advantage, together with the vicinity of the Parks and of the new Pimlico Palace, rapidly attracted inhabitants. Tattersall's sees itself *enclavé* in London with astonishment; and Ranelagh, seeing the tide of fashionable houses rising up towards it, bewails the precipitancy of its owners, in allowing it to be covered by inferior houses, water-works, and factories. The disconsolate scene of gaiety in the olden time feels in the neighbourhood of the world of fashion like *la Goualeuse* of Eugene Sue's 'Mystères de Paris,' in the midst of her father's

court. Its claim to mingle among the gay and noble has been forfeited—by no fault of its own—but still irrecoverably forfeited. It is a strange feeling with which one treads this new region of princely mansions, thinking of the duck-ponds and clay-pits of one's boyhood. And to the old among us it is peopled with still more unequivocally rural associations. A respectable builder, near Sloane Street, has spoken to us of the nightingales which used to serenade him from his own garden; and a venerable septuagenarian remembers the time when, from Norwood, he could see with a spy-glass his children sporting in the garden behind his house in Grosvenor Place. The same venerable ancient has enjoyed "an easy shave" in a one-storied shed occupied by a barber, which blocked up what is now the entry into Hamilton Place, Piccadilly.

Youngest and most gorgeous of our squares is Belgrave Square, the *vera effigies* of which, in our illustration, may spare us the labour of description. The central space is, perhaps, too large to admit even of such large houses as are here telling, *en masse*, as a square. Perhaps, however, this is an advantage, considering the locality. Belgrave Square is situated between town and country. The houses are already becoming sensibly less dense, like a London fog, as one approaches its outskirts. Hyde Park lies behind it; St. James's Park intervenes between it and town; the great thoroughfares in the vicinity have more of the road in them than the street. In such a neighbourhood, a square confined enough to allow of the height of the houses being felt in proportion to the extent of the ground-plan, would convey a sense of confinement—of oppression to the lungs, though in the heart of the town it would feel as a relief. The isolated mansions at the four corners, standing obliquely to the sides of the square, look like a hint taken from the position of Montague House in Portman Square, and in conjunction with so spacious an area have a good effect. It may be prejudice on our part —a *borné* view, the consequence of our aesthetical faculty having been developed among the old squares, and received their impress so deep as to be indelible,—but we should have better liked less uniformity in the architecture. We prefer individual character in the houses: we do not like to see them merely parts of an architectural whole, like soldiers, who are only parts of a rank. But this regimental fashion is now the order of the day, and the young generation growing up among Belgrave Squares, Eaton Squares, and their humbler imitants, may think differently from what we do.

Eaton Square may claim a notice here, and along with it Euston Square, in a less aristocratical region, on account of their peculiar character. Squares proper have various entrances; but in all of them the square is evidently the main thing, and the entrances subordinate to it. But for the names at the corners of Euston Square and Eaton Square, they might be taken for a mere bulging out of the highway which bisects them. They belong still more decidedly than Belgrave Square to what geologists would call the transition formation—the structures intermediate between town and suburbs. The effect of the square, massive, protruding porches of Eaton Square is heavy; but this defect is amply redeemed in the apprehension of any one who wanders through it on a summer evening, by the use to which the ingenious inhabitants turn them. They are made hanging-gardens—may they have a longer lease of existence and a more prosperous end than those of Babylon!—from which the breezes descend redolent

of minionette, "the fragrant weed, the Frenchman's darling." Euston Square is remarkable for the caryatides of St. Pancras Church—would that it had a better steeple, and that the range of ornaments along its eaves did not so strikingly resemble pattipans! At the centre of the north side of the square, a little back from the line of houses, is a massive archway of good solid proportions, the gateway to the terminus of the Birmingham Railway. Of all the exits from or entrances to those great modern vomitories of the metropolis, the railways, this is the most striking. The terminus of the Great Western is in a pit; that of the South Western stands behind backs; that of the Brighton, &c., comes "slantendicular" on to the road. The terminus of the North Eastern may be free from such blemishes, but our travels have not yet extended to that undiscovered bourne in the far East.

Ought we or ought we not to say a word or two by way of appendix concerning the suburban squares? Unluckily, our acquaintance with them is not very extensive. And the most exigent reader, when he considers what a space the suburbs of London spread over, will scarcely think we need be ashamed to make the confession.

Of the squares beyond the river the only one we can charge our memory with a particular recollection of is Kennington Oval, which is not a square any more than Finsbury Circus, and which, moreover, seems to make little haste to completion. Kennington Common and Camberwell Green will, doubtless, be manufactured into squares ere long. Viewed as *matériel* they are not more hopeless than were "the five fields" upon which Belgrave Square has sprung up. Should the park, of which there has been some talk as projected on the banks of the river in Battersea-fields, ever become a reality, there will squares even be constructed around it.

Along the Mile-end Road and towards Stratford-le-Bow, where, unless Chaucer misleads us, was the earliest fashionable boarding-school at which young ladies were "Frenched," there are some pretty enough common-place squares, which have too little of individual character to leave a lasting impression. In Hoxton, as has been already noticed, is Hoxton Square, the oldest of suburban squares. Islington has a square or two, but the square does not appear to have as yet extended towards Highgate. Camden Town and Kentish Town have places, but, so far as we recollect, no squares. Crossing the Regent's Park, however, to the S. W. we come upon Dorset Square—a square of a genteel enough character. In the new town springing up to the north of the "terraces" and "gardens" which line the Oxford Road as it skirts Hyde Park, there are several of colossal and somewhat ponderous squares yet unfinished.

It is, however, in the suburb which extends westward from Belgrave Square that squares are to be found "thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa strewed." Perhaps the reason may be that the example was set by Kensington Square at a very early period. Between 1730 and 1740 we are certain that Kensington Square was in existence, and a place of good fashion, for it was there that the modest and immaculate Letitia Pilkington forced herself upon the Archbishop of York to ask him to subscribe to her book. The appearance of some of the houses bespeaks an antiquity at the least as great as this—the fashion of the doors and windows—the huge scallop-shells over some of the doors. The re-

sidence of the Court at Kensington Palace naturally led some of the dignified clergy and the nobility who held offices in the household to seek residences in the neighbourhood, and hence a more courtly style of building than in other suburban villages.

Next upon Kensington Square (so far as we have been able to learn) followed the squares and places projected by Sir Hans Sloane in the town laid out by him, and called Hans-Town, after himself, between Chelsea and Brompton. There is Hans Place (Hexagonal), of which Mrs. Hall has declared, in her 'Maid Marian,' it is so quiet that the very cats who come to reside there unlearn the art of mewing. There is Cadogan Square, which, from its peculiar relation to Sloane Street, might have been classed along with Euston and Eaton Squares, were it not, as Touchstone has it, "like an ill-roasted egg, all on one side." And there is Sloane Square, as bare and intersected with crossings as Kennington Common, as tiny in its proportions as Red Lion Square, and combining with a rare excess of common-place all that is uninteresting in both.

Thus initiated as a land of squares, the fashion grew in Chelsea, Brompton, and Kensington, and spread westward. Chelsea has its Trafalgar Square, or at least two sides and a half of it; and the houses in front of the College may assume the airs of a square quite as legitimately as the squares of Mecklenburgh and Brunswick already noticed. Brompton has Trevor Square; Montpellier Square (so called probably because it is more shut in from a free current of air than any other); Brompton Square (which excludes the busy traffic of the world by its gates); Alexander Square, which is not a square, nor anything else to which a name can be given, and Thurlow Square, yet unfinished. And, lastly, Kensington has, in addition to Kensington Square proper, Pembroke Square, plain enough in its exterior, and not unaptly characterised by the beer-shop at the corner; and Edward Square, which we are glad to find last on the list of suburban squares, as we would fain part from them with an agreeable impression. Edward Square stands behind backs. It is directly at the back of the range of houses that front to Holland House, and it stands sidling backward from Pembroke Square. The houses are all small, yet the central enclosure is more spacious and more tastefully laid out than in many squares that force themselves ostentatiously upon notice. This delicious square, thus stowed away in a corner, must have been designed by one who wished to carry the finest amenities of Patrician life into the domestic habits of the narrowest incomed families of the middle class. We regret to add that so delightful a plan did not originate with an Englishman: Edward Square was a Frenchman's speculation.

We return to town before we conclude, to notice an innovation: in addition to the novel structure and architecture of these new squares, London is getting *places* as well as squares. By *places* are meant the continental vacuums of that name, not the rows of houses which have hitherto been so designated in England, because nobody could invent another name for them. Waterloo Place, and the adjoining opening from which the Duke of York's pillar arises, is of this class; and a very fine one it is, owing to its connection with St. James's Park by a broad flight of steps. Trafalgar Square, when finished, will be another, though so much can scarcely be said in its praise. What with the effeminate architecture of the National Gallery, the hideous caricature of Nelson's statue, the

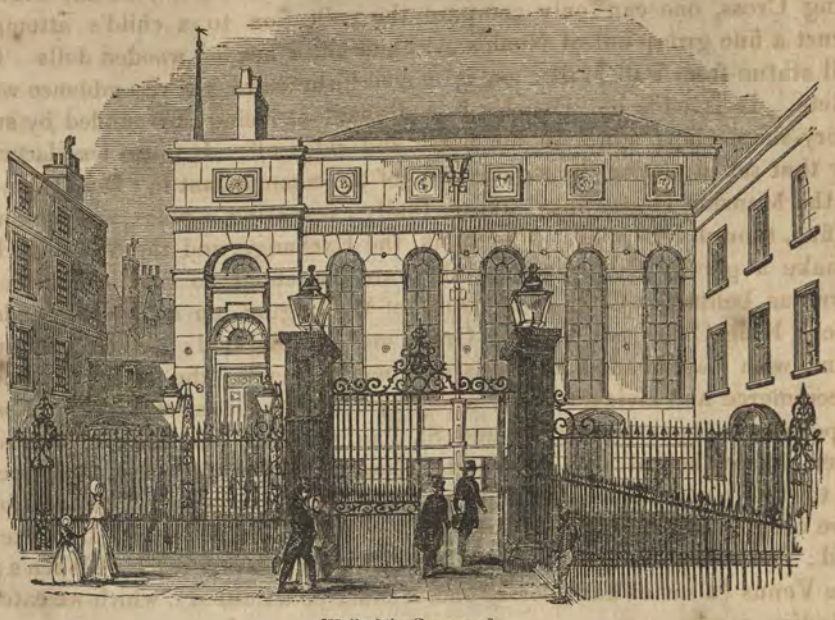
portentous tail of the Northumberland lion (like nought earthly but the pigtail of an old sailor, or the caudal appendage of a pointer at a dead-set), the showy vulgarity of the buildings extending from St. Martin's Church to the statue at Charing Cross, one can only compare the collection to a child's attempt to construct a fine group out of Noah's arks and jolter-headed wooden dolls. If the pigtail statue from Pall Mall East is moved hitherward, the resemblance will be complete. It is odds but Charles I., indignant at being surrounded by such a crockery-shop, claps spurs to his horse and rides off. It was a less lacerating injury that set in motion the stone statue of the commandant in 'Don Juan.'

At the Mansion House they are gradually excavating a place, which promises to be fine, though irregular. The Bank, the Exchange, and the Mansion House will make a goodly City place, if they are contented to remain prosaic and modern, as befits the City. The Duke of Wellington, on an oblong pedestal, like good King Charles at Charing Cross, may be tolerated; but let us have no columns, with mast-headed Admirals on them, to render the centre of London's busy commerce and civic authority a parody upon the forum of Rome. It would be expensive to open a place around St. Paul's by the demolition of the houses between the cathedral and Paternoster Row. That a wide terraced opening down to the river should be made is scarcely within the range of probability. But we could scarcely wish to see the approach by Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill altered; for to us there is a charm in the glimpses we catch of Wren's *semi-reducta* Venus (a somewhat colossal one, it must be admitted), which we catch up the winding ascent.

Covent Garden, with its balustraded market, has also more of the place than the square. And here we close our desultory remarks where we began them, having, like the snake, emblem of Eternity, brought our head round to our tail; having, like John Gilpin, neither stinted nor stayed,

"Nor stopped till where we first got up
We have again got down."

[Bridgewater Square.]



[Hall of the Company.]

CXXXIX.—THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

THE history of the Stationers' Company furnishes probably the most terse and forcible illustration of the progress of literature in England that can well be given. Let us merely glance at three phases of the history. The first takes us back to the days when our chief booksellers and publishers were men who *wrote* what they sold, and with whom, of course, calligraphy was the best stock in trade for a young bookseller to commence business upon; and when the learning and literature of the country demanded, as their chief food, A B C's and Paternosters, Aves and Creeds, Graces and Amens, with portions of the Scriptures for the more ambitious, and occasionally for the very wealthy and very learned a chronicle history, or a copy of the Canterbury Tales. Such were the members of the Stationers' Company, such their avocations, prior to the fifteenth century; and of which the names of Paternoster Row, Amen Corner, and Ave-Maria Lane, are a perpetual testimony.

But as if the Divine voice had said for a second time, Let there be light—printing dawned upon the world, and the effect produced during the first century of its operations is clearly exhibited in what we may call the second phase of the Company's history. Just one hundred and one years after the introduction of the art into this country by Caxton, we find certain parties petitioning the Queen, Elizabeth, for the sole printing of ballads, damask paper, and books in prose or metre, a medley of objects that seems to imply a consciousness of the growing

national literature, with a delightful unconsciousness as to the definite state it might assume, and a tradesman's prudent caution not to risk too much upon such a speculation: poetry, philosophy, and education might do, but the damask-paper would, at all events, be an excellent adjunct. A good idea, no doubt, for the time, but many a publisher of the present day, who can make *his* damask-paper sell *for* the poetry, the philosophy, the—in short, whatever he likes to call it, by virtue of the semblance of rhyme or reason he causes to be impressed upon it, must smile at the inartistical character of those early trade arrangements. To the petitioners in question the Company of Stationers started up in reply, and its statement* furnishes a most interesting and somewhat amusing view of English literature, just before the Shaksperes and Ben Jonsons, the Massingers, and Beaumont and Fletchers arose, to place it at its culminating point of splendour. We learn from it that the proposed privilege would have been the overthrow of a multitude of families, since it was by the printing of such books that the Company was then maintained. We learn also from it that literature was already growing too rich a thing, in a commercial sense, for the Stationers' Company to be left in quiet possession of; that slice after slice was cut off by its own members for their individual enjoyment; that it was, in other words, dividing itself into departments, each of such importance as to be made the object of special privilege from royalty, and therefore, of course, each worth the purchasing by a pretty round sum, the usual mode of obtaining privileges. It is important here to observe that, in exercising its power over the productions of the press, there was a general governmental motive of infinitely higher importance than the particular royal ones we have referred to, both which worked very harmoniously together. "On the first introduction of printing it was considered, as well in England as in other countries, to be a matter of state. The quick and extensive circulation of sentiments and opinions which that invaluable art introduced could not but fall under the gripe of governments, whose principal strength was built upon the ignorance of the people who were to submit to them. The press was therefore wholly under the coercion of the crown, and all printing, not only of public books containing ordinances, religious or civil, but every species of publication whatever, was regulated by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege, and finally by the decrees of the Star Chamber,"† of which the Company of Stationers were said in the last century to be the "literary constables," whose duty it was "to suppress all the science and information to which we owe our freedom." The principal of these constables, during the reign of Elizabeth, were, it appears, John Jugge, the Queen's printer, who possessed the sole right of printing Bibles and Testaments; Richard Totthill that of printing law books; John Day, of A B C's and catechisms, who enjoyed also the sole right of selling those publications by "colour," observes the Company, "of a commission;" James Roberts and Richard Watkins, of almanacs and prognostications; Thomas Marsh, of the Latin books used in the grammar-schools of the country; Thomas Vantroller, a stranger, of other Latin books, including the New Testa-

* As given by Nicholls in his account of the Company; of which he was a highly respected member: see 'Literary Anecdotes,' vol. iii.

† Lord Erskine's speech in the cause of the Stationers' Company against Carnan, of which we shall have occasion to speak in another page.

ment in that language; one Byrde, a singing man, of music-books, and who, by that means, claimed the printing of ruled paper; William Seres, of all psalters, "all manner of primers, English and Latin, and all manner of Prayer-books," with the reversion of the same to his son; and Francis Flower, of "grammars and other things." One might do something with even the smallest of these privileges now. Aladdin's lamp pales in splendour, and the fortune of the builder of Fonthill seems to grow insignificant in comparison with the wealth that would pour in from such a source. All, or nearly all, these privileges had been possessed previously by the Company or by its members, that is, the trade generally. It is particularly mentioned that the right of printing Bibles and Testaments and law books had been common to the trade, that the right of printing the grammar-school Latin books belonged to the Company, whilst the A B C's and catechisms, the almanacs and prognostications, had formed the chief relief of the "poorer sort" of the fraternity. One of the special grievances complained of in the reply from which we learn these facts, was that the last-named privilege, Francis Flower's, was possessed by one who did not belong to the Company, but who coolly farmed out his right to one of the Company's members for 100*l.* a year, which, it was carefully stated, was raised by enhancing the original prices. Not the least noticeable feature of this phase is the sudden accession of members to the Company during the reign of Elizabeth; of the whole one hundred and seventy-five of which it consisted in 1575, no less than one hundred and forty had taken up their freedoms subsequent to the Queen's accession.

Above two centuries and a half have since passed, and the end may be said to be reached of which the beginning was foreshadowed in these continual parings down of the privileges of the Stationers' Company, and which parings, like so many parts of polypi cut off from the parent animal, ever in so doing started into a new and independent existence, rivalling the prosperity of the whole from which they had been derived, and themselves ready for a similar process. And what is that end? Let us step into Ludgate Street, and from thence through the narrow court on the northern side, to the Hall shown on our first page. The exterior seems to tell us nothing, to suggest nothing, unless it be that of a very common-place looking erection of the seventeenth century, and therefore built after the fire which destroyed everything in this neighbourhood; so we enter. Ha! here are signs of business. The Stationers' cannot, like so many of its municipal brethren, be called a dozing company; indeed it has a reputation for a quality of a somewhat opposite kind. All over the long tables that extend through the Hall, which is of considerable size, and piled up in tall heaps on the floor, are canvas bales or bags innumerable. This is the 22nd of November. The doors are locked as yet, but will be opened presently for a novel scene. The clock strikes, wide asunder start the gates, and in they come, a whole army of porters; darting hither and thither and seizing the said bags, in many instances as big as themselves. Before we can well understand what is the matter, men and bags have alike vanished—the Hall is clear; another hour or two, and the contents of the latter will be flying along railways east, west, north, and south; yet another day and they will be dispersed through every city, and town, and parish, and hamlet of England; the curate will be glancing over the pages of his little book to see what promotions have taken place in the church, and sigh as

he thinks of rectories, and deaneries, and bishoprics; the sailor will be deep in the mysteries of tides and new moons that are learnedly expatiated upon in the pages of his; the believer in the stars will be finding new draughts made upon that Bank of Faith impossible to be broken or made bankrupt—his superstition, as he turns over the pages of his Moore—but we have let out our secret. Yes, they are all *almanacs*—those bags contained nothing but almanacs: Moore's and Partridge's, and Ladies' and Gentlemen's, and Goldsmiths', and Clerical, and White's celestial, or astronomical, and gardening almanacs—the last, by the way, a new one of considerable promise, and we hardly know how many others. It is even so. The—at one time—printers and publishers of everything, Bibles, Prayer Books, school books, religion, divinity, politics, poetry, philosophy, history, have become at last publishers only of these "almanacs and prognostications," which once served but to eke out the small means of their poorer members. And even in almanacs they have no longer a monopoly. Hundreds of competitors are in the field. And, notwithstanding, the Stationers are a thriving Company. In the general progress of literature, the smallest and humblest of its departments has become so important as to support in vigorous prosperity, in spite of a most vigorous opposition, the Company in which all literature, in a trading sense, was at one time centered and monopolised!

If the Stationers' Company thus possesses peculiar features of interest in connection with a larger subject, it has independent claims also of an unusually attractive character in connection with its almanac history. The exclusive right in publications of this kind was possessed, as we have seen, during the reign of Elizabeth, by two individuals, who had obtained their right from the poor printers who previously enjoyed it, most probably just as it began to show that it would keep them poor no longer. A similar advance in popularity and sale led no doubt to the next change, which was the conferring the right on the Universities and the Stationers' Company jointly by James I., a junction characteristic of the royal pedant, who may have thought the first would provide the learning whilst the second should undertake the general management. It was a time of glorious promise for the speculation. As astrology had, in all probability, first brought almanacs into existence, by making popular the study of the heavens, on which it was based; so, like a careful parent, to its honour be it said, it continued for centuries to support them when in being. And the Company was duly grateful. Whilst the Universities ingloriously accepted an annuity for their share from their former coadjutor, evidently desiderating no longer the acquaintance of the astrologers, whilst wits laughed at predictions and more serious men grew indignant at the deception practised upon those who believed them, the Company remained firm; nay, to this hour, Francis Moore and Partridge are honoured names in Stationers' Court, the almanac of the former heading the yearly trade list, a precedence that its sale no doubt entitles it to. We have heard it said that something like 400,000 copies were among those bags before mentioned, from which, after making every allowance for the return of those unsold, a very handsome item must still remain. This, it must be confessed, reveals the philosophy of the Company's gratitude to astrology and astrologers. The Stationers' Company appears to have acted from a simple desire to give people that which would sell, whether astrological or not; and not from

any peculiar turn for prophecy inherent in the corporation. Thus even in 1624 they issued at the same time the usual predictions in one almanac, and undisguised contempt of them in another; apparently to suit all tastes. The almanac of Allstree, published in the above-mentioned year, calls the supposed influence of the moon upon different parts of the body "heathenish," and dissuades from astrology in the following lines, which make up in sense for their want of elegance and rhythm:—

"Let every philomathy (*i. e.* mathematician)
Leave lying astrology
And write true Astronomy,
And I 'll bear you company."*

But the men addressed declined doing any such thing, and so a very entertaining and instructive chapter in the annals of human credulity was left for our enjoyment and guidance; and for which we may refer the reader to a former number of our publication.† If, however, the astrologers could not be induced to quit their profitable occupation by this, or by any appeals, they could be made uncomfortable in it, and the eyes of the public to a certain extent opened at the same time as to their true character and value. And this our writers did with considerable alacrity. It must be acknowledged the subject was a tempting one; especially worthy, for instance, the powers of a Butler—hence the following masterly portraiture of Lilly, the greatest of the astrologers of the period, from the reign of Charles I. to that of Charles II.

"He had been long tow'rds mathematics,
Optics, philosophy, and statics,
Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
And was old dog at physiology.
But, as a dog that turns the spit
Bestirs himself, and plies his feet
To climb the wheel, but all in vain,
His own weight brings him down again,
And still he 's in the self-same place
Where at his setting out he was;
So in the circle of the arts
Did he advance his natural parts,
Till falling back still for retreat
He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat.
For, as those fowls that live in water
Are never wet, he did but smatter.
Whate'er he labour'd to appear
His understanding still was clear.
He 'd read *Dee's* prefaces before,
The devil and Euclid o'er and o'er.
He with the moon was more familiar
Than e'er was almanack well willer;
Her secrets understood so clear
That some believed he had been there:
Knew when she was in fittest mood
For cutting corns and letting blood;
* * * *
He knew whatever 's to be known,
But much more than he knew would own."

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Almanac.

† 'London Astrologers,' No. LXVI.

That the subject of this eulogy was not unworthy of it, a few notices of his life will show. Lilly seems to have had a good education, having been sent early to a grammar-school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, although his parents were too poor to do anything for him when he reached manhood; accordingly we find him in London filling at first the situation of servant to a mantua-maker. In two or three years he extricated himself from this position, and became a kind of assistant to the Master of the Salters' Company, who, being an illiterate man, employed Lilly to keep his accounts. From that time fortune almost constantly smiled upon him. His employer died in 1627, and Lilly married the widow, receiving at the same time a marriage portion of 1000*l.* The death of this lady in a few years, and a second marriage, brought him 500*l.* more. In 1632 he began the study of astrology under a fitting master, one Evans, a clergyman who had been expelled from the Church for his fraudulent doings, under colour of the science; and of whom Lilly proved a most apt scholar. In a short time the name of the new astrologer was in every one's mouth. A striking evidence of his popularity, and of the state of public feeling, in 1634, is furnished by an incident that then took place. Some wiseacres had got it into their heads that vast treasures were buried beneath the cloisters of Westminster Abbey; so Lilly was applied to in order that, by the use of the mosaical or miner's rods, he might decide the question. Not the least amusing part of the story is the behaviour of the Dean; when his permission was asked, he granted it, but only on the condition of a share in whatever might be discovered. The scene in the cloisters, during the experiment, must have been of an extraordinary character. Lilly was accompanied by thirty gentlemen, each carrying a hazel rod, and the time was night. A few coffins were disinterred, and the rods again and again applied without any satisfactory result, when, suddenly, a violent storm broke out, which so alarmed the whole body of nocturnal explorers that they ran off as fast as their legs could carry them. So popular a man was not likely to remain unconnected with the Stationers' Company. Prophecies had long been in Lilly's way. He had been bold enough in 1633 to publish the horoscope of the monarch himself, when Charles was crowned King of Scotland; and the latter, so far from resenting the boldness, took the prophet into his favour, and was, it is well known, in the frequent habit of consulting him from that time. In 1644 Lilly condescended to prophesy for subjects as well as kings, in public as well as in private. In that year he published his first almanac, under the name of Merlinus Anglicus, junior, and although the licenser took considerable liberties with it prior to publication, the entire edition disappeared in a few days. A curious circumstance followed the promulgation of one of Lilly's prognostications in his treatise, the Starry Messenger; the Commissioners of Excise caused him to be arrested on the grounds that they had been personally insulted, "by having their cloaks pulled on Change," and that the Excise Office had been burnt, both, they believed, being in consequence of his predictions. It was proved, however, that the publication had followed the events and not the events the publication. The idea of making astrologers responsible for such of their predictions as tended to fulfil themselves was not a bad one; for it is most likely that, apart from the mischief it was thus in their power to do whensoever they pleased, no inconsiderable portion of the public faith in their skill was obtained by the same proceeding. At

all events it was a decided improvement on the plan of Pope Calixtus III., who caused prayers and anathemas to be offered up against a comet, which had, according to the astrologers, predicted, and thereby, according to the Pope, assisted in, the success of the Turks against the Christians. But we fear the comet treated the matter with entire unconcern, we may say disrespect; not even a quivering of its tail, as it retired in unseemly fashion from the Papal eyes, betokening that it was in the slightest degree touched with fear or remorse. There is no doubt that Lilly, like many other astrologers, owed more to cunning and shrewdness, perhaps even occasionally to really superior knowledge, than to astrology. The powers so ludicrously assigned to astrologers by Butler, in the following lines, had, no doubt, often some foundation, though the influences by which they were obtained were very different from the ostensible ones:—

"They 'll search a planet's house to know
Who broke and robb'd a house below:
Examine Venus and the Moon
Who stole a thimble, who a spoon;
And though they nothing will confess,
Yet by their very looks can guess
And tell what guilty aspect bodes,
Who stole and who received the goods.
They 'll feel the pulses of the stars
To find out agues, coughs, catarrhs,
And tell what crisis does divine
The rot in sheep, and mange in swine."

But Lilly could do more than all this. He was really a keen reader of the signs of the times, talked so much about in astrological publications, but then it was by carefully looking about him on the earth, and studying the character of men, rather than by poring over the skies, and inquiring into the aspects of gods; we may rest assured that Lilly placed a great deal more reliance on the movements of Pym, and Hampden, and Cromwell in the parliamentary, than Jupiter, Mars, and Venus in the heavenly, houses. Up to 1645 Lilly was a cavalier, from thence up to the Restoration a decided Parliamentarian (he was a member, for instance, of the close commission that sat to consult upon the King's execution), after the Restoration, most loyal of king's men once more. But this time the change failed of the usual success; the astrologer's stars were unpropitious: all his applications for employment were answered by mortifying refusals; so he comforted himself, as well as he could, in his snug retreat at Walton-upon-Thames, where he had adopted a tailor as his son, christened him Merlin Junior, and by will bequeathed him his almanac. Lilly died in 1681. To this picture of him, who, in point of time and skill, is the most important of the old astrologers connected with the Stationers' Company, we need only add Aubrey's illustration of the method of almanac-making: "Most of the hieroglyphics contained in this [Lilly's] work were stolen from old monkish manuscripts. Moore, the almanac-maker, has stolen them from him, and doubtless some future almanac-maker will steal them from Moore."

After Butler's, the most formidable attack upon the astrologers was that made upon Partridge and his almanac, by Swift in 1709, which had the rare effect of making the prophet cease to prophesy; though the Company, not the less, issued

at the usual time a Partridge's Almanac, and, though that was discontinued during the three following years, it again rose then, and flourishes to this day. Swift knew well enough that it was the system that supported the men, rather than any particular men the system; so, though he worried poor Partridge almost to death by predicting he was dead, he took care to extend his attacks to the thing which alone made Partridge of importance. To those who may yet believe in Moore and Partridge, the following passage is full of instruction: "Then for their observations and predictions, they are such as will equally suit any age or country in the world. 'This month a certain great person will be threatened with death or sickness.' This the newspaper will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month passes without the death of some person of note; and it would be hard if it were otherwise, when there are at least two thousand persons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanac-maker has the liberty of choosing the sickliest season of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, 'This month an eminent clergyman will be preferred;' of which there may be many hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, 'Such a planet in such a house, shows great machinations, plots, and conspiracies, that may in time be brought to light.' After which if we hear of any discovery, the astrologer gets the honour; if not, his predictions will stand good. And at last, 'God preserve King William from all his open and secret enemies, Amen.' When, if the King should have happened to have died, the astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes for but the pious ejaculation of a loyal subject: though it unluckily happened in some of their almanacs, that poor King William was prayed for many months after he was dead, because it fell out that he died about the beginning of the year." If dullness, and credulity, and superstition were not wit-proof, such shafts must have penetrated, and the almanac-makers have speedily found that their occupation was gone; but we see little evidence that the Company found any effect produced where they would have felt it, that is in their ledger. But toward the close of the century, a new adversary sprang up, whom they could understand perfectly, as their proceedings against him testify. There was then living in St. Paul's Churchyard, a bookseller of the name of Thomas Carnan, who very unaccountably got a notion in his head that he had as good a right to publish almanacs as the Company; and, worse still, actually published an almanac on the strength of the notion. The Company, however, determined to settle the matter very speedily, and, after a preliminary flourish about counterfeits, threw him into prison. Strange to say, however, Carnan was still not satisfied, and tried again the second year, was again thrown into prison,—a third year, and the like result followed. These issuings forth from St. Paul's Churchyard of the almanacs, and the entrances into gaol of their proprietor became so regular a thing of course, that "there is a tradition in his family that he always kept a clean shirt in his pocket, ready for a decent appearance before the magistrates and the keepers of his Majesty's gaol at Newgate." * All this was very annoying to a respectable company; but Carnan's impertinence rising with every fresh effort to put him down, he at last, in 1775, brought the case legally before the judges of the Common Pleas, when, to the unutterable indignation of the Company, it was decided that in effect

* 'London Magazine.' See an excellent article on Almanacs in the volume for 1828, and to which we must express our obligations.

Carnan was quite right, that the professed patent of monopoly was worthless. The grounds of this decision were of higher importance than the subject that called it forth, and must not therefore be passed without explanation.

We have before seen that the crown exercised despotic power over the press almost from the very period of its introduction into England, and that the Stationers' Company were the instruments. Thus by their charter, received from Philip and Mary, it was declared that no persons, except members of the Company, should print or sell books; and they were at the same time empowered to seize and destroy all books prohibited by acts of parliament or by proclamation. In the reign of Elizabeth we find the Company, while pointing out to her Majesty what a very poor company they were, and begging for the privilege of printing the Latin Accidence and Grammar, enforcing their petition by a vaunt of their deserts in searching for and suppressing popish and seditious books. We need only give one illustration more, and that is from the reign of Charles I. On the 11th of July, 1637, a decree was issued from the Star Chamber, restricting the number of printers to twenty, besides the King's printer and the printer to the universities. When the Star Chamber fell, this jurisdiction fell too; but, unfortunately for the consistency of the men who overthrew both, the same odious restrictions were revived during the Commonwealth. One can hardly lament such an occurrence now, seeing the memorable event that sprang from it—the publication of Milton's 'Areopagitica, a speech for unlicensed printing,' which, if it did not move those to whom it was more especially addressed, did something still more extraordinary, namely, induced the licenser, Mabbott, to resign. At the Restoration similar powers were annexed to the crown, and, in a more solemn manner, by acts of parliament, which only expired in the reign of William and Mary, through the refusal of the legislature to continue them any longer,—a period that, as Erskine observes, "formed the great era of the liberty of the press in this country." The only reservation was that of publishing religious or civil institutions, in other words, the ordinances "by which the subject is to live and to be governed. These always did, and, from the very nature of civil government, always ought to, belong to the sovereign, and hence have gained the title of prerogative copies. When, therefore, the Stationers' Company claimed the exclusive right of printing almanacs under a charter of King James I., and applied to the Court of Exchequer for an injunction against the petitioner at your bar, the question submitted by the barons to the learned judges of the Common Pleas, namely, Whether the crown could grant such exclusive right? was neither more nor less than the question; Whether almanacs were such public ordinances, such matters of state, as belonged to the King by his prerogative, so as to enable him to communicate an exclusive right of printing them to a grantee of the crown? For the press being thrown open by the expiration of the licensing acts, nothing could remain exclusively to such grantees but the printing of such books as, upon solid constitutional grounds, belonged to the superintendence of the crown, as matters of authority and state. The question, thus submitted, was twice solemnly argued in the Court of Common Pleas, when the judges unanimously certified *that the crown had no such power.*" But rich companies never want powerful friends: the minister, Lord North, who, it is said, wished for loyal prophecies to bolster up the American war, now brought a bill into parliament to

give the Stationers that which the judges had decided they had not; and the universities, feeling, no doubt, they should do something for their annuity, if not in gratitude for the past, why then as security for the future, lent all their influence to carry the measure through parliament. But the despised Carnan had also a friend in the House, Erskine, who fought the battle against the monopolists in a spirit and manner worthy of his reputation, and the result was a signal defeat for the minister, the Company, and the universities. We have already transcribed from Erskine's speech an account of the question that had been raised and decided in the courts of law, namely, whether or no the monopoly was legal: it remained now to determine whether such a monopoly was right. Two points in Erskine's speech challenge especial notice: the first is that in which he deals with the mischievous effects of the proposed measure as regarding literature and knowledge generally:—"If almanacs," he observes, "are held to be such matter of public consequence as to be revised by authority, and confined by a monopoly, surely the various departments of science may, on much stronger principles, be parcelled out among the different officers of state, as they were at the first introduction of printing. There is no telling to what such precedents may lead; the public welfare was the burthen of the preambles to the licensing acts; the most tyrannical laws in the most absolute governments speak a kind, parental language to the abject wretches who groan under their crushing and humiliating weight; resisting, therefore, a regulation and supervision of the press, beyond the rules of the common law, I lose sight of my client, and feel that I am speaking for myself, for every man in England. With such a legislature as I have now the honour to address, I confess the evil is imaginary; but who can look into the future? This precedent (trifling as it may seem) may hereafter afford a plausible inlet to much mischief; the protection of the *law* may be a pretence for a monopoly in all books on *legal* subjects; the safety of the *state* may require the suppression of *histories* and political writings. Even Philosophy herself may become once more the slave of the schoolmen, and Religion fall again under the iron fetters of the church." The other point to which we referred bears upon the particular question, whether it was expedient to confer on the Company the sole right of issuing almanacs. To determine this, Erskine inquired into the state of such publications under the Company's supervision, and the result was startling:—"But the correctness and decency of these publications are, it seems, the great objects in reviving and confirming this monopoly, which the preamble asserts to have been hitherto attained by it; since it states, 'that such monopoly has been found to be convenient and expedient.' But, Sir, is it seriously proposed by this bill to attain these moral objects by vesting, or rather legalizing, the usurped monopoly in the Universities, under episcopal revision, as formerly? Is it imagined that our almanacs are to come to us in future, in the classical arrangement of Oxford, fraught with the mathematics and astronomy of Cambridge, printed with the correct type of the Stationers' Company, *and sanctified by the blessings of the bishops?* I beg pardon, Sir, but the idea is perfectly ludicrous; it is notorious that the Universities sell their right to the Stationers Company for a fixed annual sum, and that this act is to enable them to continue to do so. And it is equally notorious that the Stationers' Company make a scandalous job of the bargain; and, to increase the sale of almanacs among the vulgar,

publish, under the auspices of religion and learning, the most senseless absurdities. I should really have been glad to have cited some sentences from the one hundred and thirteenth edition of 'Poor Robin's Almanac,' published under the revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; but I am prevented from doing it by a just respect for the House. Indeed, I know no house, but a brothel, that could suffer the quotation. The worst part of Rochester is ladies' reading when compared with them."

The utility of the almanacs in other respects, it seems, had been on a par with their decency and sense. The House of Commons must have enjoyed amazingly Erskine's quiet wit in reviewing their claims to correctness and scientific learning:—"They are equally indebted," he says, "to the calculations of their astronomer, which seem, however, to be made for a more *western* meridian than London.—Plow Monday falls out on a Saturday, and Hilary term ends on Septuagesima Sunday. In short, Sir, these almanacs have been, as everything else that is monopolised must be, uniform and obstinate in mistake and error, for want of the necessary rivalry. It is not worth their while to unset the press to correct mistakes, however gross and palpable, because they cannot affect the sale. If the moon is made to rise in the west, she may continue to rise there for ever." After such an exposure of what the Company's almanacs had been, it was idle to talk of what they yet would be, on the same system. The House decided against the monopoly by a majority of 45. The Company was, however, relieved from the payment of their annuity, and the Universities received parliamentary compensation. And thus, as every one concluded, was the monopoly of the Company destroyed for ever. It was a great mistake. Almanacs from different quarters, of a better kind, came forth as expected, but some magic seemed at work with them; they disappeared in such unaccountable fashion. Even Carnan's did not last many years. The fact was, the Company was now buying up all such publications as fast as they appeared, or as fast as it could convince the proprietors of the prudence of selling them, which, with the Company's influence over the entire machinery of book-selling, was by no means difficult. The consequence was, that Poor Robin still revelled in the obscenity which he had learned in the days of Charles II.; Moore, and Partridge, and Wing, became as reckless as ever in their insults upon the common sense of the nation in their astrological predictions; and, during the French Revolution, a new coadjutor was brought into the field, who surpassed all his rivals and predecessors in the mystical wonder of hieroglyphics, and the almost sublime daring with which he settled beforehand the events of that most eventful time. One would have thought that the men of that age had supped full of natural horrors; but when Francis gave them his supernatural wonders into the bargain, they found their error. The sale of his publication was, of course, enormous—unparalleled.

The course of this history, it must be acknowledged, is not flattering to the Company; but in looking at its conduct we must not overlook the extenuating circumstances in its favour. Baily has told us that the members did once make an endeavour to reform their publications—and commenced by omitting from Moore the column showing the moon's influence on the parts of the human body; the consequence of that single omission was the return of the greater part of the

copies. The question, therefore, of improvement or no improvement did certainly resolve itself into that of little or no revenue, or a large one. And although there can be no doubt as to what a spirited and honourable corporation should have done in such a position, there is something to be pleaded for the Stationers' Company in not so doing. The evils that existed they found, and did not create; and the time was not so very remote since they had been esteemed anything but evils. We must not forget that some of our most eminent philosophers have been astrologers; and that the belief in astrology is not even yet entirely extinct. Within the last twenty-six years a book on astrology, in two volumes, quarto, and with elaborate tables, bearing unequivocal marks of genuine faith on the part of the author, has been published. But how was such a state of things to be terminated, the Company not having the least taste for self-sacrifice—no ambition higher than the breeches' pocket? In 1828, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge stepped quietly forward, and answered the question by the publication of the British Almanac; and the result showed, as history had a thousand times shown before, that the error of under-rating the public taste and knowledge is at least as frequent as that of over-rating, and infinitely more mischievous. And here, again, a certain amount of credit belongs to the Company. It did not disdain to learn, though a rival offered the lesson. It made honourable its next year's history by a two-fold movement: in one direction it banished a great deal of their astrology, and the whole of their indecency, from the almanacs;—Poor Robin was extinguished altogether—your very aged libertine is always irreclaimable; in another it published a new almanac of a very superior character in all respects, namely, the Englishman's. In the preface to the last the writers stated that "their own older and established publications they modify from time to time, as the diffusion of taste and knowledge may require;" and we believe there is nothing in the present management of the Company's business to contradict the principle thus publicly promulgated.

Some idea of the extent of the business now done, and of those who enjoy its profits, may be here usefully given. The Company, be it known to all who are not familiar with the subject, is a kind of Janus corporation—one head being ever busily occupied in eating municipal dinners and transacting municipal business, the other in making almanacs to sell, and in disposing of the proceeds when sold. And if you believe what each of the heads will not hesitate to tell you, when a corporation commissioner, for instance, is standing by, the common street announcement would be very applicable—no connection with the head next door; but then it is evident to all that the same body supports both:—it is truly a perplexing matter. It seems, however, to be thus explained. The Master and Keepers (or Wardens) of the mystery or art of a Stationer, as, to observe civic etiquette, the title must be given, were, of course, from the time of Henry IV., the farthest period to which their knowledge of themselves extends, all members of the same, or closely connected trades, in this agreeing with municipal fraternities generally; but whilst the last gradually ceased to have any important duties connected with, or control over, their respective occupations, and therefore grew careless as to what trade their new member might be—since all of every trade could certainly eat a good dinner, the most important part of

metropolitan municipal constitutions in modern times; the first, on the contrary, through the operation of the influences already pointed out, remained, and remains, a prosperous and thriving trade corporation, and is exceedingly careful as to the matter of admission. Their principle is very simple, and perfectly just. Whoever has a right to be a member of the Company through patrimony or servitude is admitted, whatever his business, but those alone can purchase admittance, or have it conferred on them by gift, who are members of the bookselling, stationery, printing, bookbinding, printselling, or engraving trades or professions; and then with regard to the election of the former class to the livery, such freemen must disclaim any participation in the Company's business as stationers. The effect, therefore, is, that the Company at this moment retains more completely than almost any other London corporation the features of its original character. The number of freemen is between 1000 and 1100, of the livery of about 450. As the business of the Company is managed by its regularly paid servants, those who form the proprietary body have little else to do than to invest their money when permitted, and receive the very handsome per centage it returns—12½ per cent. some years ago, and now, we believe, considerably more. The entire capital invested is upwards of 40,000*l.*, under the denomination of English Stock, a title derived from the time when the Company had a very respectable Latin stock also, now dwindled away to the trifling sum invested in the publication of a Latin Gradus, the only work at present published by the Company in addition to their almanacs. This 40,000*l.* is divided into between three or four hundred shares, varying in value, through a regularly increasing double sequence, from 40*l.* and 50*l.* to 320*l.* and 400*l.* each. The mode of distribution is, we believe, perfectly fair, and so arranged that the oldest members receive the greatest benefit. The shares being fewer in number than the Livery, there are, of course, always vacancies, which are filled up nominally by election, but virtually by order of seniority. A share may be bequeathed to a widow, but no farther. In the municipal character of the Company there is nothing worthy of particular notice. The receipts and expenditure are given in the Corporation Commissioners' Report for the years 1832-3 at the respective sums of 2542*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* and 1951*l.*; items which, it is almost unnecessary to state, have nothing to do with the trading business of the Company.

The Hall is chiefly noticeable for its pictures, since it has no architectural pretensions, and exhibits little of that sumptuous magnificence which glows and sparkles in the apartments of Goldsmiths' Hall. The Court Room is handsome, certainly, and delightfully comfortable when its lustres are lighted up, a cheerful fire blazing in the grate, the screen placed against the door, and the inmates sitting down on their well-stuffed chairs to hear the amount of the last year's dividend on their stock. At such times the arched and stuccoed ceiling seems to expand and grow more elaborately rich; no one then doubts that the extraordinary carvings of fruit and flowers over the chimney-piece are by Gibbons's own hands; West's picture, facing us in the little boudoir-like place at the extremity of the room, and of which we get some such glimpse of the two principal figures as is here shown, through the pair of stately columns that divide the two apartments, surpasses a Titian in colouring—a Michael Angelo in grandeur; nay, we question even whether the story in all its marvellous features, which gave rise to the picture,

[Alfred and the Pilgrim.]

would not be received implicitly, as the old chroniclers related it; one of whom says of Alfred, "Upon a time, when his company had departed from him in search of victuals to eat, and for pastime was reading in a book, a poor pilgrim came to him, and asked him alms in God's name. The King lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, 'I thank God of his grace that he visiteth his poor man this day by another poor man, and vouchsafeth to ask of me that which he hath given me.' Then the King arose, and called his servant, that had but one loaf and a very little wine, and bade him give the half thereof unto the poor man, who received it thankfully, and suddenly vanished from his sight, so that no step of him was seen on the fen or moor he passed over; and also, what was given to him by the King, was left there, even as it had been given unto him. Shortly after the company returned to their master, and brought with them great plenty of fish that they had then taken. The night following, when the King was at his rest, there appeared to him one in a bishop's weed, and charged him that he should love God, and keep justice, and be merciful to the poor men, and reverence priests; and said, moreover, 'Alfred! Christ knoweth thy will and conscience, and now will make an end of thy sorrow and care; for to-morrow strong helpers shall come to thee, by whose help thou shalt subdue thine enemies.' 'Who art thou?' said the King. 'I am Saint Cuthbert,' said he, 'the poor pilgrim that yesterday was here with thee, to whom thou gavest both bread and wine. I am busy for thee and thine; where-

fore have thou mind hereof when it is well with thee.' Then Alfred after this vision was well comforted, and shewed himself more at large." West's picture of this touching incident, divested of its supernal accompaniments, forms the most important of the pictorial treasures of the Stationers' Company. It was given by the excellent Boydell, who was Master of the Company, and of whom there is here a portrait, in his robes as Lord Mayor, which is amusing for its allegorical absurdities. The artist, Graham, wanted to say that Boydell was just and intelligent in his office, that he promoted Industry and Commerce as a tradesman, and that he did good service to the memory of Shakspere, by his famous gallery and the publication to which it led. So we have Boydell in the city chair, with figures of Justice holding the balance and the city sword on his right; Prudence, with her looking-glass and the emblem of penetrating wisdom, on his left; Industry, with a sun-burnt complexion and a bee-hive on his head, behind; and lastly, Commerce, in front, reclining on a cornucopia, with the compass in one hand, whilst with the other she points to the outpouring contents of her horn, and touchingly appeals to the Lord Mayor to know whether he won't taste of the good things he has done so much to create. No wonder, after all this, the artist's invention slackened its pace a little, and so told the remainder of the story, by putting the bust of Shakspere on a table with—the city mace. The other noticeable pictures, mostly portraits, are in the stock-room, where we have Tycho Wing, the astrologer, with his right hand on a celestial sphere; Prior, the poet, with animated features, habited in a cap and crimson gown, a capital portrait; Steele, with his handsome dark speaking eyes, and corpulent-looking body;—both these last pictures given by Mr. Nicholls;—Bunyan, a recent acquisition, and looking like a genuine portrait of the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress," the gift of Mr. Hobbs, whose vocal powers have so often solaced the fraternity; Bishop Hoadley, a half-length, in his robes of the Order of the Garter; and Bowyer, a bust, with a brass-plate and inscription written by himself, and too honourable to the memory of the writer and to the Company to be passed without special notice. In it he returns his "gratitude to the Company of Stationers and other numerous benefactors, who, when a calamitous fire, June 30th, 1712-13, had in one night destroyed the effects of William Bowyer, printer, repaired the loss with unparallelled humanity." And such a fact is the best possible testimony to the character and public services of the "last of the learned printers."

The charities of the Company are numerous, consisting chiefly of pensions varying in value from 30*l.* per annum downwards. Among the benefactors Guy stands conspicuous. He took up his freedom as a member of the Company in 1688, and commenced business as a printer in the house that, till of late years, formed the angle between Cornhill and Lombard Street. There he laid the foundation of his mighty fortune, by contracting with the universities for the printing of Bibles. Honours in Stationers' Court kept pace with the guineas in Cornhill; he became a liveryman, and member of the Court of Assistants. The buying up of seamen's tickets during Anne's wars, and the South Sea Stock, now presented opportunities for the investment of money, which Guy turned to extraordinary account. From the last, with characteristic tact, he drew off in time with his gains, and was one of the few whom that gigantic fraud and folly bene-

fited. It was time now to make himself comfortable, to grow domestic, have little ones playing about the knee, to whom those almost inexhaustible stores should descend. He determined to marry his servant-maid. On such an occasion Guy thought some little preparations necessary in a household characterised by economy much more than by comfort or completeness. They were set about. Guy would be lavish once in a life-time; he would even have the pavement before his door mended. With his own hands he marked out how far the masons were to go. Unhappily for the bride there was a little spot beyond, which she thought the men might as well do. But they answered that Mr. Guy had directed them not to go so far. "Well," says the maiden innocently, and little dreaming what thousands hung upon every word—"Tell him I bade you, and I know he will not be angry." The mending of that stone broke the marriage. Guy built hospitals with the main body of his fortune; from the remainder the Stationers' Company to this day derive some 50*l.* yearly for its poor.

The entering of the titles of all new publications on the books of the Stationers' Company is a custom of considerable antiquity, and we owe to it many important facts, illustrative of the order and the date of the writings of our great poets, more particularly Shakspere's. The recent Copyright Act has subjected the Company to the additional duty of registering all assignments of copyrights; so that it is still destined, in all probability, to a long career of public usefulness, a difference between itself and its less fortunate municipal brethren, of which it may be reasonably proud.

[Death and the Old Man. From Holbein's Dance of Death.]

CXL.—BILLS OF MORTALITY.

In the week ending the 18th of November, 1843, the number of deaths in the metropolis exceeded the average mortality by upwards of three hundred. There was once a time when a fact like this would have produced a panic among the citizens, and have arrested the gaieties of the West End; for an increase in the fatality of ordinary diseases was generally regarded as a precursor of the Plague: but, excepting members of the medical profession, undertakers, and sextons (whom it must not be considered ungracious thus to link together), this increase of one-fourth in the number of deaths is unknown to nearly all the world besides —a sure sign of the little interest which it excites, when scarcely common gossip adopts it as a "topic of the day." It was with the view of communicating to the inhabitants of London, to the Court, and the constituted authorities of the City accurate information respecting the increase or decrease in the number of deaths, and the casualties of mortality occurring amongst them, that the Bills of Mortality were first commenced. London was then seldom entirely free from the Plague, and the publication of the Bills was calculated to calm exaggerated rumours; and to warn those who could do so conveniently to leave London whenever the pestilence became more fatal than usual. The Bills were first commenced in 1592, during a time when the Plague was busy with its ravages, but they were not continued uninterruptedly until the occurrence of another Plague, in 1603, from which period up to the present time they have been continued from week to week, excepting during the Great Fire, when the deaths of two or three weeks were given in one Bill.

In 1662, Captain John Graunt, a citizen of London, who appears to have lived in Birchin Lane, published a work entitled 'Natural and Political Observations

on the Bills of Mortality,' in which he gives an account of the manner in which they were prepared. "When any one dies, then, either by tolling or ringing of a bell, or by bespeaking of a grave of the sexton, the same is known to the searchers corresponding with the said sexton. The searchers hereupon (who are ancient matrons sworn to their office) repair to the place where the dead corpse lies, and by view of the same, and by other inquiries, they examine by what disease or casualty the corpse died. Hereupon they make their report to the parish clerk, and he, every Tuesday night, carries in an account of all the burials and christenings happening that week to the clerk at the Parish Clerks' Hall. On Wednesday the general account is made up and printed, and on Thursdays published and disposed to the several families who will pay four shillings per annum for them." Maitland, in his 'History of London,' says that the Company of Parish Clerks was strictly enjoined by its charter to make report of all the weekly christenings and burials in their respective parishes, by six o'clock on Tuesdays in the afternoon; but a bye-law was passed, changing the hour to two o'clock, on the same day, in order, says Maitland, "that the King and the Lord Mayor may have an account thereof the day before publication." About 1625, the utility of the Bills having been generally recognised, the Company of Parish Clerks obtained a licence from the Star Chamber for keeping a printing-press in their Hall, for printing the Bills; and it was ordered that the two masters and the warden of the Company should each of them have the keeping of a key of the press-room door. In 1629 there were two editions of the Weekly Bills printed, one with the casualties and diseases, and the other without. The former was a foreshadow of the newspaper of later times, which devotes a column instead of a line, to "dreadful accidents" and other casualties. Graunt says, "Having always been born and bred in the City of London, and having always observed that most of those who constantly took in the Bills of Mortality made little other use of them than to look, at the foot, how the burials increased or decreased; and among the casualties, what had happened rare and extraordinary in the week current, so as they might take the same as a text to talk upon in the next company, and withal, in the Plague time, how the sickness increased or decreased, that so the rich might judge of the necessity of their removal, and tradesmen might conjecture what doings they were likely to have in their respective dealings" —he conceived that the wisdom of the City had designed them for other uses, and began to examine them; and the result was the work already mentioned, which is curious, and not without value as a step towards just conclusions. He had to combat some singular notions, first, that the population of London was to be reckoned by millions; "which most men do believe, as they do that there be three women to one man." He speaks of "men of great experience in this City wh[illegible]lk seldom under millions of people to be in London;" and all this he was hi[illegible]enough at one time to believe, "until on a certain day one of eminent re[illegible]ation was upon occasion asserting that there was, in the year 1661, two millions more than in *Anno* 1625, before the Great Plague"—a notion about as reasonable as the idea which prevailed amongst intelligent persons fifty years ago concerning the population of Nankin and some of the other cities of China. Turning to the Bills, he showed that if there were *only* six millions of inhabitants of London, the deaths being about 15,000, the proportion was only 1 in 400, which common

experience at once disproved; and as to the proportion of men and women, there were, he says, fourteen men to thirteen women; in which he was wrong on the other side, the number of females being always in the larger proportion; at the present time, for example, being about nine to eight. The population of London he reduced from millions, according to the popular notion, to 384,000, or 199,112 males and 184,886 females. The deaths were about 1 in 24. In 1605 the parishes comprised within the Bills of Mortality included the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, sixteen parishes without the walls, and six contiguous out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey. In 1626 the city of Westminster was included in the Bills; in 1636 the parishes of Islington, Lambeth, Stepney, Newington, Hackney, and Redriff. Other additions were made from time to time. At present the weekly Bills of Mortality include the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, seventeen parishes without the walls, twenty-four out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, including the district churches, and ten parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster. The parishes of Marylebone and St. Pancras, with some others, which at the beginning of last century had only a population of 9150 persons, but now contain 360,113, were never included in the Bills.

The nosology of the old Bills of Mortality is not without interest as an index of the state of medical knowledge at the time when they were commenced. Some of the obsolete heads would puzzle a medical practitioner of the present day. In 1657 we have "chrisomes and infants," 1162 deaths; in this instance the age of the deceased being substituted for the disease. By "chrisome" was meant merely a child not yet a month old, the appellation being derived from the chrisom, or cloth anointed with holy unguent, which infants wore till they were christened. In 1699 the number entered under this head was only 70; but as they decreased the number set down to convulsions increased, the name of the disease which carries off so many infants being at length substituted for the term indicative merely of age. In 1726 there were but three "chrisomes," being the last time this entry appears; and "infants" occurred for the last time in 1722. "Blasted and planet" is another curious entry, under which we find five deaths in 1657, five in 1658, three in 1659, and eight in 1660, after which it does not reappear, and soon afterwards "blasted" no longer occurs. "Planet-struck," however (of which "planet" was an abbreviation), occurs during the casualties for several years afterwards; and it is most likely that these appellations were bestowed on persons who wasted away without any very obvious cause. Dysentery, the disease of camps, and of those who live as if in camps, carried off its thousands annually in the crowded and dirty parts of old London; though it did not appear in the Bills under this name, but in one more homely and expressive than delicate. Scarlet fever, the deaths in which amount at present to about two thousand a-year, is not found in the old Bills till 1703, when the number of deaths from it is stated to be only seven, and the next year only eight, the fact being that it was long confounded with measles, even by physicians. The old synonymes for water in the head (hydrocephalus) were "headmouldshot" and "horseshoehead," and both referred to changes produced by this disease in the shape of the head. In 1726 they very properly began to be classed together. The head "rising of the lights," which was never omitted in the old Bills, has puzzled the medical historian; since the choking sensation in the throat (globus

hystericus), to which it seems to bear the nearest affinity, is by no means a fatal or even dangerous disease. "Tissick" is used for phthisis or consumption. Graunt has some curious speculations on the introduction of the "rickets" for the first time in 1634. Some of the casualties recorded are not likely to recur amongst us. In 1724 there was one "died from want in Newgate;" in 1732 one "murdered in the pillory;" in 1756 one "killed in the pillory." Graunt congratulates his fellow-citizens that "few are starved," the number of entries which occur under the head "starved" in the course of twenty years being fifty-one; but then he seems to have exempted "helpless infants at nurse, which being caused rather by carelessness, ignorance, and infirmity of the milch-women, is not properly an effect, or sign of want of food in the country, or of means to get it." Then again he observes that "but few are murthered; not above eighty-six of the 229,250 [the deaths in twenty years] which have died of other diseases and casualties; whereas in Paris few nights escape without their tragedy."

The chief value of the Bills of Mortality for upwards of a century after their first institution consisted, in the public estimation, of the warning which they afforded as to the existence or progress of the Plague, which during the Middle Ages and to the end of the seventeenth century was at all times either an active agent in the work of destruction or apparently suspending its ravages only to recommence them with greater fury. Sir William Petty, in his 'Essay on Political Arithmetic concerning the Growth of the City of London,' published in 1682, says: "It is to be remembered that, one time with another, a Plague happeneth in London once in twenty years, or thereabouts; and it is also to be remembered that the Plagues of London do commonly kill one-fifth of the inhabitants." Again he remarks: "The Plague of London is the chief impediment and objection against the growth of the City." Within the hundred years preceding the period when he wrote there had been five great Plagues, namely, in 1592, 1603, 1625, 1636, and 1665. In the four last years the total number of deaths in London, from all diseases and from the Plague, was as follows:—

	Total Deaths.	Died of the Plague.		Total Deaths.	Died of the Plague.
1603	37,294	30,561	1636	23,357	10,400
1625	51,758	35,417	1665	97,306	68,596

The above are the figures given in another work of Graunt's relating to the mortality of the Plague. In 1603 the deaths from the Plague were three out of every 3·7 deaths from all diseases, which was a higher proportion than in 1665. In 1625 there were eight times as many deaths as there were christenings in the previous year. If such a proportion were to occur now, the number of deaths in the metropolis would be raised from about 46,000 to nearly 400,000. But even in the intermediate years, between the occurrence of Great Plagues, the mortality was frequently reckoned by hundreds and thousands. In the five years from 1606 to 1610 the deaths from the Plague exceeded 2000 in three separate years, 4000 in one year, and in 1610 they amounted to 1803. This Plague, says Graunt, lasted twelve years. The number diminished until 1624, when not one death from the Plague was recorded; but in the following year the deaths rose to 35,417. Between 1625 and 1636 there occurred three years, at intervals, in which there were no victims to the destructive pestilence, one of these years being 1635; but in 1636 the deaths amounted to 10,400, and in 1639 to 3082; in the two following

years they were under 400; in 1641 they rose to 3067; in 1642 they amounted to 1824; in 1644 to 1492; in 1645 to 1871; in 1646 to 2436; in 1647 to 3597, diminishing after 1648 from 611 to 67 in the following year, and then only twice rising above twenty in the interval between 1650 and 1664. In 1663 there were nine deaths from the Plague, and in the following year only six. Immediately followed the Great Plague, with its 68,596 victims. With the exception of 1670 there were a few deaths from the disease in each year until 1679. After this the heading "Plague" in the Bills up to 1703 inclusive was filled up by 0 marked opposite. "So long had this desolating malady been a denizen that the terrified Londoners could not believe in its permanent absence: for more than twenty years they retained a place for its shadow—its name—like the chair at Macbeth's banquet, filled by a spectre guest!"*

The excessive mortality occasioned by the Plague must naturally have affected many interests, and have had a general influence on the ordinary course of life in those times. The supply and demand of labour, for instance, experienced its operation; but the equilibrium was soon restored. Graunt notices how quickly the greatest plagues of the City are repaired from the country. He estimated the yearly supply of strangers to London at six thousand, and shows how speedily the births rose to more than their ordinary height after the Plague. The years 1603 and 1625, it will be recollected, were plague years; and it will be seen that two years afterwards the christenings each time rose higher than the number in the year preceding the Plague.

	Christenings.		Christenings.
1602 . .	6000	1624 . .	8299
1603 . .	4789	1625 . .	5247
1604 . .	5458	1626 . .	6701
1605 . .	6504	1628 . .	8408

The accounts of the havoc made by the spasmodic cholera in London in the year 1348 appear scarcely credible, although, according to the late Mr. Rickman ('Statement of Progress under the Population Act of 1830'), they are supported by circumstantial evidence which appears to be conclusive. The disease began its ravages in London early in November, and "Death was so outrageously cruel" that it soon became necessary to set apart fields for additional places of burial. The Lord Walter Manny at this time purchased thirteen acres and a rod of land, in which one place, says the historian (Barnes's 'History of Edward III.,' printed in 1688), there were buried within one year more than fifty thousand persons, besides those interred in churchyards, churches, and monasteries. Stow says that he had seen and read an inscription fixed on a stone-cross which attested that the number of burials was as above-mentioned.

We pass over the plagues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and those of 1603, 1625, and 1636, already mentioned, until we come to the Great Plague of 1665, the history of which has been made familiar to us by the vigorous and graphic pen of De Foe.† Notices of the approaching pestilence occur in Pepys's 'Diary.' Under the date of October 19, 1663, he says:—"To the Coffee-house in

* 'Companion to the British Almanac for 1835,' p. 28, on the Bills of Mortality.

† In most modern editions of De Foe's work it is called the 'History of the Great Plague;' in Mr. Brayley's excellent edition the title is properly given, 'A Journal of the Plague Year.'

Cornhill, where much talk about the Turks' proceedings, and that the Plague is got to Amsterdam." October 30th :—"The Plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fear of it here, which God defend." Ships from Holland were enjoined, by an Order in Council issued in June, 1664, to perform a quarantine of thirty days in Holehaven. Between the 20th and 27th of December, 1664, the Weekly Bill of Mortality gave intimation that one person had died of the Plague in London. No other death from the same disease occurring until the second week in February, not much alarm was excited. In the last week in April two deaths from the Plague were reported in the Bills, but in the following week there were none. In the second week in May the return was nine deaths and four parishes infected, but in the following week only three persons died. The next three weeks, from May 16th to June 6th, the numbers were fourteen, seventeen, and forty-three. At "the Coffee-house" Pepys found (May 24th) all the news is "of the Plague growing upon us in this town, and of remedies against it, some saying one thing and some another." Early in June the weather was remarkably hot; the 7th "the hottest day," says Pepys, "that ever I felt in my life;" and he adds:—"This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there." Under the influence of a hot and stagnant atmosphere the pestilence rapidly extended in the month of June, the number of deaths rising from 112 to 168, and in the last week to 267. A general panic seized the inhabitants, especially those at the West End, the infection having spread from its centre in St. Giles's over the adjacent parishes. The nobility and gentry began to leave town, and the Court soon followed. The following entries are from Pepys: June 20th.—"This day I informed myself that there died four or five at Westminster of the Plague, in several houses, upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace-gate." June 21st.—"I find all the town going out of town, the coaches and carriages being all full of people going into the country." June 25th.—"The Plague increases mightily; I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's, over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up, which is a sad sight." June 28th.—"In my way to Westminster Hall, I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and the Palace." June 29th.—"To Whitehall, where the court was full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the Plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last. Home, calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too." Lingard says, "For some weeks the tide of emigration flowed from every outlet towards the country: it was checked at last by the refusal of the Lord Mayor to grant certificates of health, and by the opposition of the neighbouring townships, which rose in their own defence, and formed a barrier round the devoted city."

The mortality was for some time confined chiefly to the poorer classes, the greater proportion of victims being children and females. On the 13th of May a Court of Privy Council had been held at Whitehall, when a Committee of the Lords was formed for "prevention of the spreading of the infection;" and, under their orders, directions drawn up by the College of Physicians were issued, which contained instructions for the treatment of the Plague, and for preventing infection, one of which was as follows:—"Pull off the feather from the tails of

living cocks, hens, pigeons, or chickens; and holding their bills, hold them hard to the botch or swelling, and so they keep them at that part till they die, and by this means draw out the poison. It is good to apply a cupping-glass, or embers in a dish, with a handful of sorrel upon the embers." "High-Dutch physicians," "famous physicians," and quacks of all kinds, were busy at work distributing their invitations for people to come to them for "infallible preventive pills against the Plague," "never-failing preservatives," "sovereign cordials against the corruption of the air," "universal remedies," the "only true plague-water." "Constantine Rhodocanaceis, a Grecian," advertised that he "hath at a small price that admirable preservative against the Plague, wherewith Hippocrates, the Prince of all Physicians, preserved the whole land of Greece." Pepys tells us that "My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me." Many persons wore amulets; and others produced inflammation of the tonsils by keeping myrrh, angelica, ginger, and other hot spices in their mouths. By the end of July, however, so destructive had the ravages of the disease become, that the faith in quacks was pretty nigh extinguished. In the first week the deaths were 470, and in the last they had risen to 1843. The disease was at its height in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's Danes, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and in Westminster, in July. Then decreasing in these parishes, and travelling eastward, it raged in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's, and Aldersgate; while the City, Southwark, Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping, and Ratcliffe remained comparatively free. Early in July the City authorities, availing themselves of an Act of James I., "for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague," established the following regulations. They divided the City into districts, and appointed surgeons, examiners, searchers, nurses, watchmen, and buryers in each, who were required to hold a red rod or wand of three feet in length, open and evident to be seen, as they passed through the streets. They ordered that every house which the disease might enter should be marked by a red cross, a foot in length, painted on the door, with the words "Lord have mercy upon us" placed above it. The house was then to be closed, and all egress prevented for the space of one month. The order directed, "That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep them in, and minister necessaries unto them at their own charges (if they be able), or at the common charge, if they be unable." Many who were thus shut up, communicating infection one to another, eluded the vigilance of the watchmen, or bribed them, and by their escape disseminated the contagion. Regulations were also issued for the speedy burial of the dead. In the daytime officers were appointed to remove the bodies of persons who died in the public streets. The dead-cart went its rounds during the night only, and the tinkling of a bell, and the cry of "Bring out your dead!" intimated to the living the necessity of performing the last offices for their friends. At the end of alleys which the dead-cart could not enter, it remained, while the buryers, with links in their hands, carried forth the victims of the preceding twenty-four hours. Uncoffined, unaccompanied by mourners, the corpses in the dead-cart were carried to a common grave capable of holding a large number of persons, and dug in the churchyard, or, when that was already full, a pit was dug in the outskirts of the parish. In the 'Newes' of August 29th a complaint is made that

in some of these burial-places "the bodies are piled even to the level of the ground, and thereby poison the whole neighbourhood." None but the refuse of society could be procured to bury the dead. Besides the two principal pest-houses, one in the fields beyond Old Street, removed in 1737 (the site of which was long afterwards indicated by a small street called Pest-house Row), and one at Tothill Fields in Westminster, there were other temporary ones in different parts of London; but they were not general receptacles for infected persons, but only for those who could pay for being allowed to remain.

[Pest House in Tothill Fields, Westminster. From a Print by Hollar.]

Early in August the Plague began to make its way more rapidly in the City. In the same space of ground which now contains a population of 54,000, there were at this period nearly three times that number crowded in narrow and badly ventilated streets. The general condition of the City, except in one or two great thoroughfares, resembled the worst-conditioned "rookeries" of the present day. Less attention was paid to personal cleanliness, and refuse accumulated in the streets, and both the sewerage and the supply of water was defective. The poorer population might not be scantily fed, but their diet was less favourable to health and of a less wholesome variety than the same classes can now obtain. These were predisposing causes of the Plague. From the 25th of July to the 1st of August the deaths in the ninety-seven parishes, of all diseases, were only 228, but by the end of the month and the beginning of September the pestilence swept over the City with a fury which had not marked its visitations in the out-parishes. The general return of deaths in the weekly Bills rose from 2010, for the week ending August 1st, to 7165, in the week ending Sept. 19th. From August 22nd to September 26th the number of deaths from all causes was 38,195. The Rev. Thomas Vincent, in his tract entitled 'God's Terrible Voice in the City,' gives a fearful picture of the rapid progress of the Plague in August and September.

"In August," he says, "how dreadful is the increase! Now the cloud is very black, and the storm comes down upon us very sharp. Now death rides triumphantly on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into every house almost where any inhabitants are to be found. Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the City. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers nor offering wares, no London Cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some, from the eldest to the youngest: few escape but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves." Speaking of the month of September, Mr. Vincent says:—"Now the grave doth open its mouth without measure. Multitudes! multitudes, in the valley of the shadow of death, thronging daily into eternity. The churchyards now are stuffed so full with dead corpses, that they are in many places swelled two or three feet higher than they were before, and new ground is broken up to bury the dead." Strong-minded men were bewildered amidst the harrowing scenes which surrounded them. Awful predictions and tales of supernatural calamities increased the horrors of the time. A sword of flame, stretching in the heavens from Westminster to the Tower, was seen by crowds; for disorders of the mind and morbid fancies follow in the train of a great pestilence. Fanatics walked through the streets denouncing the judgments of heaven on the inhabitants; one bearing on his head a pan of burning coals; another proclaiming—"Yet forty days and London shall be destroyed;" a third constantly going about uttering as he past, in deep and solemn tones, "Oh the great and dreadful God!" The ravings of the delirious, the paroxysms of persons struck with the Plague, the wailings of those who had lost all their relatives and friends, were common sights and sounds in the public streets.

On the 2nd of September the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation by the advice of the Duke of Albemarle and of the Aldermen, enjoining fires to be kindled in every street, court, and alley of London and Westminster, to purify the pestilential air; "every six houses on each side of the way, which will be twelve houses, are to join together to provide firing for three whole nights and three whole days, to be made in one great fire before the door of the middlemost inhabitant; and one or more persons to be appointed to keep the fire constantly burning, without suffering the same to be extinguished or go out all the time aforesaid." These injunc-

tions were followed, and the fires were lighted on the 6th of September and kept burning until a heavy and continuous rain extinguished them. In the week ending September 12th there was a slight decrease in the number of deaths, but in the following week they were higher than they had yet been. Dr. Hodges, a physician practising at the time in London, who wrote a history of the Plague, entitled 'Loimologia,' states that on one night of this week more than four thousand deaths occurred. The disease had now reached its point of culmination; and in the week following the deaths (from the Plague) diminished 1632, or from 7165 to 5533; and for the remainder of the year they were, for each week, as follows:—Weeks ending 3rd October, 4929; 10th, 4327; 17th, 2665; 24th, 1421; 31st, 1031; in the week ending November 7th, they rose again to 1414, as many persons who had removed now returned, and there was less caution used in avoiding the contagion. In the following week the number declined to 1050; in the week ending 21st, to 652; 28th, to 333; and in the first week of December they were only 210; but in the weeks ending 12th and 19th they again rose to 243 and 281. But the citizens had now become reassured, and returned to their homes or resumed their wonted employments. The total deaths of the year were 97,306, of which 68,596 were of the Plague; but most writers assert that the number was greater, as in the confusion and consternation which prevailed, and the frequent deaths of clerks and sextons by whom the returns were made, an exact account could not be kept. Evelyn, Pepys, and a few other writers give us a picture of the external appearance of London during this period of desolation. Several thousand houses were shut up, the inhabitants of which had either died or fled into the country. Many thousand servants were left homeless, and artisans and labourers were deprived of employment. Some found employment as nurses, watchmen, and in the performance of other duties created by the necessities of the time. Charity was dispensed with a free hand, the King giving 1000*l.* a-week; the City 600*l.*; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and others were free with their bounty. The markets, throughout all the time of the Plague, were supplied, through the exertions of the City authorities, much better than could have been expected. The west-end of the town was the first to be deserted, and, July 22nd, Pepys, returning from St. James's Park, which was "quite locked up," met but "two coaches and two carts, from Whitehall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people." St. Bartholomew's fair was forbidden in August. The Courts of Law were adjourned to Oxford in October; and the Exchequer Court was removed to Nonsuch, in Surrey, about the middle of August. September 7th, when the Plague was at its height in the City, Evelyn says, "I went all along the City and suburbs, from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn it might be next." September 14th Pepys visited the Exchange, which he wondered to see so full, "about two hundred people, but plain men all. . . . . And Lord! to see how I did endeavour, all I could, to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the Plague upon them." September 20th, Pepys has an entry as follows:—"To Lambeth:—but Lord! what a sad time it is, to see no boats upon the river, and grass grows all up and down Whitehall Court,

and nobody but wretches in the street!" Many of the churches were forsaken by the parochial clergy, and their pulpits were frequently occupied by those ejected by the Act of Uniformity. February 4th, Pepys and his wife went, for the first time after the Plague, to their church in St. Olave, Hart Street, where the clergyman, who had been the first to leave and the last to return to the parish, "made a very poor and short excuse and a bad sermon." The Archbishop of Canterbury remained at his post. By the end of November, according to Pepys, the York waggon recommenced its journeys to London, after having discontinued travelling for several months. Early in December the town began to fill, so much so that Pepys feared it would cause the Plague to increase again. On the 31st of December he writes that the shops begin to be open. The West End still continued comparatively empty; and on the 19th of January Pepys observes—"It is a remarkable thing how infinitely naked all that end of the town, Covent Garden is, at this day, of people; while the City is almost as full of people as ever it was." Again we quote Pepys, who, under date January 31st, writes—"To Whitehall, and to my great joy, people begin to bustle up and down there." Early in February the Court returned to Whitehall, which tended greatly to the revival of confidence, and "the town every day filled marvellously," according to Clarendon, who adds, that "before the end of March, the streets were as full, the Exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous as they had ever been seen."

It is evident that the apprehension or existence of the Plague conferred upon the Bills of Mortality their chief value and interest. The Lord Mayor every week transmitted a copy to the Court; and on one of his visits to Whitehall Pepys says, the Duke of Albemarle "showed us the number of the Plague this week, brought in last night from the Lord Mayor." The reports are still professed to be made weekly "to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty and the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor." They profess, moreover, to report the christenings and burials at the parish churches within the City of London and Bills of Mortality; that is, to have any utility at all, they should give the weekly and annual number of births and deaths (marriages they have never pretended to give) in a population of about 1,350,313, a contribution to statistical knowledge much to be valued. Not less important is it to ascertain the "diseases and casualties" in the population of the metropolis, and the ages "of the number buried." In the year 1842, then, it would appear at the first glance that, in a population of 1,350,313, there occurred 15,245 births, and the average duration of life for each person should be above 80 years to keep the population at its present height; but as we find in the Bills, that of those born nearly one-third are cut off before they attain the age of five, what must be the average age necessary to keep a population of 1,350,313 from declining, making ample allowance for immigration? Once upon a time the deaths in the City population were about 1 in 20, but now, apparently at least, they are not 1 in 100, a great extension of human life from an average duration of twenty years to above a century! Nosology is a branch of medical knowledge which has been greatly improved within the last few years; but out of 13,142 deaths, only 8504 are assigned to the fifty-five heads of disease which have a place in the Bills, and 538 are attributed to the vague term "inflammation." We have stated that the deaths in the week ending the 18th November amounted to upwards of 300 above the

average mortality; but the 'Weekly Bill of Mortality,' issued by the printer "to the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks," and applying to a population of 1,350,313, instead of 1,870,727, gives us the comfortable assurance that "the decrease in the burials reported this week is 149;" and this is the report made to the Queen's Majesty and the Lord Mayor. Now, without being unduly censorious, we may be allowed to express regret that an institution which once justly claimed respect and gratitude should not at once have been put an end to when its functions ceased to be useful and its authority was no longer entitled to respect. The Bills of Mortality are now utterly valueless. In 1832 they reported 28,606 deaths, and in 1842 only 13,142, while the population had been constantly increasing at a rapid rate. In 1833, out of 26,577 deaths, the causes of decease were returned as unknown in 887 cases, or 1 in 30; and in 1842, out of 13,142 deaths, 4638 are returned in which the cause of decease was unknown, or less than 1 in 3. The Company of Parish Clerks might at least have expected to have been supplied with the returns of mortality from the clerks of the metropolitan churches; but this is not the case. The parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, ceased to make returns in 1823; and in 1832 the parishes of All Saints, Poplar, and St. John's, Wapping, followed its example; and in 1834 the clerks of St. Bartholomew the Less and St. George's, Queen Square, became defaulters. The fact is, that instead of 13,142 deaths being reported annually, there should be about 33,000. Besides the contumacious parishes which refuse to contribute to the formation of correct Bills of Mortality for the metropolis, there are no means by which the Parish Clerks' Company can procure returns of the burials in cemeteries and in the places of interment belonging to dissenters; and the defects from this cause, in Maitland's time, now above a century since, exceeded 3000 a-year.

As we would speak with real respect of the past exertions of those who for above two centuries have had the preparation of the Bills of Mortality, so we may be allowed to compare the 'Table of Mortality in the Metropolis' issued weekly from the office of the Registrar-General at Somerset House with the old 'Weekly Bill' still issued by the parish clerks. The new system of registration commenced July 1st, 1837, and under the Act for establishing it the registration of all births, marriages, and deaths became compulsory. In the case of deaths the funeral ceremony cannot be performed unless the clergyman or minister has received a certificate from the district registrar stating that proper information has been given respecting the person who has died, the age, and the cause of decease. Thus the 'Table' cannot be rendered defective by contumacious parish clerks, nor by the interment of dissenters in burial-grounds attached to their meeting-houses: the inference is, that it is as perfectly accurate as it is possible to be—a reality and not a sham. The Registration Act has necessarily put to the rout those ancient matrons called "searchers," who until within the last half-dozen years were accustomed to go, as in Graunt's time, to inspect the bodies of deceased persons for the purpose of enabling the Parish Clerks' Company to compile their weekly and annual medical statistics. At the foot of the Bill of Mortality for 1837 there was a notice to the following effect:—"By the operation of the new Registration Act much difficulty has occurred in obtaining the reports of christenings and burials; in consequence of which, in some parishes, the reports have been wholly withheld; and in those of several other parishes where

the office of searcher has been discontinued, the diseases of which deaths have taken place have been necessarily omitted:" they were added to the "unknown causes." In the Bill for 1842, as already noticed, the difficulty here spoken of has increased. The only "true Bill" therefore is that prepared at the Registrar-General's office. The first of these Weekly Bills was commenced January 11th, 1840, and the series has been continued from that time without interruption. The total number of deaths in the week, in a population of 1,880,727, ranges from 734 to upwards of 1300. The registrars who officiate within the districts which comprise this population amount altogether to 124. They are supplied with blank forms, in which they are required at the termination of the week to copy from the register-books the age and cause of death in every entry which has been made during the week. The forms are then immediately forwarded to the office of the Registrar-General. Notes are here taken of any extraordinary forms of disease, and of all cases in which the circumstances attending death appear to be of a remarkable character. The department of Vital Statistics is superintended by Mr. Farr, whose valuable reports are well known. The deaths are next carefully counted, noticing the distinction of sex, and the numbers are then entered in a book opposite the several districts in which they occurred. The ages and diseases are now transferred by means of *marks* to a printed and ruled sheet prepared for the purpose, and which contains entries of ninety-four distinct diseases and casualties. The very valuable articles on 'Nosology' in the First Annual Report of the Registrar-General, and the 'Statistical Nosology' in the Fourth Report, have been printed separately, and copies sent to all the registrars in England and Wales. They show the principle on which the innumerable varieties of disease are classified, and are calculated to render the returns more accurate. The weekly 'Table' shows the number of deaths under each of ninety-four heads, and to a certain extent distinguishes the ages by a comprehensive classification, as "under 15," "60 and upwards," &c., the minuter specification of ages being given in the 'Annual Report,' which instead of being a demy half-sheet is a tolerably sized volume. We annex an *abstract* of the 'Table of the Mortality in the Metropolis, showing the Number of Deaths from all Causes registered in the week ending Saturday the 18th November, 1843;' to which we have added an additional column showing the number of deaths in one year:—

	Week ending 18th Nov.	Weekly Average During		Total Deaths in 1840.
		5 Autumns.	5 Years.	
Epidemic, Endemic, and Contagious Diseases	227	183	182	8,361
Diseases of the Brain, Nerves, and Senses	170	140	148	7,907
Diseases of the Lungs, and other Organs of Respiration	459	278	268	13,985
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels	30	20	18	997
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion	75	59	62	3,405
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c.	9	5	5	244
Childbed, Diseases of the Uterus, &c.	9	10	9	473
Diseases of the Joints, Bones, and Muscles	11	6	6	312
Diseases of the Skin, &c.	3	1	1	63
Dropsy, Cancer, and other Diseases of Uncertain Seat	107	106	105	5,612
Old Age, or Natural Decay	100	69	68	3,471
Deaths by Violence	26	23	24	1,253
Privation, or Intemperance	2	11	11	43
Causes not specified	2	8	5	155
Deaths from all causes	1230	908	903	46,281

The second and third columns present the weekly average for five *seasons* and for five *years*, namely, 1838-39-40-1-2, comprising, with the exception of the present year, and the latter half of 1837, the whole period during which the Registration Act has been in operation. We are thus furnished with a standard by which the rise or fall of mortality from any disease (it must be recollected that we only present an *abstract* of ninety-four different heads) may be detected at a glance.

In fixing the limits of the metropolitan registration district the Registrar-General determined to apply the term metropolis in the most extensive sense of which it was susceptible, including every Superintendent-Registrar's district into which the suburbs extended continuously, and which, with the exception of inconsiderable portions, assumed throughout the character of town. At the office there is a map of the metropolis, in which the boundaries of the thirty-three Superintendent-Registrars' districts and those of the Registrars' districts, into which the former are subdivided, are accurately traced. We are informed that Wandsworth and Clapham will next year be added, as a thirty-fourth district. The following is a rough classification of the metropolitan district into five great divisions, with the population and number of deaths in each, for the week ending 18th November.

	Population Enumerated, 1841.	Average Weekly Deaths, 1838-39-40-1-2.		Deaths in the Week ending 18th Nov.	No. of Inhabitants out of which one Death happened in 1840.
		5 Years.	5 Autumns		
WEST DISTRICTS.					
Kensington; Chelsea; St. George, Hanover Square; Westminster; St. Martin in the Fields; St. James . .	300,705	135	130	183	44·6
NORTH DISTRICTS.					
St. Mary-le-bone; St. Pancras; Islington; Hackney .	365,660	162	162	230	43·3
CENTRAL DISTRICTS.					
St. Giles and St. George; Strand; Holborn; Clerkenwell; St. Luke; East London; West London; City of London	373,806	184	183	224	39·2
EAST DISTRICTS.					
Shoreditch; Bethnal Green; Whitechapel; St. George in the East; Stepney; Poplar	392,496	203	206	285	38·5
SOUTH DISTRICTS.					
St. Saviour; St. Olave; Bermondsey; St. George, Southwark; Newington; Lambeth; Camberwell; Rotherhithe; Greenwich	438,060	219	227	308	38·6
Total for the Week ending 18th November: Males, 615; Females, 615. (Weekly average 1838-39-40-1-2, Males, 461; Females, 442.)	1,870,727	903	908	1230	40·4

This is scarcely the place even to glance at the advantages of an accurate registration of the most important events of existence,—birth, marriage, and death. If it shows that in such a district as Whitechapel the deaths of females are annually 1 in 28, and in other districts of the metropolis 1 in 57, or not one-half so many; if it points out that the average age at which the largest class of persons die is in one district 16 years only, while the whole of another class in the same district attain the average age of forty-five, surely it will cause a mighty effort to be made to elevate those who are depressed by moral and physical evils, the causes of which are to a considerable extent remediable.

The remarkable accuracy of the Mortality Tables of the Registration Office is shown by the fact that in the one we have abstracted only two cases occur in which the causes of deaths are not specified, that is 1 in 615. In the old Bill for the same week the number of unspecified cases is 51 out of 210, or more than 1 in 4. In compiling the New Table, it is in some instances found impossible, in consequence of the death or dismissal of a registrar, to obtain a return from the district in which he served until his successor has been appointed. In this event, which is of rare occurrence, it is usual to substitute an average (say 6 or 10) calculated on a few weeks preceding, and to explain the circumstance in a marginal note. Or it happens that the coroner, who is required by a provision of the Act to give information in all cases in which inquests have been held, fails to transmit his returns to the registrars within his bounds until the end of the quarter. But these are the only irregularities which are incidental to the preparation of these Bills; and fortunately they are inconsiderable in extent, unimportant as affecting the weekly results, and, moreover, are of such a nature as to admit of correction in the general summary of the Bills drawn up at the end of the year.

The engravings used as the head and tail pieces in the present number are taken from that fine series of compositions, improperly attributed to Holbein, called 'Imagines Mortis,' and also the 'Dance of Death,' &c. Of this 'Dance' there were many representations, as Douce tells us, in his work on this subject, "not only on the walls, but on the windows of many churches, in the cloisters of monasteries, and even on bridges, especially in Germany and Switzerland. It was sometimes painted on church screens, and occasionally sculptured on them, as well as upon the fronts of domestic dwellings. It occurs in many of the manuscript and illuminated service-books of the Middle Ages. Most of the representations of the Dance of Death were accompanied by descriptive or moral verses in different languages." Paintings of the 'Dance of Death,' or Dance of Machabree, as it was sometimes called, constituted a popular picture gallery of the Middle Ages. There was one in the cloisters of St. Paul's, which is said by Stow to have been executed at the cost of one Jenkin Carpenter, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. It was commonly called the 'Dance of Paul's,' and was destroyed by the Protector Somerset, who took down the cloisters as described in vol. iv. p. 276. Dugdale says that the painting at St. Paul's was in imitation of that in the cloisters of the Church of the Innocents at Paris. A painting of a Death's Dance, in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, probably suggested more than one passage in Shakspere. The poem on this subject by Lydgate, the monk of St. Edmund's Bury, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, was doubtless a welcome addition to the popular literature of England. It was entitled 'The Daunce of Machabree, wherein is lively expressed and showed the state of Man, and how he is called at uncertain times by Death, and when he thinketh least thereon;' and at the end it is said to be translated from the French,—

"Not word by word, but following in substance."

From the number of characters introduced and the dialogues between each of them and Death, the poem has all the interest of a drama: "Death fyrst speaketh to the Pope, and after to every degree." The characters introduced are the

Pope, Emperor, Cardinal, King, Patriarch, Constable, Archbishop, Baron, Princess, Bishop, Squire, Abbot, Abbess, Bayly, Astronomer, Burgess, Councillor, Merchant, Chartreux, Sergeant, Monk, Usurer, Physician, Amorous Squire, Gentlewoman, Man of Law, Parson, Juror, Minstrel, Labourer, Friar, Child, Young Clerk, Hermit. The head "Death speaketh to the King," or other character, is repeated throughout, and also the words—"The King (or other person) maketh aunswer." The verses are simple, and not without touches of natural feeling coupled with impressive truths delivered in homely but striking language. They could not fail, as well as the paintings to which they referred, to make a deep impression on the popular imagination. We give one verse of Lydgate's, in which, after Death has spoken to the Child, bidding it join the solemn dance—"The young Childe maketh aunswer:"—

"A—a—a—[crying]—a worde I cannot speake,
I am so yonge, I was borne yesterday;
Death is so hasty on me to be wreak,
And list no longer to make no delay.
I am but now born, and now I go my way,
Of me no more to tell shall be told;
The will of God no man withstande may,
As soon dyeth a yong as on old."

[Death and the King.]

[The Soane Museum.]

CXLI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND SOANE MUSEUM.

One cannot but wish that the National Gallery had either a less ambitious title, or that those who have influence over its destinies would hasten to make the collection worthy of such a designation. There is something to our minds painful in contemplating the conduct of those who may be said to have represented the nation in this matter. From the time, 1823, that the ministry was induced, with some difficulty, to purchase the Angerstein pictures, thirty-eight in number, private benefactors have continually stepped forth, sometimes even giving their entire collections, the fruits of long years of research and industry, and involving the expenditure of immense sums of money, to promote the formation of an institution they deemed so desirable: thus, in 1825, Sir George Beaumont, who had half bribed the ministry into the former purchase by a promise of his collection, gave 15 pictures; in 1831, the Rev. Holwell Carr bequeathed 34; in 1837, Lieut.-Colonel Olney bequeathed 18; in 1838, Lord Farnborough bequeathed 16; and at various periods numerous other benefactors have presented or bequeathed some 50 more,—a total of above 130 pictures, for which we are indebted to private munificence. And while all this has been doing for the people, what has the people done for itself? Tremble, public economists, as we announce the

profligate system of expenditure which must have been carried on! Great Britain, in the first twenty years of its labours in the formation of a Gallery, has actually purchased on the average above two pictures a-year—we fear, almost three. It is a fact that, in this year of grace 1843, we possess not less than 188 pictures, filling very nearly three moderate-sized apartments, and two small ones! No wonder that Mr. Wilkins and his supporters built an insufficient Gallery: who could have anticipated such headlong work as this?

But, seriously, if we really do believe in the value of such exhibitions, how are we to account for our faith being so very unproductive of tangible results? There is a collection at Frankfort of recent date, and owing its existence to an individual, which already nearly doubles our collection in the National Gallery; at Berlin a gallery was commenced about the same period as the latter, and it has already about 900 pictures; the Dresden Gallery contains about 1200; the Louvre, 1350; the Florentine, 1500; whilst Louis of Bavaria and his people possess, in the magnificent Pinacothek at Munich, a gallery numbering no less than 1600 pictures. Is it that the people of England have no taste for these things? The late Cartoon exhibition has set at rest that notion for ever. But the National Gallery itself, destitute as we shall by and by show it is of any kindly assistance to the poor, humble, and necessarily artistically ignorant class of visitors, whom it is most desirable to see there, yet presents in its own records decisive testimony that it is not the people who are indifferent. Let us but think for a moment of the average daily number of visitors, nearly 3000, or of the extent to which a holiday opportunity is used—by 14,000 persons, for instance, on a Whit Monday—or of the growing increase, almost as striking here as at the Museum, from 130,000 visitors in the year 1835, to 768,244 in the year October, 1839, to October, 1840, and we must be still more surprised at the pitiful spirit in which the National Gallery has been treated.

But, of course, what pictures we have are arranged to the best advantage. There must be keepers and attendants, and we have a right to presume competent ones; men who understand that "a Gallery like this—a National Gallery—is not merely for the pleasure and civilization of our people, but also for their instruction in the value and significance of art;" who know how the "history of the progress of painting is connected with the history of manners, morals, and government, and, above all, with the history of our religion," and are able to develope their understanding and knowledge in practice by a consummate arrangement of the works under their charge. Let us see. As we ascend the staircase, two cartoons, in the darker part of the passage at the top, first catch the eye—evidently fine ones, though we can with difficulty make out the outlines; the subjects are Cephalus and Aurora, and Galatea, by Agostino Caracci, forming the painter's studies for the two chief lateral compartments in the fresco ceiling of the Farnese Gallery at Rome. No doubt there must be some fine object in view in placing them here, isolated from and advanced before all the other works of art, and in a situation so disadvantageous to themselves as regards light, though we own we do not perceive what that object is; and whilst we don't choose to believe that it is *because* it is a cartoon particularly requiring light and careful choice of place that it is put here, as a bystander informs us, we are unable to answer the calumny; so we step into the little room on the right, hoping to find

there the commencement (or perhaps the termination) of the pictorial history so well described by the lady (Mrs. Jameson) whose sentences we have before transcribed. Hogarth's portrait, and his series of pictures, 'Marriage à la Mode' —Gainsborough, Wilson, Wilkie—yes, this room must be devoted to the English school—ay, West, Reynolds, here they are. But what is this? Canaletti; surely he was not an Englishman: Lancret, too, the French scholar and imitator of Watteau. We are puzzled. Let us try the other little room on the opposite side of the passage. English again: Sir Thomas Lawrence's beautiful picture of John Kemble as Hamlet, West, Hoppner; but here, too, is Canaletti, again representing his school, the Venetian—nor he alone, some of the Dutch painters' works keep his and the Englishmen's company. What can all this mean? Surely the pictures are not hung up in disregard of any order whatever, whether of school or time? Suppose we step forward into the suite of three apartments beyond us. Well, in the first of them, here is English Reynolds, in his picture of the three Graces around the altar of Hymen; Italian Domenichino, with his 'Stoning of Stephen;' French Nicholas Poussin, with his Phineas and his followers turned to stone at the sight of the Gorgon's head; Neapolitan Salvator Rosa, Spanish Velasquez, Dutch John Both, Flemish—no, we do not see any Flemish picture, so we must give up the idea of the representation of all the schools, that we began to fancy was aimed at. It is hardly necessary after this to go into the two other rooms to perceive that the fact is that our National Gallery, while miserably small in its extent for such a nation as England, is positively disgraceful in its arrangements; that so far from teaching its humble visitors any portion of the history of art, it perplexes and confounds whatever little knowledge of it they may possess, by the inextricable jumble presented of works of different countries, different periods of time, and essentially different schools or classes of painting. The authoritative explanation of such a state of things is not the least curious part of the business. The late keeper, Mr. Seguier, was examined on the subject by a parliamentary committee; and here is a specimen of the evidence. He is asked, "Has there been no provision in the plan of the National Gallery for the historical arrangement of pictures according to schools, and for making a distinction between the great schools of Italy, and the different national schools?" to which he answers, "I should *doubt* whether there is room for that." When further asked if he has ever turned his attention to such "arrangement in schools, and their division so as to make them as much historical as possible; connecting the masters with the pupils, and giving an instructive as well as an interesting view to the public of the pictures before them?" the reply is, "I think that would be exceedingly desirable; but that, *perhaps*, can only be done in a very large collection." And why? It is true that if we had a building worthy to contain a National Gallery of pictures, much more room would be occupied by them, under an excellent system of arrangement, than now; because the absent individual pictorial facts required to complete the general pictorial history would be marked by bare spaces, at once telling what would be very desirable to be known, that there were such deficiencies, and ready for the accommodation of the pictures that properly belonged to them, whenever these might be attained. But what has this to do with the essential question of arrangement or no arrangement in the existing building? The

pictures might certainly be grouped together into schools, and with a due observance of the more important epochs as to the matter of time, without taking up an inch of extra room; and we are happy to see that even in Mr. Seguier's case there were only a "a doubt" and a "perhaps" between his opinions and our own. With Mr. Seguier's successor, just appointed, there can be little fear, we imagine, that such innocent words will be any longer allowed to do so much mischief. That appointment seems to us full of promise for the future prosperity of the National Gallery; and makes the present a peculiarly fitting time for the introduction of the topics on which we have taken the liberty to say a few words —progress—improvement. As regards the general management of the institution, it is most liberal and judicious; the public are admitted the first four days in the week, without fees or invidious distinctions; the other two days are appropriated to the use of students. The entire annual expense of the Gallery is somewhat short of 1000*l.* a-year.

We propose now to look at the contents of the Gallery in something like the order we may suppose would be observed under a better system. Unfortunately, we seek in vain in Trafalgar Square any "collection of specimens in painting from the earliest times of its revival, tracing the pictorial representations of sacred subjects from the ancient Byzantine types of the heads of Madonnas and Apostles, through the gradual development of taste in design and sensibility to colour, aided by the progress in science, which at length burst out in fullest splendour when Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian were living at the same time." But commencing with these men, the grand masters of the schools of modern painting, the chief features of European artistical history may be traced downwards to the present time, with sufficient precision for ordinary purposes, by means of these 188 pictures. Of the works of that universal and precocious genius, Lionardo da Vinci (1452-1519),* who made his own master give up painting altogether in despair in consequence of the superiority of a single figure painted by the pupil in a picture the master had in hand of the 'Baptism of Christ,' we have but one example, 'Christ disputing with the Doctors,' which has become so completely a matter of doubt, that its subject and painter have been both questioned. It is said really to represent Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's Dream, which agrees better certainly with the age, and expression of the principal figure, and the work has been ascribed to Bernardino Luini by Waagen, and to Andrea Solario by a well-informed writer in the 'British and Foreign Review.' Mrs. Jameson considers the design to bear too much evidence of the master's style to be for a moment doubted, whilst inclining apparently to the general belief that it was executed by one of Lionardo's best scholars. Passing from the founder of the Milan school to the still greater founder of the Florentine, Michael Angelo (1474-1563), we are again reminded of the defects of the Gallery. Of all the works of that mighty master-spirit, we have here no originals direct from his hand; the extraordinary little picture entitled 'Michael Angelo's Dream' being but a fine copy, and the painter's share in the 'Raising of Lazarus,' one of the most important works in the Gallery, is confined to the composition and drawing, the picture itself being painted by Sebastian del Piombo, a glorious portrait-painter and colourist, but unequal to the sublimities

* Dates of birth and death.

of such a work. Michael Angelo is known to have frequently assisted Sebastian, who was one of the few that supported his cause in the contest then going on between his partisans and those of Raphael; but the general history of the 'Raising of Lazarus' furnishes more direct evidence of the connection; notwithstanding the circumstance that the exact facts are in dispute. Mrs. Jameson believes them to have been these:—Michael Angelo, with characteristic haughtiness, disdained to enter into any acknowledged rivalry with Raphael, and put forward Sebastian del Piombo as no unworthy competitor of the great Roman painter. Raphael bowed before Michael Angelo, but he felt too strongly his superiority to Sebastian to yield the palm to him. To determine this point, the Cardinal Giulio de Medici, afterward Clement VII., commanded this picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus from Sebastian, and at the same time commissioned Raphael to paint the 'Transfiguration;' both were intended by the Cardinal as altar-pieces for his cathedral of Narbonne, he having lately been created Archbishop of Narbonne by Francis I. On this occasion, Michael Angelo, well aware of the deficiencies of his friend Sebastian, furnished him with the design, and, as it is supposed, drew some of the figures himself on the canvas;* but he was so far from doing this secretly, that Raphael heard of it, and is said to have exclaimed, "Michael Angelo has graciously favoured me, in that he has deemed me worthy to compete with himself, and not with Sebastian." The two pictures were exhibited together at Rome in 1520, the year of Raphael's death; when, according to Vasari, both were infinitely admired, though the supereminent grace and beauty of Raphael gained the general suffrage of victory. From Narbonne the 'Raising of Lazarus' passed into the famous Orleans collection, and thence at the sale in England in 1798 to Mr. Angerstein for 3500 guineas, who it is said was afterwards offered 15,000*l.* by Mr. Beckford, but broke the negociation by insisting on guineas; and again 10,000*l.* by the French government, in order that they might place it by the side of its original rival then in the Louvre, which was also refused. The surface was seriously injured until West retouched it—and it is said, we know not with what truth, that he so largely worked upon it as to leave scarcely any portion of the picture untouched. Two other specimens of the Florentine school are in the Gallery; the first a 'Holy Family,' said to be by Andrea del Sarto, who, after Michael Angelo and Fra Bartolomeo, ranks third in the school, but which is either not by him, or very unworthy of him, though unfortunately our only presumed specimen of the master; the second, a 'Portrait,' by Bronzino.

The four only pictures here that enable us to judge of the state of painting prior to the period of the appearance of the constellation before just enumerated, are one by Van Eyck, of which we shall hereafter speak, two by Francia, and one by Pietro Perugino, Raphael's master. Francia (1450-1517) belonged to what may be termed the early Bolognese school, but the principles on which he painted are so evidently like those of Perugino, that we may safely look on the three works as most interesting and valuable examples of the materials that existed for the erection of that mighty school which was to call Raphael architect. Francia's pictures consist of the two portions of an altar-piece, namely, a 'Virgin and Child

* Several of the original drawings by the hand of Michael Angelo, and in particular the first sketches for the figure of Lazarus, were in the possession of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

with Saints,' and on a lunette or arch, a 'Dead Christ,' the head supported by the Virgin Mother on her lap, and with angels at the head and feet; both so pure, so simple, and so divinely holy in character and expression, that the sight of them, amidst the miscellaneous assemblage of pictures around, seems like a sudden light from above. And these are by a goldsmith of Bologna, a man who never touched pencil or palette till he was forty! The 'Virgin and Child, with St. John,' by Perugino (1446-1524), has much of the same simplicity, purity, and elevation, and shows that Raphael's master deserves infinitely more attention and honour, for his own sake, and for what he must have taught his "divine" pupil than for the mere accidental fact of his having been Raphael's master, which has hitherto chiefly made him known in this country. Perhaps, indeed, we have hardly an instance of one man of such thoroughly original and independent powers as the painter of the 'Cartoons,' deriving so much from another, as did the painter of the exquisite 'Madonnas,' that have filled the civilized world in one form and another with the sense of divinest loveliness, many of which are known to have been borrowed from Perugino, though enhanced in the borrowing. We are certainly richer in our specimens of Raphael (1483-1520) than of the other great men we have mentioned. We have the 'St. Catherine,' so noble in conception and so splendid in execution; the Cartoon of the 'Murder of the Innocents,' belonging to the same original series of twelve as the seven at Hampton Court, and deposited here by the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, a work which one cannot help fancying must have been traced by the hand as well as the energy of a giant; and, lastly, the portrait of 'Pope Julius,' almost unequalled in all the essentials of a grand portrait-painting; all important works, though still too few in number to do justice to this wonderful painter, who, like Shakspere, seemed the product of the mingled greatness of his time. Vasari says of the portrait of the Pope, now in the Gallery, that it was so like as to inspire fear as if it were alive; a remark that gives us as fine a glimpse of the character of the great patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo, as the story of the statue made by the latter, who, having exhibited his clay model, the Pope was so struck with the terrible expression that he asked, "Am I uttering a blessing or a curse?" Michael replied that his object was to represent him admonishing the people of Bologna, and asked him if he should place a book in one of the hands. "Give me a sword!" was the warlike pontiff's impetuous exclamation; "I know nothing of books." Of the pupils of Raphael, we have a single specimen, a 'Charity,' of his chief favourite, Giulio Romano (1492-1546), who assisted him in many of his works, was made by him his chief heir when he died, and what was still more remarkable, commissioned by Raphael's express direction to complete the works he should leave unfinished. No fear that the reputation of Romano would fall into oblivion, even if every one of his productions were to perish; we should always feel he must indeed have been a rare painter, to whom Raphael would have confided such an executorship. The 'Charity' is a small picture, and therefore not exactly of the class to illustrate Romano's excellence; it is in grand mythological subjects on a scale of proportionate grandeur that his soul found room to develop itself worthily. Garofalo (1481-1599), so called from his device, the clove-pink, was another pupil of Raphael's; two of his works adorn the Gallery. Of the remaining painters of the Roman school, Baroccio (1528-1612) contributes one picture, a

'Holy Family,' reminding us of the saying applied to him as to Parrhasius, that his personages looked as though they fed on roses; Caravaggio (1569-1609) one, 'Christ and his Disciples at Emmaus,' vulgar enough in conception, but rich and true in tone,—it was said of him by one of the Caracci, that he "ground flesh" rather than colour;—Guercino (1590-1666) one, a 'Dead Christ with two Angels,' in which we may trace Caravaggio's influence over his friend in the striking effects of the light and shade, with an elegance and dignity that Caravaggio had no conception of; Mola (1612-1668) three, among them a very beautiful 'Holy Family reposing;' Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) one; and Pannini (1691-1764) one.

The remarkable and most harmonious variety of excellencies of the great leaders in the modern artistical movement is very striking; it seems almost like a new version of the story of Minerva and the head of Jupiter—painting at once appeared to spring upon the world so fully armed and appointed. Whilst Raphael gave us new conceptions of loveliness in feature and form, of composition, and of character, and Michael Angelo drew gods and men like gods, investing them with an almost supernatural grandeur, Titian (1477-1576) and his followers, dipping their pencils in the rainbow, witch'd the world with their colouring, leaving to Correggio the perfecting the knowledge of all the subtle mysteries of light and shade. And now our Gallery begins to look rich. One, two, three, four, five—Titians, and three of them, at least, glorious examples of the master. Look at that great black eagle with outstretched wings soaring away with the beautiful boy, Ganymede, the future cup-bearer of the gods. What fine contrasts of colour! what delicious effects of tone in the rosy limbs! or this 'Venus and Adonis,' which, in the words of Ludovico Dolce, in a letter to a friend written on seeing a duplicate, "no one, however chilled by age or hard of heart, can behold without feeling all the blood in his veins warmed into tenderness:" or, greatest of all this 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' taken altogether, one of the finest things in existence, and which may be described in the lines that Titian evidently had in view when he painted it "line for line:"—

> ——————"Young Bacchus, flush'd
> With bloom of youth, came flying from above
> With choirs of Satyrs and Sileni born
> In Indian Nyse. Seeking thee he came,
> O Ariadne! with thy love inflamed.
> They blithe from every side came revelling on
> Distraught with jocund madness, with a burst
> Of Bacchic outcries, and with tossing hands.
> Some shook their ivy-shrouded spears, and some
> From hand to hand, in wild and fitful feast,
> Snatch'd a torn heifer's limbs; some girt themselves
> With twisted serpents," &c.
>
> *Catullus.*

They meet—Bacchus and Ariadne—on the sea-shore, the god leaping impatiently from his chariot, the distressed maiden startled for a moment out of her accustomed thoughts of the flown Theseus, but passing hurriedly on. We must not dwell on the remaining pictures by Titian, 'The Concert,' and 'The Holy Family with the Shepherds adoring.' Of the other illustrious of the school of the city of the waters, Giorgione (1477-1511) is said to have painted the 'Death of

Peter the Martyr' that is in the Gallery; but the work suggests little of the merits of him who was no unworthy rival of Titian, and, according to Waagen, it is ascribed to him on insufficient grounds. We have already mentioned the share that Sebastian del Piombo (1485-1547) had in the great picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus.' Of his own works there are two; a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga, and a picture with portraits of himself (a magnificent-looking fellow, certainly, with a beard that would do honour to an Eastern emperor) and Cardinal Hippolito, the Mæcenas of his time, who, without territories or subjects, lived at Bologna in a state that surpassed any Italian potentate's; and when the Pope caused some representation to be made to him as to the propriety of dismissing some of his retainers, as unnecessary to him, replied, "I do not retain them in my court because I have occasion for their services, but because they have occasion for mine." The "fiery Tintoretto" is represented in the Gallery by a 'St. George and the Dragon.' This is the painter of whom the curious story is told:—He was sent as a scholar to Titian whilst young, and a few days after Titian happened to find some very spirited drawings lying about his studio, and inquired as to the author. Tintoretto stepped forward, no doubt proud enough; when Titian ordered another scholar to—conduct him home. Tintoretto then purchased casts, chiefly from Michael Angelo's statues, inscribed his artistical faith on the walls of his apartment—Michael Angelo's design and Titian's colour—and set to work: the result was that, without particularly imitating either, he became what he desired, and in a high sense of the term—a painter. The other productions of the Venetian school are a portrait by Bassano (1510-1592), the Italian Rembrandt, as he has been called; a curious picture representing the building of the Tower of Babel, where the mode of building so important a work seems as primitive as the time, by Bassano's son, Leandro (1558-1623); a 'Consecration of St. Nicholas,' and a 'Rape of Europa,' by Paul Veronese (1530-1588), the first a very fine work, but still giving us inadequate notions of the gorgeous style of the artist; a 'Cornelia and her Children,' by Padovanino (1552-1617); a 'Cupid and Psyche,' by Alessandro Veronese (1582-1648), called also L'Orbetto, from a noticeable event in the painter's history, his having when a boy led about an old blind beggar, said to have been his own father; and Canaletti (1697-1768), from whom we have three pictures, views in and round Venice, the subjects that of all others his fancy best loved to luxuriate in.

"If I were not Titian, I would be Correggio," said the great Venetian, on seeing one of the works of the latter; and we can feel the full force of the eloquent and most significant exclamation, as we look upon these treasures of art, the 'Mercury and Venus teaching Cupid to read,' the 'Ecce Homo' (who that has once seen can ever forget the face of the Virgin Mary in that picture, which is finer even than that of Christ), and 'The Holy Family' (La Vierge au Panier), three of the great artist's greatest works: nor are these all our possessions; there are two different pictures of studies of heads, angels and seraphim, and the 'Christ on the Mount of Olives;' though this last is either a copy or a duplicate of the original in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. Of the 'Mercury and Venus,' by Correggio (1494-1534), it has been said, that "all that is necessary to enable the student in art to comprehend his (Correggio's) excellences may be found in this lovely picture. There is first that peculiar grace to which

the Italians have given the name of *Corregiesque*, very properly, for it was the complexion of the individual mind and temperament of the artist stamped upon the work of his hand. Though so often imitated, it remains, in fact, inimitable, every attempt degenerating into an affectation of the most intolerable kind. It consists in the blending of sentiment in expression with a flowing grace of form, an exquisite fulness and softness in the tone and colour, an almost illusive *chiaroscuro*; sensation, soul, and form melted together; conveying to the mind of the spectator the most delicious impression of harmony, spiritual and sensual. Lord Byron speaks of 'music *breathing*' from the face of a beautiful woman: music breathes from the pictures of Correggio. He is the painter of beauty, *par excellence*; he is to us what Apelles was to the ancients, the "standard of the amiable and graceful!"* Will it be believed that all this perfection of hand, heart, and soul was achieved in ignorance of the great works of his contemporaries, consequently, was an altogether unaided advance upon the state of art that prevailed when he began his career in his own native Lombardy? Yet so it was; and when at last a production of Raphael's met his eye—a 'St. Cecilia'—we can imagine and sympathise with the varied feelings and emotions that it called forth. "Well, I am a painter too," were his first words, after a long examination. Though not a pupil, Parmegiano (1503-1540) was evidently an imitator of Correggio; he is the painter of this tall picture, the 'Vision of St. Jerome,' where St. John, in the foreground, is pointing to the Virgin and youthful Christ in the clouds, while St. Jerome is asleep in the background. A great compliment to art was paid through the medium of this work, if Waagen's supposition be correct, that it was this on which Parmegiano was engaged during the assault upon Rome by the troops of the Constable Bourbon; an event of which the painter was so delightfully unconscious that the first news he received of it came in the shape of the hostile German soldiers looking to see what plunder might be obtained. What followed was enough to make one wish to blot all remembrances of former misdeeds of the Goths and Vandals of the north. The soldiers stopped to gaze on the work before them, became entranced by its beauty, and quitted the place, as one that should be sacred from all tumults, even the very unscrupulous and unrespecting ones of war. Unfortunately, another party afterwards seized the painter, and exacted ransom, in consequence of which he left Rome in poverty, and went to Bologna, where and at Parma he grew again wealthy and famous—then left the real art of alchymy he possessed for the nominal one, and died poor. Though executed at the early age of twenty-four, this 'Vision of St. Jerome' is esteemed, in spite of its exaggerations and other defects, one of Parmegiano's finest productions.

Of the Paduan school and its chief, Andrea Martegna, we have nothing; but of the Ferrara school, a kind of branch of the Paduan, there are three pictures, two by Mazzolino da Ferrara (1489-1530), and one by Ercole Grandi da Ferrara, 1491-1531; all religious subjects, and all interesting as showing the state of art in that part of Italy before Garoolo returned from Raphael's studio, and informed his works with much of his master's grace and grandeur.

* Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London, with Catalogues of the Pictures, &c. by Mrs. Jameson; a book so admirably fitted for its purpose, that we can only wish every one of our readers may have the benefit of it as an instructive and delightful companion on their artistical visits.

By the time of the Reformation the followers of the great men who had shed such splendour over the commencement of the century had ceased to deserve that name, and might, in some cases at least, be rather called their caricaturists: such, for instance, in their more important works, were the professed disciples of the great Florentine, Vasari, the historian of painting, and Bronzino, whom we have before mentioned. Signs of decay were everywhere visible. It was as if the grandeur and beauty that the small, but most memorable band of men, the Da Vincis and Raphaels, the Michael Angelos, Titians, and Correggios, had suddenly introduced into the world, had been too great an advance for the taste and knowledge of men generally, who, after a brief fit of overwrought admiration and excitement, fell back, through the natural effects of re-action, into a worse than their former state. But the progress of the new faith infused new vigour and energy into the old one; and where the contest did not end in establishing the Protestant, it undoubtedly helped to refix more firmly in its foundation the Roman Catholic religion. Such was the case in Italy; and the arts soon felt the impulse. Towards the latter part of the sixteenth century there were living at Bologna two brothers and their cousin, bent on no less a task than the establishment of a grand school of painting of a somewhat different class than any that had gone before. To the results of a close study of nature and of the antique they desired to add the results of an equally attentive examination of every great master's peculiar qualities; and thus produce, in theory at least, works of still loftier excellence. These men, having made themselves worthy of such a position, opened a studio in the house of the cousin, Ludovico, to prepare others, who might also carry on the good work. This was the foundation of the famous eclectic school of Bologna by the Carracci; one of whom, Agostino (1588-1601), drew the Cartoons in the vestibule or passage before mentioned; another, Ludovico (1555-1619), who first planned the school and chiefly guided its operations, is the painter of the 'Susannah and the Elders,' the 'Entombment of Christ,' and of the copy of Correggio's 'Ecce Homo;' whilst the third and greatest, Annibale (1560-1609), enriches the Gallery with a noble series of works, no less than seven in number, among which two are indeed gems, the 'Silenus gathering grapes' and the 'Pan (or Silenus?) teaching Apollo to play on the reed;' both are painted in distemper, and originally, it is supposed, decorated the same harpsichord. It is not unworthy of remark, as showing how greatly application may develop excellence, that of the three Carracci, whilst Agostino, who was of a light gay disposition, worked at the easel but by fits and starts, — whilst Ludovico, whose phlegmatic temperament and lofty mind naturally inclined him to study and work, laboured steadily in his vocation,—it is Annibale, the often rude and impatient, but always generous and enthusiastic, who surpassed both in the incessant character of his application and in its results. With two delightful traits of Annibale, we must conclude our brief notice of this noble trio to whom modern art owes so much: he is said to have kept his colours and his money in the same box, both equally at the disposal of his scholars; when he died, he was buried, according to his own desire, by the side of Raphael. Among these scholars two stand out conspicuous, Guido (1575-1642) and Domenichino (1581-1641). The talents of Guido were so early and conspicuously shown that the Carracci grew jealous, and Guercino (before mentioned) and Domenichino were pushed forward by them in consequence. We have four pictures by Guido

in the Gallery, one of which, the 'Andromeda,' is in the artist's best manner, warm, harmonious and delicate; and the same number by Domenichino, who has been ranked among the first of painters, and whose progress upwards was still more remarkable than his master's, Annibale Carracci. He was called the 'ox' by his fellow students; upon which Annibale one day remarked that the nickname was only applicable to Domenichino's patient and fruitful industry. It was a maxim of the latter that not a single line ought to be traced by the hand which was not already fully conceived in the mind. That all this implied anything but the want of energy and enthusiasm Annibale had one day an interesting proof: he found Domenichino acting in person the scene which he had to paint.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Gallery is one by John Van Eyck (1370-1441), which seems to show that the discoverer or restorer of oil painting had leapt at once to perfection, in the preparation of the vehicles of his colours, and kept the knowledge thus acquired to himself, for there is nothing in modern pictures to be compared with Van Eyck's for mingled delicacy and effect, and we fear for permanence. Above four centuries have passed over this little quaint piece of brilliancy, without a trace of their existence. The subject is unknown: it consists of two figures, a male and a female, holding each other's hands. The picture belongs to a very interesting period, when John Van Eyck and his brother had raised the school of Flanders to the highest pitch of eminence among the earlier schools of European art. They were men, as we may almost perceive in this interesting picture, who added to the most exquisite technical skill, profound feeling, and powerful perception and delineation of character. Before and after them there is a melancholy waste, not in northern art itself, but in our Gallery of its specimens. The fine old romantic school of painting might never have existed for aught we here perceive to the contrary. When we next arrive at works of the Flemish school, it is after a period of decline and degradation; from which a new artist at once, by his single strength, raised it; namely, Rubens (1577-1640), who, by the variety and value of the stores of a mind to which Nature had been most unusually bountiful of her richest gifts, informed it with a glowing life, an energy of character and passion, mingled with almost unequalled harmony of gorgeous colouring and picturesque composition, that placed both the school and the founder of it at the very highest point of reputation,—we perceive in this Gallery how deservedly. Rubens was equally great in history, landscape, and portraiture: of the last we possess, as yet, no examples; of the second we have a 'Sunset,' and a 'Landscape,' representing Rubens' own château near Malines, with the country around it, a wonderfully beautiful work; and of the first, among six pictures of different sizes and value, the well known 'Brazen Serpent,' the 'St. Bavon,' one of the most harmonious and picturesque of compositions; and, above all, the glorious 'Peace and War,' painted by Rubens in this country whilst ambassador to the Court of Charles I., to whom he presented it. Rubens had of course numerous pupils and followers, one of them scarcely less great than himself. Rubens' first intimation of something of this kind was owing to an interesting incident whilst he was painting his grand work, 'The Descent from the Cross:' one of the pupils pushed another against it, the part touched was wet, and, consequently, considerable damage done. To allay probably the alarm of

his companions, another pupil, Vandyck, stepped forth and did his best to set all to rights unknown to the master. When Rubens next looked at the picture, he was more than usually pleased with a certain portion—Vandyck's. It is said by some that Rubens' jealousy was so excited on his discovering the truth that he repainted the part; others, that it increased his esteem for his scholar; a supposition more in accordance with the princely generosity of Rubens's character, and supported by the strongest facts, namely, that they parted friends, and remained friends after parting, Rubens at one time even offering him his daughter in marriage. The pictures in the Gallery from the hands of Vandyck (1599-1641) are four in number, among which may be particularly mentioned the magnificent historical picture of 'St. Ambrosius and the Emperor Theodosius,' and the portrait generally esteemed without equal in the world—that of 'Gevartius,' as it is incorrectly called, or 'Vander Geest,' as no doubt it should be designated. Of Jordaens (1594-1678), the most important of Rubens's pupils next to Vandyck, the Gallery possesses a 'Holy Family;' and of other Flemish masters four works, two of them by Teniers (1610-1694), whose productions have been justly likened to reflections from a convex mirror, such is their minute truth and nature.

From the Flemish the transition is easy to the Dutch school, and a very fair sprinkling of the works, some twenty in number, of its most eminent men, may be found in the Gallery. Rembrandt (1606-1674), great King of Shadows, is here nobly represented. One of the finest productions in his early careful style, the 'Woman taken in Adultery,' enriches the Gallery; also his 'Christ taken down from the Cross,' his 'Adoration of the Infant Jesus by the Shepherds,' with the 'Woman Bathing' (or washing), a landscape, and two of his marvellous portraits. Nothing can exceed the poetical grandeur of the style of these works, in spite of their roughness of execution (people with too curious eyes should remember Rembrandt's caution, that paint was unwholesome); or in spite of an infinitely more important defect, the inherent rudeness, it may almost be called vulgarity, of the figures. When Vandyck was once admiring a work of Rembrandt's in the painter's presence, the latter exultingly remarked, "Yet I have never been in Italy." "That is very evident," was the quiet and not undeserved reply. A landscape by John Both (1610-1645), a 'Calm' and a 'Storm at Sea' by the half amphibious Vandervelde (1633-1707), and a landscape by Cuyp, the Claude Lorraine of the Low Countries, are the only other Dutch works our space will permit us to particularise. But we have incidentally recalled a name which, in itself almost a strain of music, opens a vista of the most charming productions that any age or time has given to us. Our National Gallery is here again worthy of its name: no less than ten works by Claude Lorraine (1660-1682) are in it. It were useless here to enumerate them, by whatever name called, in order to account for the figures put into them, and which are so bad that Claude used to say he gave them away, and sold only the landscape: landscapes essentially they are; and he must be difficult to please who would desire to see them any thing else. We can well understand the feeling which made Sir George Beaumont, himself a landscape-painter of the finest taste, after he had given his pictures to the Gallery, beg for one of them, his especial darling, back again during his lifetime, when we know that it was a Claude ('Hagar in the Desert') that he so desiderated. Claude, with Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665), and Gaspar Poussin (1613-1675),

may almost be said to form a school of their own, though Lanzi places them in the Roman, and other writers in the French school. France was their country either by birth or immediate descent, but from Italy they derived their nurture. Nicholas led the way in that kind of landscape which has grandeur for its object, and was followed by Gaspar, the mightiest master in the style we have yet had, and Bourdon (1616-1671), a scarcely less eminent French painter, of whom we have but a single specimen, the 'Return of the Ark:' this is the painter, by the way, who copied from recollection a picture of Claude's so perfectly, as to astonish that great painter no less than it astonished the public generally. The Gallery is rich in the works of both the Poussins, there being eight by Nicholas (or seven, if the 'Phineas and his Followers' be, as alleged, by Romanelli), and six by Gaspar: among these, if we must make any special mention, we may particularise Gaspar's 'Landscape, with Abraham and Isaac,' as the truly grandest, perhaps, that ever was painted, and Nicholas' 'Plague of Ashdod' (where the very tints and tones seem smitten with the disease they illustrate) in one style, and the two Bacchanalian pictures in another, as works of the very highest kind. The mechanical perfection attained by some of our painters is very extraordinary; Gaspar could paint a landscape in a day. The four pictures by Lancret (1690-1743), pupil and imitator of Watteau, demand but a passing mention, and complete our collection of the works of the French school. And we may here, immediately after the great landscape-painters above named, not unfitly find a niche for a man who was a school almost in himself, Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), poet, musician, actor, architect, improvisatore, and painter, of whom we have a single work, 'Mercury, and the Woodman:' why we have nothing more important, we leave those to tell who, when two of the greatest of Salvator's productions, 'Diogenes casting away his Cup,' and 'Heraclitus sitting among the Remnants of Mortality,' were offered to the Gallery, refused them; the individual who had a chief voice in their refusal afterwards purchasing them for the Grosvenor Gallery.

There remains but two schools more to be noticed—the Spanish and the English. As to the Spanish, four pictures alone represent it; three by Murillo, the most distinguished of Spanish colourists, which consist of a Holy Family, St. John with the Lamb, and a Spanish Peasant Boy, the last belonging to a class with which our countrymen have been made familiar, through the medium of engravings; whilst the fourth picture is by Murillo's master, Velasquez (1599-1660), a portrait, and therefore giving us some opportunity of judging of the truth of the skill attributed to him in that branch of art. When his patron, Philip IV., came one day into his room, he saw, as he thought, Admiral Pareja, in a dark corner, whom he had ordered to sea; "What! still here!" said he; of course, the admiral's portrait remained silent, and the king discovered his error. But neither the portrait nor the anecdote give us any adequate idea of the mighty talent of the greatest of Spanish painters, of whom it has been said, in "things mortal, and touching man, Velasquez was more than mortal: he is perfect throughout, whether painting high or low, rich or poor, young or old, human, animal, or natural objects. His dogs are equal to Snyders; his chargers to Rubens—they know their rider. When Velasquez descended from heroes, his beggars and urchins rivalled Murillo: no Teniers or Hogarth ever came up to the waggish wassail of his drunkards. He is by far the first landscape-painter of Spain: his

scenes are full of local colour, freshness and daylight, whether verdurous court-like avenues, or wild rocky solitudes: his historical pictures are pearls of great price: never were knights and soldiers so painted as in his Surrender of Breda.*

Referring once more to the title 'National Gallery,' it seems natural to conclude that one of the most important objects aimed at in its formation would be the gathering together, at almost any cost, the specimens of English art, from its earliest days down to the present time. How else, indeed, could a truly *National* Gallery be formed? It is very odd, but it does seem to be the fact, that such an idea has never entered the minds of those who have it in their power to carry it out to its legitimate practical conclusion. We have about 38 English pictures, it is true; but as to their quality, or the extent to which they illustrate English art, it is all matter of accident. They are very liberal at the National Gallery! they take every thing that is offered, if it be not very bad, and by no means exclude the works of Englishmen: but purchasing is a different matter: we believe not a single native picture has been obtained in that way. We may then really consider ourselves fortunate that our English school has any worthy representatives. There are one of Hogarth's (1697-1764) inestimable moral series, the Marriage à la Mode, in six pictures, and his own portrait with the dog; two of Wilson's (1714-1782) glorious landscapes, the Niobe and the Villa of Mæcenas; two of Gainsborough's (1727-1788), less grand, perhaps, but richer in colour and still more freshly beautiful—these are the Market Cart and the Watering Place; ten pictures by Reynolds (1723-1792), including his Infant Samuel, Holy Family, and two of his finest portraits—the Banished Lord, and Lord Heathfield, the brave defender of Gibraltar—with a study of Angels' heads, exquisitely beautiful; one picture by Copley (1738-1815), the Death of Lord Chatham; four by West (1738-1820), of which the least ambitious is by far the best, namely, the Orestes and Pylades; five by Lawrence (1769-1830), including the famous Kemble portrait, to which a corresponding picture of Mrs. Siddons has lately been added by a friend; two by Wilkie (1785-1841)—the Blind Fiddler and Village Festival—works whose merits are as rare as their reputation is universal; with others by Constable, Hoppner, Beechey, Jackson, Beaumont, Phillips, and Hilton (died 1839)—the last a truly noble work, representing, from the Fairy Queen, Sir Calepine rescuing Serena—a work which, in rich, art-loving, somewhat self-glorifying England, the painter was unable to sell, and kept therefore till the day of his death. It was purchased a short time back by some public-spirited gentlemen, Hilton's admirers, and presented to the nation, which will yet be proud of it.

Among the other Galleries of London, there are several which we should have been glad to have noticed had our space permitted us to do so: and we can but regret that it does not. Such are—the collection in Devonshire House, rich in Italian pictures, and more particularly of the Venetian school; Sir Robert Peel's, of which Waagen speaks so highly as "a series of faultless pearls of the Flemish and Dutch schools," a monument of the artistical taste and knowledge of their owner and collector; the Bridgwater, formerly the Stafford Gallery, to which a great work in four folio volumes has been specially dedicated, and which holds the first rank among English collections, being rich in all schools—pre-eminently so in the highest, and containing above 300 pictures; the collection in

* 'Penny Cyclopædia'—Velasquez.

Stafford House, belonging to the Duke of Sutherland; Lord Ashburton's; the Duke of Wellington's; Mr. Hope's; and the Marquis of Westminster's, better known as the Grosvenor Gallery, one of the wealthiest in the country in the works of Rembrandt, and the Dutch and Flemish painters, and containing many and valuable works in all the other chief schools.

[The Picture Gallery, Grosvenor House.]

We conclude then with a notice of a building which has no doubt often attracted the eye of the reader as he passed through Lincoln's Inn Fields, by the peculiarity of its general appearance—by the Gothic-looking corbels attached to the front without any apparent object, and by the figures on the upper part of the building, which to some may be familiar as copies of the Caryatides attached to the Temple of Pandroseus at Athens. That is the Museum of Sir John Soane, the eminent architect, presented by him to the public, and secured for ever to its use by a parliamentary enactment. And one of the most munificent gifts ever made to a nation, was made also in the most munificent manner: Sir John provided an endowment for the maintenance of the Museum, as well as the Museum itself, leaving us nothing to do but to enjoy, and be grateful.* The

* As the regulations concerning admission are, from the confined character of the place, and the great and peculiar value of the objects contained in it, necessarily framed and observed with great care, we subjoin from the Description what we may call the official announcement:—The Museum is "open to general visitors on Thursdays and Fridays during the months of April, May, and June, in each year; and likewise on Tuesdays from the first week in February to the last in August, for the accommodation of foreigners, persons making but a short stay in London, artists, and those who, from particular circumstances, may be prevented from visiting the Museum in the months first specified, and to whom it may be considered proper such favour should be conceded: persons desirous of obtaining admission to the Museum can apply either to a trustee, by letter to the Curator (George Bailey, Esq.), or personally at the Museum a day or two before they desire to visit it; in the latter case, the applicant is expected to leave a card, containing the name and address of the party desiring admission, and the number of persons proposed to be introduced, or the same can be entered in a book kept for the purpose in the hall, when, unless there appears to the Curator any satisfactory reason to the contrary, a card of admission for the next open day is forwarded by post to the given address."

interior is probably the most extraordinary succession of little halls, little corridors, little dining, breakfast, and drawing-rooms, little studios and parlours, or, what comes to the same thing, appears so from the multitude of objects crowded into them, that ever awaited the eyes of a curious visitor; and the names are no less fantastic: Monk's Parlour—Catacombs—Sepulchral Chamber—Crypt—Shakspere Recess—Tivoli Recess—Monument Court—such are the appellations of different parts of the building. As to the contents, they are at once so multifarious, and so different, that to describe them satisfactorily in any other way than by reprinting the description sold at the Museum is all but impossible. There are Egyptian antiquities, Greek and Roman antiquities, modern sculptures, gems, rare books and manuscripts, pictures, architectural models (an extensive collection, illustrating chiefly Sir John's own public works); in short, we should hesitate before we ventured to name anything positively as not being there. Walls, cabinets, recesses, ceilings, are everywhere covered—not an inch of spare room is to be found—the walls, indeed, doing double duty, by means of an ingenious contrivance—moveable planes with sufficient space between for the pictures; by which means a room of about 12 feet by 20 can accommodate as many pictures as an ordinary gallery 45 feet long by 20 feet broad. The value of the countless articles here so ingeniously arranged varies of course; many of them are of inestimable price. A foreigner, mentioned by Mrs. Jameson, compared its labyrinthine passages and tiny recesses to a mine branching out into many veins, where, instead of metallic ores, you find works of art; and the remark does no more than justice to the Soane Museum. Its formation was the work of the chief portion of a life-time, and involved an expenditure that has been estimated at upwards of 50,000*l*. To this general idea of the contents of the Museum we can but add a rapid glance over some of the more interesting among the articles that belong to our general subject, the Pictures. Among these are the portrait of Soane, by Lawrence; Reynolds's famous 'Snake in the Grass;' the 'Study of a Head,' from one of Raphael's Cartoons, a relic saved from the wreck of the lost cartoons, which remained in the possession of the family of the weaver who originally worked them in tapestry; copies of two other heads from the same, by Flaxman; another of Hogarth's moral series,—the eight paintings of the 'Rake's Progress,' with several others of the painter's original works; also paintings by Canaletti, one of them esteemed his finest work, Watteau, Fuseli, Turner, Callcot, Eastlake, Hilton. Yes, we must notice one thing beside, the truly magnificent 'Egyptian Sarcophagus,' found by Belzoni in a tomb, and which is of the finest Oriental alabaster, transparent when a light is placed in it, and most elaborately sculptured all over. It measures 9 feet 4 inches in length, 3 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 8 inches in depth at the highest part. It is, in all probability, the most beautiful relic of Egyptian art existing. The learned are sadly at issue as to whom it belonged; Sir Gardner Wilkinson considers it was the 'Cenotaph' of the father of Rameses the Great, whose conquests are represented on the walls of the great Temple of Ammon at Thebes.

[Marylebone, 1720. From the basin in Marylebone Park, near Regent's Park.]

CXLII.—THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS.

THE rapid growth of large towns has almost ceased to excite astonishment in our days. As to those who regarded with fear and apprehension the rate at which London was increasing at the close of the seventeenth century, what would they now say, if they could rise from their graves, and see the bulk which the monster of their imaginations had attained? Still, wonderfully as London has increased in magnitude, its population has not yet reached the point at which, according to the speculations of a clever and acute man a century and a half ago, it must necessarily come to a full stop. In 1682 Sir William Petty conjectured that, as London doubled its population in forty years, and the rest of the country in three hundred and sixty years, the number of inhabitants in London in 1840 would be 10,718,880, and in the rest of the country 10,917,389; "wherefore," he remarks, "it is certain and necessary that the growth of the city must stop before the said year 1840; and will be at its utmost height in the next preceding period [of forty years], anno 1800, when the number of the city will be eight times its present number, namely, 5,359,000; and when (besides the said number) there will be 4,466,000 to perform the tillage, pasturage, and other such works necessary to be done without the said city." Then he adds: "Now when the people of London shall come to be so near the people of all England, then it follows that the growth of London must stop before the said year 1840." The whole population of the cities and towns of England in Sir William Petty's time was comparatively insig-

nificant, and he doubtless considered that if it became much greater than one-half it would be unable to obtain food: at present, out of fifteen millions, nearly nine live in the towns of considerable size.

The attempt to check the increase of new buildings in London by statutory enactments began in 1592, when an act was passed prohibiting their erection either in London or Westminster, or within three miles, unless they were fit for inhabitants of the better sort; neither were single houses to be converted into several dwellings for "under-sitters." James I., in his proclamations, was no less anxious than his predecessor to repress the growth of his metropolis. He exhorted the Star Chamber to regulate "the exorbitancy of the new buildings about the city, which were but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes, like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses, like Italians." Notwithstanding, the evil made head against their most strenuous efforts. In 1630, we find Charles I. also issuing his proclamations to check the further increase of London, under the fear that the inhabitants "would multiply to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed." Another measure adopted, both by Charles and his father, was to order all mere visitors to the capital to leave it and go back to their homes in the country. What would our West-end tradesmen say to a proclamation of King James in 1617, which strictly commanded all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who had mansion-houses in the country, to depart within twenty days, with their wives and families, out of the city and suburbs of London, and to return to their several habitations in the country, there to continue and abide until the end of the summer vacation, "to perform the duties and charge of their several places and service; and likewise, by house-keeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective counties." None were to be allowed to remain, except those having urgent business, to be signified to and approved of by the Privy Council. Again, in 1622, in one proclamation, he commanded all noblemen and gentlemen, having seats in the country, forthwith to go home to celebrate the feast of Christmas, and to keep hospitality in their several counties, "which," said he, "is now the more needful, as this is a time of scarcity and dearth." Christmas a time of scarcity in London! a period at which it now literally overflows with the comforts and good things of life, which are to be obtained, too, at a cheaper rate than in any town of considerable size in the kingdom. In a second proclamation, referring to the former one, he enjoined the persons thus hurried off into the country to remain there till his further pleasure should be known; adding, that the order should be held to include widows of distinction; and that all such lords and gentlemen as had law business to bring them up to London should leave their wives and children in the country. Another proclamation, in 1632, alludes to their drawing from the counties their substance and money, which was "spent in the city on excess of apparel, provided from foreign parts, to the enriching of other nations, and the unnecessary consumption of a great part of the treasure of this realm, and in their vain delights and expenses, even to the wasting of their estates." The practice, it is added, also drew great numbers of loose and idle people to London and Westminster, which thereby were not so easily governed as formerly; besides that the poor-rates were increased and the price of provisions enhanced. "In regard to the point last touched upon, it is but fair to

remember," says the 'Pictorial History of England,' "that, from the difficulties of conveyance between one part of the country and another, any extraordinary accumulation of people upon one spot was in those days reasonably regarded with more alarm, for the pressure it would occasion upon the local provision market, than it would be now, when the whole kingdom is in a manner but one market." After all, therefore, these enactments and proclamations derive their appearance of absurdity from London not having experienced for so long a period the evils of scarcity, and from the increasing improbability, under all ordinary circumstances, of its again suffering so severe an affliction. Its two millions of inhabitants are better and more cheaply supplied than the half of this number forty years ago, and with the present facilities of distributing the necessaries of life, it would continue to be as well supplied though another million were added to the population. It would, in fact, be difficult to say where the check to population, from insufficient supplies of food and other necessaries, would come into operation, provided that the varied industry of the metropolis continued prosperous.

Besides the official authority adduced as proving that the increase of London was regarded as a veritable bugbear, various writers might be quoted to the same effect. Graunt, in his work on the 'Bills of Mortality,' published in 1662, speaks of London as "perhaps a head too big for the body, and possibly too strong;" and he complains that many parishes had grown "madly disproportionable." Rapin, who wrote his 'History of England' above a quarter of a century later, regrets that the enactments and proclamations against the increase of London had not been attended to, and repeats the old story of the capital being a monstrous head to a body of moderate size.

The City of London Within the Walls contains no more than three hundred and seventy statute acres, or about the one hundred and fortieth part of the space covered by the metropolis; but it is the parent of a mass of united and contiguous dependencies, stretching from Holloway and Kentish Town to Camberwell and Brixton, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich and Blackwall. Graunt complained in 1662 that "the walled city is but a fifth of the whole pile." As before stated, in extent it is the one hundred and fortieth part of the whole metropolitan area, and in population one thirty-sixth of the whole mass. We may soon make the circuit of Old London. From its eastern ascent at Tower Hill to its western descent at Ludgate Hill the distance is but a mile and a quarter. In tracing the limits of the ancient city we proceed from the Tower, behind the Minories, to Aldgate; behind Hounds-ditch (the city moat) to Bishops-gate; and along London Wall to Cripple-gate, the greatest distance from the Thames; thence to Alders-gate, New-gate, Lud-gate, and Blackfriars' Bridge. When it became no longer necessary to crowd within the walls for the sake of protection, the population spread itself in the limits known as London Without the Walls, a space still smaller than that part of the city within the walls, and comprising only two hundred and thirty acres. The authority of the city over this portion of the metropolis was acquired by successive grants of jurisdiction. The greater portion of the City Without the Walls extends from the bottom of Ludgate Hill and Newgate to Temple Bar and Holborn Bars, opposite the end of Gray's Inn Lane; and on the north it runs with tolerable regularity parallel to the line of the city wall, occupying the

site of the city moat, and of the wall itself, until it reaches the Liberty of the Tower. Mr. Rickman estimated the population of the City Within the Walls, at the beginning of the last century, at not much less than 140,000: and of the City Without the Walls at 69,000: the former had in 1841 a population of 54,626 and the latter of 70,382. The Borough of Southwark, which doubtless owes its origin to the ferry, or possibly bridge, which in the Anglo-Roman period connected London with the military road to Dover, comprises just ten statute acres less than the City of London Within and Without the Walls. These were the ancient limits to which the population of the metropolis was at one time confined.

The first movement of the population beyond the above boundaries was in a western direction, between Temple Bar and Westminster, where a church, dedicated to St. Peter, had been erected, in the early part of the seventh century, by Sebert, King of the East Saxons. Edward the Confessor refounded the church, and built a palace on the site of the present House of Lords, and William Rufus added to it Westminster Hall. The Exchequer of Receipt (the ancient Crown Revenue Office) was removed from Winchester to Westminster, probably in the reign of Stephen. "From the time of Edward I.," says Mr. Rickman, "Westminster, from Parliament being usually summoned to meet there, may be deemed the seat of government also." Its situation was on an island, called Thorney Island, about one mile and a half long, formed by an arm of the Thames, called Long Ditch, and which afforded solid ground in the neighbourhood of the abbey. The court of the Tudors was removed from the New Palace, adjoining Westminster Hall, to Whitehall, and the Strand in consequence became a favourite site for the residences of the nobility.

According to a map published early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about 1560, Westminster was then united by an unbroken line of buildings, extending from the Palace at Whitehall by Charing Cross and along the Strand; those on the south side consisting chiefly of the mansions of the nobility, with gardens reaching down to the river; and those on the north side, between Drury Lane and St. Martin's Lane, being also mansions, having gardens behind them; then a park or garden, apparently part of the former Convent (or Abbey) Garden, which has given name to the neighbourhood; then open fields, extending to Holborn and to the hamlet or village of St. Giles's. In the neighbourhood of Westminster Abbey or Hall, which formed the nucleus of the city, the buildings were thick, and formed a town of several streets. About Charing Cross there were houses, extending along what is now called Cockspur Street to the end of Pall Mall; but the Haymarket was a country road, separated from the fields by a hedge on each side. The Mews at Charing Cross existed, and their eastern wall, with that of St. Martin's Churchyard, and of the park or garden noticed as extending at the back of the houses on the north side of the Strand, lined St. Martin's Lane on each side for some distance; but the greater part of that lane was bounded by hedges, and had fields on each side, which were used for feeding cattle or drying clothes. In the neighbourhood of the church of St. Clement Danes, and at the Strand end of Drury Lane, about Clement's Inn, the houses were more thickly grouped, but the greater part of Drury Lane was skirted by fields, occupying, on the one hand, the space now occupied by Lincoln's Inn Fields and the neighbourhood, and on the other, the site of the present Covent Garden Market, Long

Acre, and Castle Street. Speed's plan, published in 1610, seventy years later, gives this part of the metropolis but little more extension than the plan of 1560.

Howel, in his 'Londinopolis,' published in 1657, observes that the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, by the accession of James in 1603, conduced not a little to unite also the two cities of London and Westminster; "for," says he, "the Scots, greatly multiplying here, nestled themselves about the court, so that the Strand, from the mud walls and thatched cottages, acquired that perfection of buildings it now possesses." Graunt, in his work on the 'Bills of Mortality,' says, "The general observation is that the city of London gradually removes westward; and did not the Royal Exchange and London Bridge stay the trade, it would remove much faster, for Leadenhall Street, Bishopsgate, and part of Fenchurch Street have lost their ancient trade; Gracechurch Street indeed keeping itself yet entire, by reason of its conjunction with and relation to London Bridge. Again, Canning Street [Cannon Street] and Watling Street have lost the trade of woollen drapery to Paul's Churchyard, Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street; the mercery is gone from out of Lombard Street and Cheapside into Paternoster Row and Fleet Street. The reasons whereof are, that the King's court (in old time frequently kept in the city) is now always at Westminster; secondly, the use of coaches, whereunto the narrow streets of the old city are unfit, hath caused the building of those broader streets in Covent Garden." Howell compares London to a Jesuit's hat, the brims of which are larger than the block, as the suburbs of London had become larger than the body of the city, which he says "made Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, to say, as the Queen of Spain was conversing with him, on his return from England, of the city of London, 'Madam, I believe there will be no city left shortly, for all will run out of the gates to the suburbs.'" But at the same time, as Graunt shows, the number of buildings in the city itself was increasing, and buildings were erected on the site of great houses belonging to noblemen who had removed westward, and he notices that, "Allhallows on the Wall is increased by the conversion of the Marquis of Winchester's house, lately the Spanish Ambassador's, into a new street; the like of Alderman Freeman's, and La Motte's, near the Exchange; the like of the Earl of Arundel's in Lothbury; the like of the Bishop of London's Palace; the Dean of [St.] Paul's; and the Lord Rivers's house, now in hand; as also of the Duke's Place, and others heretofore." This increase of building on the sites of the great houses and the gardens attached to them, rendered the city less pleasant. But both within and without the city the stream of population was flowing thicker and faster. Graunt remarks that "When Ludgate was the only western gate of the city, little building was westward thereof, but when Holborn began to increase Newgate was made.* Now both these gates are not sufficient for the communication between the walled city and its enlarged western suburbs, as daily appears by the intolerable stops and embarrassments of coaches near both these gates, especially Ludgate." And in another place he observes, that "the passage of Ludgate is a throat too strait for the body." Sir William Petty, in 1682, points out some of the causes which in his opinion had contributed to swell the popula-

* Newgate was called New, after being rebuilt in the reign of Henry V., before which time it was called Chamberlain's Gate. "This gate," says Mr. Rickman, "cannot but have been one of the ancient gates of the City, the Roman Watling Street passing along Newgate Street, Holborn, and Oxford Street to Tyburn, where it turned off to St. Albans."

tion of London between 1640 and 1680. From 1642 to 1650, "men arrived out of the country to London to shelter themselves from the outrages of the civil wars. From 1650 to 1660 the royal party came to London for their more private and inexpensive living. From 1660 to 1670 the King's friends and party came to receive his favours after his happy Restoration. From 1670 to 1680 the frequency of plots and parliaments might bring extraordinary numbers to the city." Be this as it may, there is no doubt there was a great increase of the population after the Restoration.

Some years after the accession of James I., St. Giles's-in-the-Fields was still spoken of, in an act for paving it, as a town separate from the capital; but it had become united to it by a continuous range of buildings before the Civil War. Anderson, in his 'History of Commerce,' identifies, from their names, the period when most of the streets about Covent Garden were erected. "The very names of the older streets about Covent Garden are taken from the royal family at this time (some, indeed, in the reign of King Charles II., as Catherine Street, Duke Street, York Street, &c.), such as James Street, King Street, Charles Street, Henrietta Street, &c., all laid out by the great architect, Inigo Jones, as was also the fine piazza there. Bloomsbury and the streets at the Seven Dials were built up somewhat later, as also Leicester Fields, namely, since the restoration of King Charles II., as were also almost all St. James's and St. Anne's parishes, and a great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles's." Anderson, who wrote about the middle of the last century, says: "I have met with several old persons in my younger days who remembered when there was but one single house (a cake-house) between the Mews Gate at Charing Cross and St. James's Palace Gate, where now stand the stately piles of St. James's Square, Pall Mall, and other fine streets." To return, however, to the increase of the metropolis in this direction about the close of Charles II.'s reign. By this time the limits of the city of Westminster, east of St. Martin's Lane, had been covered with streets; and westward from St. Martin's Lane the buildings had extended to the irregular line formed by Wardour Street, Pulteney Street, Warwick Street, and Piccadilly, nearly to the Green Park, at that time still united to St. James's Park. Leicester Fields, now Leicester Square, Soho Square, then frequently called King Square, had been laid out and built. Buildings had also extended westward along the south side of St. James's Park, and southward along Millbank to the Horse Ferry opposite Lambeth Palace. Before 1707, according to a map of that date, Golden Square, which, as well as Leicester Square, continued to be inhabited by the aristocracy up to the middle of last century, had been built; and also, between 1707 and 1720, Old Bond Street and New Bond Street; and about the latter year Albemarle Street, Dover Street, and the adjacent streets, had been laid out; also Hanover Square, so called in honour of George I. When Strype published his edition of Stow's 'London' in 1720, some of the houses in Hanover Square were finished, and some erecting, "one whereof," he tells us, "is taken by my Lord Cowper;" and he adds, "it is reported that the common place of execution of malefactors at Tyburn will be appointed elsewhere, as somewhere near Kingsland." Oxford Street, previously called Oxford Road, was the old "Tyburn Road." Towards the Piccadilly end of Old Bond Street the houses had extended, before 1720, to about Clarges and Half-Moon streets, and along Piccadilly to Hyde Park

Corner. The whole south side of Oxford Street, and the north side from Vere Street to Oxford Street, were built about 1729, and a number of streets north of this line about the same time. By 1738 nearly the whole space between Piccadilly and Oxford Street was covered with buildings as far as Tyburn Lane, now Park Lane, except in the south-western corner about Berkeley Square and Mayfair, which were not fully covered until 1760, in which year Berkeley Square was laid out.

Turning to the north-western portion of the metropolis, we have the parishes of Paddington and St. Mary-le-bone. In introducing his account of the latter parish, Malcolm quotes the following paragraph from the 'Evening Post' of March 16, 1715:—"On Wednesday last four gentlemen were robbed and stripped in the fields between London and Mary-le-bon." In 1707, the maps of London show that there were not any streets west of Tottenham Court Road, and a plan of 1742 shows the church of St. Mary-le-bone detached from London. In 1707 rows of houses, with their backs to the fields, extended from St. Giles's to Oxford Market; and Tottenham Court Road had only one cluster on the west side. Newman Street and Berners Street were built about 1750; and Upper Harley Street and Portland Place some twenty years later. The village of Tyburn was in the parish of Mary-le-bone; and Tyburn-tree, as the gallows was called, was situated at the end of Park Lane. The village became decayed in the fourteenth century, and the church was robbed of its images and ornaments. In 1400 the parishioners built a new church where they for some time had a chapel; and the edifice being dedicated to the Virgin, received the additional name of "bourn," from the neighbouring stream. This rivulet supplied the citizens with water, nine conduits having been erected for the purpose about 1238. At the east end of the bridge which crossed the Ty-bourn at the end of Oxford Street stood the Lord Mayor's banqueting-house; and it was the custom for his Lordship, with the Aldermen, on horseback, accompanied by their ladies in waggons, to ride to this spot occasionally to view the conduits, after which they were entertained at the banqueting-house. In the first volume (p. 235), we have given from Stow an account of hare-hunting and fox-hunting which took place on the occasion of one of these visits. After the city was supplied with water from the New River the conduits at Tyburn were neglected; and in 1737 the banqueting-house was pulled down. From about the middle of the twelfth century Tyburn was the place of execution for malefactors, and here Earl Ferrars was executed in 1760. A sense of the impropriety of dragging a criminal a distance of two miles through the streets, and, it must also be confessed, a desire to improve the neighbourhood of Oxford Street, induced the authorities to transfer the execution of capital sentences to the Old Bailey, where the first execution took place in 1783. There was a royal park in the parish of Mary-le-bone; and it is recorded that, in 1760, "the ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, and other Muscovites, rode through the city of London to Marybone Park, and there hunted at their pleasure." In the same parish, on the site of Manchester Square, were the once-famous Mary-le-bone Gardens. This is the place probably alluded to by Lady Mary Wortley Montague in the line—

"Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away."

The Duke of Buckingham was the person meant. Pennant speaks of the Duke's

constant visits to the noted gaming-house at Marybone, the resort of infamous sharpers. "His grace," he says, "always gave them a dinner at the conclusion of the season, and his parting toast was, 'May as many of us as remain unhanged next spring meet here again.'" Prior to 1737 the proprietor had kept the Gardens open gratuitously; after which period he was accustomed to charge a shilling for the admission of each person, who received a ticket which entitled him to refreshment to the full amount of the entrance-money. Here Charles Dibdin and Bannister made their debût. The amusements consisted of vocal and instrumental music, frequently terminating with a display of fire-works, and at one period a representation of Mount Etna. As the population of the neighbourhood increased, the fear of accidents led the magistrates to suppress these amusements, and the Gardens ceased to exist as a place of recreation about 1773.

The increase of Marylebone began between 1716 and 1720 by the erection of Cavendish Square, at first called Oxford Square. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' published in 1739, states the number of houses in the parish to be 577, and the number of persons who kept coaches 35. In 1811 the number of houses was 8076; 11,608 in 1831; and 14,169 in 1841. The adjoining parish of Paddington is now rapidly being covered with buildings. Here are the station of the Great Western Railway, and the basin and wharfs of the Paddington Canal. The number of houses in Paddington in 1811 was 879, and 3479 in 1841. The parish of St. Pancras, east of Marylebone, contains the hamlets of Somers Town, Kentish Town, Camden Town, and Pentonville, now nearly united in one contiguous mass of buildings. It stretches from the south-end of Gray's Inn Lane nearly to the south-end of Tottenham Court Road, and northward to Highgate. Its rustic ancient parish church is strikingly disproportioned to its population, which amounted, in 1841, to 129,763 persons: the number of houses in 1811 was 5826, and 14,766 in 1841. St. Pancras New Church, erected in 1822, at a cost of 75,000*l.*, is one of the modern ecclesiastical edifices in the metropolis which would appear to indicate that England has had no church-architecture of its own. The streets near Percy Chapel, Tottenham Court Road, were built about 1765; Gower Street about 1784; Fitzroy Square was commenced in 1793; Somers Town was begun about 1786; and in 1792 was approached by a pleasant path, through a white turnstile, where Judd Place now stands; and Camden Town was commenced in 1791.

Pursuing our course eastward from Tottenham Court Road, we come to the parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury, originally a hamlet or village, called Lomsbury. Rather more than a century ago Great Russell Street was a fashionable part of the town, inhabited by the aristocracy; "especially," says Strype, "the north-side, as having gardens behind the houses, and the prospect of the pleasant fields up to Highgate and Hampstead, insomuch that this place by physicians is esteemed the most healthful of any in London." This street, he adds, "saluteth Southampton House, Montague House (now the British Museum), and Thanet House." At the east-end of Great Russell Street was Bloomsbury, formerly Southampton Square, the whole of the north side of which was occupied by Bedford House, a magnificent mansion, built by Inigo Jones, and taken down about the commencement of the present century. Southampton Row, Bedford Row, and Montague Street, were built on the site of the gardens of Bedford

House; and on some fields to the north of them, called the Long Fields, Russell Square; Tavistock Square, north of Russell Square, was begun at the commencement of the present century. Queen Square, says a writer in 1734, was open on the north side "for the sake of the beautiful landscape which is formed by the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, together with the adjacent fields." The same writer remarks that "Ormond Street is another place of pleasure, and that side of it next to the fields is, beyond question, one of the most charming situations about town." The appearance of the houses in Ormond Street evidently marks a distinct period in the progress of buildings in this direction. The site of Guildford Street was formerly a path, which led from the Earl of Rosslyn's house, at the south-east corner of Russell Square, and the gardens of Ormond Street, round the front of the Foundling Hospital to Gray's Inn Lane, and was, says Malcolm, "generally bounded by stagnant water twelve feet lower than the square."

One of the most interesting circumstances connected with the growth of the metropolis in one direction has reference to a conquest of industry over natural obstacles, which it is always gratifying to notice. The boundaries of the Fen, or Great Moor, appear to have been the City Wall on the south, and on the north the high grounds near Islington. Malcolm supposes that part of the site of the City within the walls was recovered from it; and he suggests that probably it extended westward to Smithfield, for that place is spoken of as a marsh in an ancient history of the Priory of St. Bartholomew; but it is supposed not to have extended eastward much beyond Bishopsgate Street. Fitz-Stephen alludes to the young men of the City playing upon the ice "when the Great Fen or Moor which watereth the walls of the City on the north side is frozen." The whole tract was let at four marks a-year in the reign of Edward II. In 1415 Stow says the Lord Mayor "caused the wall of the City to be broken toward the said Moor, and built the postern called Moorgate, for the ease of the citizens to walk that way upon causeys towards Iseldon (Islington) and Hoxton." Rubbish brought from the City through the nearest gates and posterns by degrees elevated the surface, at all events in the parts next the City. One of the hills on which a windmill was first erected is said to have arisen from the deposit of bones brought from St. Paul's in 1549. Stow says, "In the year 1498, all the gardens which had continued time out of mind without Moorgate, to wit, about and beyond the Lordship of Finsbury, were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field for archers to shoot. From this period, until the reign of Charles II., Finsbury Fields, as they were called, were reserved as the grand arena for displaying the skill of the London archers. Malcolm's work on 'London' contains a curious print taken from a drawing copied above thirty years ago by Sir Henry Ellis, from an old print in the Bodleian Library, which was inserted in a work on archery. The fields appear to have been divided into about thirty sections, in each of which there were butts set up for the archers. In the old print alluded to there are names or devices against each of the butts, as 'Hearty Goodwill,' 'Hodget's Hart Holydaye,' 'Mercer's Maid,' 'Beehive,' 'Cornish Chough,' 'Parkes his Pleasure,' &c. &c. In 1512, Roger Archley, Mayor, made attempts to drain the fen; and, in 1527, another Mayor exerted himself to effect the same object, by conveying the waters over the City moat, into the channel of the Wal-

brook, and so into the Thames; "and by these degrees," says Stow, "was this Fen or Moor at length made main and hard ground, which before being overgrown with flags, sedges, and rushes, served to no use; since the which time also the further grounds beyond Fensbury Court have been so over-heightened with laystalls of dung, that now three windmills are thereon set; the ditches be filled up, and the bridges overwhelmed." The population crept along slowly in this direction. The Manor of Finsbury was given to a prebend of St. Paul's in 1104; and, in 1215, it was granted to the Mayor and Citizens of London at a yearly rent of 20*s.*, but no term was specified. By a survey of the Manor, in 1582, it appears that at that time it consisted chiefly of gardens, orchards, tenter-grounds, and fields. The Manor House stood near Chiswell Street. Only the west side of Finsbury Square, and the street between Moorfields and the City Road, were begun in 1778; and it was not until 1789 the north side was let upon building leases. About the commencement of the present century Malcolm vaunts of Finsbury Square as "a modern concentration of City opulence, and quite equal to the West End of the town in the splendour of the houses and the furniture." In the last century that part of Moorfields which fronted Bethlehem Hospital (since removed) was so much frequented by fashionable citizens as to obtain the appellation of the City Mall. The space was divided by gravel walks, into four quadrangles, and was planted with elm-trees.

Stow quotes Hall on a subject which has some reference to our present subject, as showing the limits of the metropolis. Alluding to the 5th or 6th of Henry VIII. Hall says: "Before this time the inhabitants of the towns about London, as Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, had so enclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoot, nor the ancient persons walk for their pleasures, in those fields, but that either their bows and arrows were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indicted; saying that 'no Londoner ought to go out of the city, but in the highways.' This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddenly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner, in a fool's coat, came crying through the city 'Shovels and spades! shovels and spades!' so many of the people followed that it was a wonder to behold; and within a short space all the hedges about the city were cast down, and the ditches filled up, such was the diligence of these workmen." The King's council connived at the matter, and so the fields remained open; but Stow complains that in his time the case had much altered for the worse, "by means," he says, "of inclosure for gardens, wherein are built many fair summer-houses; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets, and chimney-pots, not so much for use or profit as for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds much," and as he feelingly laments, "unlike to the disposition of the ancient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and almshouses for the poor, and therein both employed their wits and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city."

Turning to some modern instances of rapid growth in the metropolitan suburbs, we find examples on every side of London. Islington, including the hamlet of Holloway, is one of them. In 1811 the parish contained 2399 houses, which had increased to 5797 in 1831, and in 1841 to 8508. The number of houses in Hack-

ney, and its dependent hamlets, increased from 2699 in 1811 to 6476 in 1841; Bethnal Green from 5715 to 11,782; Stepney, including its hamlets, has more than doubled, as, for example, Mile End Old Town from 2598 to 7705. Crossing the river to the Kent and Surrey side of the metropolis we have, in the parish of Lambeth, an increase in the thirty years of from 7201 houses to 17,791; in Newington the increase has been from 4574 houses to 9370; in Camberwell from 1849 to 4570; and taking the hundred of Brixton, which includes nearly all the metropolitan suburbs on the south, and does not comprise the borough of Southwark, we find that in 1811 the number of houses was 24,050, and in 1841 there were 50,550. Every year it is necessary to provide additional house-room for above twenty thousand persons, and London thus increases its size by the yearly addition of a town of considerable size. There are at all times about 4000 houses in the course of erection, and in 1841 the number of uninhabited houses was between six and seven thousand less than in 1831, when there were 16,408 unoccupied, and in 1841 only 9731. A recent return, prepared by direction of the Commissioners of Police, shows that, besides the building of so many houses, there have been erected, since 1830, in the various divisions in which the force acts, 604 churches, chapels, schools, and other public buildings. The information is not very specific, but it is not without value.

Gradually, therefore, has London overspread the surface over which it now extends. "This ancient city," said Maitland, about a century ago, "has engulphed one city, one borough and forty-three villages, namely, the city of Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and the villages of Mora, Finsbury, Wenlaxbarn, Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, Shoreditch, Homerton, Norton Folgate, the Spital, Whitechapel, Mile End New Town, Mile End Old Town, Stepney, Poplar, Limehouse, Ratcliff, Shadwell, Wapping, Wapping Stepney, East Smithfield, the Hermitage, St. Catherine's, the Minories, St. Clement Danes, the Strand, Charing, St. James's, Knightsbridge, Soho, St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Bloomsbury, Portpool, Saffron Hill, Holborn, Vauxhall, Lambeth, Lambeth Marsh, Kensington, Newington Butts, Bermondsey, the Grange, Horsleydown, and Rotherhithe." Additions might be made to this list, but the names of other places "engulphed" will occur to most readers.

The time at length arrived when these numerous portions of the metropolis, once separated from each other, but in time united in one mighty mass, were to be associated as several distinct members, with independent life and power, but enjoying still a common organization. Up to the year 1832, the City of London, the Borough of Southwark, and the City of Westminster, had alone a distinct political existence, and enjoyed the privilege of electing representatives in Parliament. The City of London has exercised this right for six centuries, and for about five centuries it has always returned four members. Before 1832 the members were chosen by the freemen (being liverymen), and a poll, if demanded, might continue open seven days. Southwark has sent two members to Parliament since 1295; and up to 1832 the right of voting was in householders paying scot and lot. The electoral privilege has been enjoyed for a much shorter time by Westminster, the first return being made in the first year of Edward VI.; but that is now nearly three centuries ago. The right of voting, up to the period when great alterations were made in the representative system, was exercised by

all voters paying scot and lot. The Westminster elections will be for ever famous in the annals of electioneering; and we cannot well omit a brief allusion to these peculiar features of a bygone day.

As Westminster formerly stood alone as a great popular constituency, its elections were watched with peculiar interest, as indicative of the opinions of the people generally on the topics of the time. Westminster also being the seat of the court and of the government, a contested election was usually a more direct struggle between the governors and the governed, between the opinions or prejudices of the people and the policy of the government. The Westminster electors conceived that on them more peculiarly devolved the duty of placing in Parliament the "Man of the People," for such was the title given to many of their favourite candidates. Fox, Sheridan, Burdett, and Romilly were at different times elected as their representatives. Two great contests for Westminster are more particularly distinguished for the vigour with which they were maintained. The first was in 1741, when Lord Trentham, the court candidate, who was at the head of the poll, obtained 4811 votes. The "squibs" which flew about during the struggle are to be found in a collected form, and are interesting as illustrating, though in an exaggerated form, the popular spirit and prejudices. One of the most constant points of attack by the party opposed to Lord Trentham was his lordship's patronage of the Opera—that is, he encouraged foreigners. The election of 1784 is still more memorable. Fox was the "Man of the People" on this occasion, and the candidates supported by the government were Sir Samuel Hood and Sir Cecil Wray. Mr. Pitt says, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, of the 8th of April: "Westminster goes on well, in spite of the Duchess of Devonshire and the other women of the people; but when the poll will close is uncertain." Horace Walpole, whose delicate health at this time confined him almost entirely to his house, went in a sedan-chair to give his vote for Mr. Fox. "Apropos of election," writes Hannah More to her sister, "I had like to have got into a fine scrape the other night. I was going to pass the evening at Mrs. Cole's, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. I went in a chair; they carried me through Covent Garden: a number of people, as I went along, desired the men not to go through the Garden, as there were a hundred armed men, who, suspecting every chairman belonged to Brookes's, would fall upon us. In spite of my entreaties the men would have persisted, but a stranger, out of humanity, made them set me down; and the shrieks of the wounded—for there was a terrible battle—intimidated the chairmen, who at last were prevailed upon to carry me another way. A vast number of people followed me, crying out, 'It is Mrs. Fox: none but Mr. Fox's wife would dare to come into Covent Garden in a chair: she is going to canvass in the dark!' Though not a little frightened, I laughed heartily at this; but shall stir no more in a chair for some time." *

Every paragraph which appeared in the daily newspapers relating to the election, and every hand-bill and advertisement issued during its progress, were collected and published in a thick quarto volume soon after it closed, and now forms a picture of manners not a little curious. The beautiful Duchess of Devonshire and many other ladies of rank and distinction were, as every one knows, active canvassers for Mr. Fox, and from a house in Henrietta Street "the bevy

* Note in Walpole's Letters.

of Devonshire beauties" were accustomed to watch the humours of the election during the polling. We read also in one of the daily papers that "The Duchess of Devonshire attended the hustings yesterday in an elegant equipage. Her Grace wore a favour in her hat and another on her breast inscribed with 'Fox.' The servants and horses were also decorated with these testimonies of approbation. Another carriage of the house of Cavendish made a like display in compliment to Mr. Fox." The manner in which others of the Whig aristocracy evinced their personal interest in the proceedings would now be deemed 'strange,' and indeed the improved machinery of the representative system does not afford an opportunity for the 'humours' which once characterized Covent Garden. But the case was then very different, as the election of which we are now speaking lasted nearly *seven weeks*, from the 1st of April to the 17th of May, whereas the polling is now begun and finished in eight hours. The choice of the electors fell upon Sir Samuel Hood, who obtained 6694 votes, and Mr. Fox, who had 6243, and a majority of 236 over Sir Cecil Wray. The chairing of Mr. Fox and the triumphant procession which accompanied him is described as "a spectacle brilliant beyond imagination." The state carriages of the Duchesses of Devonshire and Portland, drawn by six horses, superbly caparisoned, with six running footmen attendant on each, formed a part of it; and the procession was closed by gentlemen's servants. After leaving Covent Garden it moved down Parliament Street and into Great George Street, where it turned round and again marched to Charing Cross, on its way to Pall Mall and Piccadilly. The court-yard of Carlton House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, then in the flower of his age, and enjoying the applauses of the popular party, was thrown open for its passage. Arriving at Piccadilly, the great gates of Devonshire House were opened, as at Carlton House, and the procession passed into the court-yard, where the various banners were placed in front. The Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, and her sister Lady Duncannon, with other illustrious beauties, whose influence had not a little contributed to the victory, were here assembled to greet their favourite candidate. Mr. Fox addressed his friends from the steps of Devonshire House. Every man passed through Carlton House and Devonshire House uncovered in honour of their possessors. The procession next moved on to Berkeley Square, where it was again met by the Prince, who was with the Duchesses of Devonshire and Portland, and other noble persons, "to salute," as the accounts say, "the triumphant sons of freedom." The Prince of Wales had been at a review at Ascot in the morning, at which the King, who regarded Mr. Fox with anything but a friendly eye, was present. On his return to town his Royal Highness rode several times in his uniform along Pall Mall and St. James's Street, and was received with "shouts of triumph." After the procession was over, the Prince was again the object of popular applause, on going in his carriage to dinner at Devonshire House with the Fox favour and a laurel in his hat. "No description," it is said, "can equal the acclamations he received." On the following day his Royal Highness gave a splendid *déjeûner*, at Carlton House, in honour of Mr. Fox's re-election, at which above 600 persons of fashion and distinction were present, most of whom wore Mr. Fox's colours of buff and blue. The same evening the beautiful Mrs. Crewe gave a select ball and supper to celebrate Mr. Fox's return. The world,

of fashion had never before been so political, and never did so many brilliant auspices shine upon Westminster as those which, just "sixty years ago," marked the success of the "Man of the People." The French Revolution destroyed this union of gaiety and politics, and the stern times of political economy, with other circumstances which it is needless to mention, have prevented their mingling together in the same light spirit. At Mrs. Crewe's ball, Mr. Morris, afterwards Captain Morris, gave as a toast, "Buff and Blue, and Mrs. Crewe," which the lady acknowledged by "Buff and Blue, and all of you." There was at this period an annoying device for prolonging a contest long after the poll was declared, which was effected by demanding a scrutiny. This was the case on the re-election of Mr. Fox, and he entered the House as Member for Dingwall. The scrutiny went on at about the same rate as the subsequent trial of Hastings. In about two years the votes of as many parishes had been investigated. On the chairing of Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood, in 1806, the procession also passed through the court-yard of Devonshire House, and the Duke of Devonshire congratulated the newly-made members on their election.

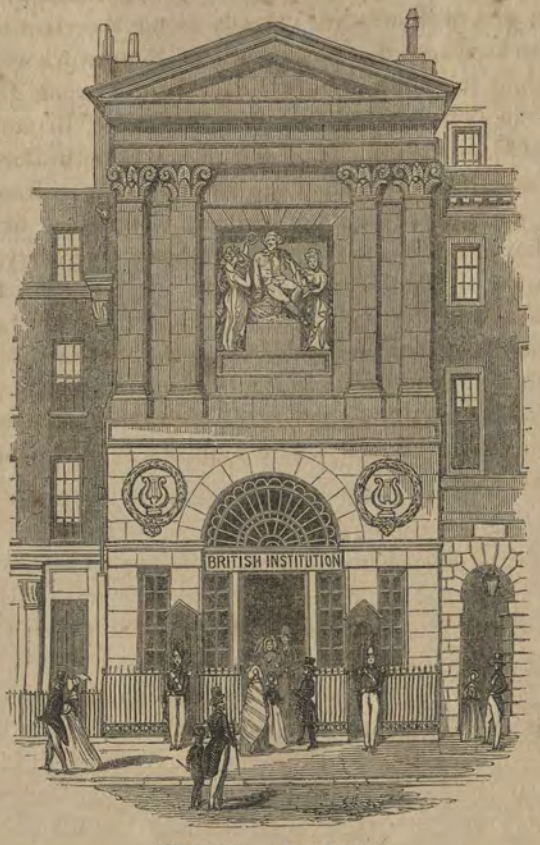
Instead of three constituent bodies in the metropolis we have now seven, the City, Southwark, Westminster, with the new boroughs of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, forming, as it were, a confederation of free towns. It is remarkable that in one of the best maps of the metropolis, just now published, the limits of these boroughs have not been defined; yet there is something interesting in the consideration of the interests which predominate in each, and the contrasts which they exhibit with one another; and the line which separates them is surely worthy of attention. As to comparative wealth, the amount of assessed taxes paid in 1831 for each one hundred persons was 168*l.* in the City, 150*l.* in Westminster, 120*l.* in Marylebone, 89*l.* in Finsbury, 59*l.* in Lambeth, and 31*l.* in the Tower Hamlets; the average being 89*l.*, which was the exact amount paid by Finsbury. The population in 1841, and the number of electors in 1840, were as follow:—The City had a population of 120,702 and 19,064 electors, of whom 2743 were freemen; Westminster, 219,930 population and 14,254 electors, of whom 4659 were scot and lot voters under the old franchise; Marylebone, 287,465 population and 11,625 electors; Finsbury, 265,043 population and 12,974 electors; Lambeth, 197,412 population and 6547 electors; Southwark, 142,620 population and 4096 electors; and the Tower Hamlets more than Lambeth and Southwark together, or 419,730 population and 13,551 electors. The City, with its commercial activity, its concentration of capital, its immense monetary transactions, and with interests extending to every land and every sea, situated on the northern bank of the highest part of the Thames accessible to large ships, stands in contrast with Westminster, the seat of the court, the law, the parliament, the government, the public offices, and the aristocracy; the new borough of Marylebone, and its fashionable squares, with the Tower Hamlets; and the intelligent and respectable middle classes of Finsbury with the manufacturers of Lambeth and Southwark. Without drawing the line very precisely, we may at least mark out the position of these great boroughs, and we may assume that the three of ancient date are well known, though changes were made in them in 1832, the whole of the Inner and Middle Temple, for example, being now included in the City, the borough of Southwark being extended so as to comprise the parishes of

Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, Christ Church, and the Clink Liberty; and the Duchy Liberty was added to Westminster.

Marylebone Borough is situated north of a line drawn from Tottenham Court Road down the centre of Oxford Street and the Uxbridge Road to Kensington Gardens. Its eastern boundary passes for some distance along Tottenham Court Road, and then diverges eastward north of the British Museum and Russell Square; after which it turns southward so as to include a part of Brunswick Square and Mecklenburgh Square, until it touches the north-eastern corner of the House of Correction at Cold Bath Fields, from which point the boundary line runs in a direction north-north-east. The borough of Marylebone pays the largest proportion of assessed taxes of any of the new boroughs, and contains the largest proportion of private houses. Portman and Cavendish Squares, and Bryanstone and Montague Squares, Portland Place, and the Regent's Park, are within its limits. The borough of Finsbury is situated to the eastward of Marylebone, and partly north of the parliamentary limits of Westminster and the City of London. Its most southern point is the Rolls Liberty, near Chancery Lane, and its northern boundary comprises Islington. A line running for some distance north from Finsbury Circus, and then turning to the west, is its limit to the eastward. This borough contains a considerable number of wealthy inhabitants and tradesmen of the first class, and persons connected with the City, from the wealthy merchant to his clerks and warehousemen. The northern part of the borough is a favourite place of residence for persons of small fortune and those who have retired from business, as Islington enjoys the quietness of a country place with the advantages of a town. Finsbury also contains the British Museum and the London Institution, the first the greatest public, and the last the greatest private literary institution in the kingdom. The Borough of the Tower Hamlets is formed out of a number of places which have risen from comparative insignificance, but now form a great associated mass. It is situated east and north-east of the City, and east of Finsbury, and contains the Tower, the Mint, the St. Katherine, the London, East and West India Docks; the Blackwall Railway runs from one end of it to the other, and it comprises that most important portion of the river from the Tower to Blackwall. It is, in fact, a great maritime city, as the sailors one meets, and the indications on every side, clearly testify. The western part of the river boundary line is chiefly occupied by traders more or less connected with shipping; then come the great ship-building yards, and along the whole of the river side are establishments necessary for all the purposes which is required by the greatest port in the world, either for fitting up a ship or rigging out the seamen who are to be her crew. All the great sugar refineries are situated in this part of the metropolis. The proportion of small houses in the borough formed by the Tower Hamlets is larger than in any of the other metropolitan boroughs, for it comprises Spitalfields, Whitechapel, and Bethnal Green; but the wealth it contains probably exceeds that of any two of the boroughs. The Docks and their warehouses cost upwards of 5,000,000*l.*, and the shipping is of great value. The value of the merchandise of every kind, brought from every clime, which is at all times to be found in the Docks, has been estimated at 20,000,000*l.* Passing to the opposite side of the Thames, we have the borough of Lambeth, which on the banks of the river is intersected by the borough of

Southwark, which here occupies the shore from a point opposite the Temple Gardens to one opposite the Tower. Lambeth Borough extends westward of Southwark along the river to a point opposite the Penitentiary Prison at Millbank. The portion east of Southwark extends along the river to a little beyond the Commercial Docks; and the part south of Southwark reaches as far as Brixton church; while its south-eastern limits border upon Dulwich. In the southern section of the borough are included Stockwell, Brixton, the northern part of the parish of Camberwell and Peckham. Lambeth Borough contains a population smaller and less dense than any of the metropolitan boroughs; and its southern part is more rural than any of them. Here are to be found many first-rate houses, delightfully situated, and inhabited by gentry, merchants, and bankers. The number of small houses is larger in proportion than in Marylebone or Finsbury, but that of second-rate houses is greater. Lambeth may be said to represent the manufacturing industry of the metropolis. The shipping which arrives at the wharfs on the southern bank of the Thames consists chiefly of coasters. The characteristics of the seven great parliamentary divisions of the metropolis, if minutely described, would require a Number for each, and here the outline is but sketched.

[Finsbury Fields in the reign of Elizabeth.]



[British Gallery, Pall Mall.]

CXLIII.—EXHIBITIONS OF ART.

If Art in this country, since the days of Hogarth, Reynolds, Wilson, Gainsborough, and Barry, has been raised to no higher elevation than was then given to it, it is something to reflect that it has not been stationary—that steadily increasing numbers of disciples have made up for the absence of a few commanding intellects—that we have been at least busy about the base of the building, widening and strengthening the foundations; perhaps, in the truest wisdom, preparatory to a new advance upwards: above all, that we have made Art familiar to the people, and thereby unlocked new sources of strength to aid it in all future endeavours. In our account of the Royal Academy, we have already described the earliest in point of time, and most important in respect to results, of the agencies by which all this has been accomplished, the Academy Exhibitions; in the present number, we propose to notice such other exhibitions as have most powerfully contributed to the same end.

And the first glance of the building shown in p. 273 reminds us of a debt of gratitude due to one, who, but little of an artist himself, by his enlightened and munificent patronage of artists, obtained, and deservedly, one of the most honourable of earthly titles, that of a public benefactor. That building is the original edifice raised by Alderman Boydell, for the exhibition of the Shakspere Gallery; which, like Barry's pictures in the Adelphi, originated in a desire to repel, in the noblest way, the contempt of foreign critics, and set at rest at once and for ever their peculiarly obliging and flattering speculations as to the causes of the unfitness of England and Englishmen to produce great artistical works. And Barry was not more successful in his way than Boydell in his. Throwing wide his doors, with but one condition of entrance, indisputable talent, and selecting as a truly national subject the works of Shakspere, Boydell spared no cost to achieve his truly glorious object of establishing a school of English historical painting, that should have at least all the vigour and originality of youth, if with something also of its immaturity. Reynolds, West, Opie, Northcote, Fuseli, were among the labourers in this goodly field, and the result, as shown in several successive years, with universal admiration and delight, in the Gallery here, must have surpassed even the most sanguine anticipations of the projector. Unfortunately, Boydell, at the age of eighty-five, became involved in difficulties through the wars of the French Revolution: it appears that, by his own unaided exertions, he had, prior to the commencement of the Shakspere Gallery, completely turned the current of importation of prints *from* France *to* France, simply through making our best engravings as superior as they had previously been inferior to those of the Continent. He now determined to dispose of his Gallery by lottery. In the interesting memorial laid by him before Parliament, he stated that in his enthusiasm for art he had constantly expended all his gains in further engagements with unemployed artists; that he had laid out, with his brethren, in the course of his career, 350,000*l.*, and accumulated a stock of copper-plates which all the print sellers in Europe together would be unable to purchase. The lottery was of course granted; and Boydell just lived to see the last ticket disposed of. He died in 1804. Two of the most magnificent books that ever delighted the eyes of connoisseurs in prints and printing remain in memorial of this gigantic undertaking; the one consisting of the superb engravings made under Boydell's patronage from the paintings, a volume measuring three feet by two; and the other of a no less superb edition of the great poet, to accompany the plates, printed in nine folio volumes. None but a caricaturist could have made such a man a subject for ridicule, as did Gillray in his large print of the Shakspere Gallery travestied; which excited so much attention, that it is said even the artists who were most actively engaged under Boydell could not rest till they had each obtained a copy. Boydell one day called on one of them, an R.A., who had a lay figure before him, from which he was studying for one of the great works that afterwards adorned the Gallery, and pinned to the figure was Gillray's caricature. "Ha!" said Boydell, feeling for his spectacles, "what have we got here that looks so fine?" But an accident relieved the troubled R.A. from his dilemma. Boydell had sat down upon a palette nicely prepared for the day's work, which the servant at the moment discovering, called his attention to; so while the attendant

scraped away, and Boydell pleasantly observed, "Oh, I have only taken a proof impression of your art," the obnoxious print was hurried into obscurity and forgotten.

One need not wonder at the difficulties attending the discovery of the true origin of ancient institutions, when we see the uncertainties that grow up frequently about modern ones, even during the life-times of the very men who have aided and assisted in the formation. When West re-assumed the presidential chair of the Royal Academy, after his temporary retirement, he endeavoured to form a national association for the encouragement of works of dignity and importance, and importuned minister after minister, Pitt, Fox, and Perceval, to listen to and support his plan; and but for the death of each, just when matters looked most promising, he would probably have succeeded; as it was he failed; and from the wreck of his magnificent scheme rose the British Institution. Such is Allan Cunningham's statement. But if we look into the pages of that very agreeable miscellany, published, for a short period, about twenty years ago, the Somerset House Gazette, it appears, that poetry may claim some honour in the matter. The writer, having alluded to the indifference and apathy among the great, who in their prejudices in favour of our old masters entirely overlooked the claims which living talent had upon their consideration, adds, "at length a professor, in his hours of relaxation from the labours of his palette, diverted the spare energies of his mind in the exercise of his pen, and the elegant and patriotic appeal of the 'Rhymes on Art' touched the sympathies of those noble minds to whom they were addressed, and we beheld the British Institution."* Lastly, we are told, and this is the general statement of the case, that the immediate cause that gave rise to the Institution was the impossibility of doing justice to large historical subjects, among the miscellaneous multitudes of pictures at the Royal Academy exhibition, and in consequence that the British Institution was founded in 1805, on a plan by Sir Thomas Bernard, for the encouragement of art and artists, by an annual exhibition of the works of the old masters, borrowed for the occasion from whatever quarter they could be obtained; and by an another annual exhibition of the works of living British artists, for sale. The truth, no doubt, is, that the British Institution is a result of all the causes enumerated; its very constitution implies a conquest over a variety of difficulties that time, and many separate agencies, must have aided to achieve. It is hardly possible to imagine an Institution better calculated, under vigorous management, to accomplish its professed purposes. Here is a body of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest rank, combining first to lend their own best pictures, for the study of the artist and the enjoyment of the public; secondly, to collect together yearly, without respect to names, or invidious distinctions, as many of the best productions of the native school, in painting and sculpture, as their gallery will hold, for sale; themselves again by that very practice declaring their readiness as individuals to purchase; and, thirdly, adding to these weighty advantages, the still more direct ones of occasionally rewarding the best works exhibited by valuable premiums and bounties. Such, in brief, were the views, such the modes adopted of developing them, by the patriotic founders of the British Institution, when

* 'Somerset House Gazette,' No. XX., 1824.

they purchased the Shakspere Gallery and commenced operations. The benefits rendered by it to art since that time have been truly great; and a history of the Institution would form a valuable as well as a most entertaining work. With our limited space, to notice here and there a salient feature is all that can be attempted. Among the years that have been marked by circumstances of extraordinary interest, we may mention 1813, when Reynolds' works, collected at a vast expenditure of time and money, from all quarters, made England more than ever proud of its greatest painter. Reynolds once remarked that fine paintings were walls hung round with thoughts: the remark, it may be said, derived fresh force and significancy from this assemblage of his own works. Of the popularity of such an exhibition it is unnecessary to speak; the present President of the Academy, in one of his poems, says of it—

> " 'T was taste at home—a route declared
> Where every grace and muse repair'd,
> Where wit and genius found a treat,
> And beaux and beauties loved to meet."

This glorious and truly national exhibition was followed, in 1801, by a similar collection of the productions of Hogarth, Wilson, Gainsborough, and Zoffany, which was indeed wonderfully rich: there were no less than 54 paintings by Hogarth, 87 by Wilson, and 74 by Gainsborough. But the gratification was not altogether unalloyed. There were few to whom Wilson's history was familiar, that could avoid a sense of pain and humiliation at the recollection of the cruel neglect with which one of that noble trio had been treated; how pawnbrokers had refused the merest trifle to poor Wilson for works which since his death would be cheaply purchased for hundreds of pounds. There has always seemed to us something very unaccountable in this, considering Wilson's acknowledged reputation among his contemporaries; an apparently well-informed writer in 'Arnold's Magazine' (1832) partially explains the causes. Barret, who came to London in 1761, was received with open arms by the fashionable world, and at once demanded and received prices three or four times higher than Wilson had ever asked; Lord Dalkeith, for instance, gave him for three pictures, the largest only the size of a whole length, 1500 guineas. Wilson's proud spirit from that time would not stoop to his former prices; he advanced them, and in consequence became more neglected than ever. But the most serious injury to his prospects arose from a little incident, in which he carried his independence of feeling and expression into his dealings with royalty. "Kirby," says the writer we have mentioned, "who taught perspective to the King (George III.), wished to introduce Wilson's works to his Majesty's notice, and commissioned him to paint a picture on that account. As Lord Bute was the proper person to show it to his Majesty, the picture, when finished, was sent by Kirby to his lordship's house. The subject was a view of Sion House, upon a half-length canvass. Lord Bute, who was almost exclusively partial to highly-finished Flemish landscapes, as those of Hobbima and Ruysdael, called it a daub; but inquired the price, which he found to be sixty guineas. He thought it too much, and said that fifty would be sufficient. When the circumstance was reported to Wilson, he angrily exclaimed, 'If the King cannot afford to pay so large a sum at once, I will take it by instal-

ments of ten pounds a time.' This hasty effusion was carried to the King, and Wilson was never employed by royalty or the court."* This spirit, his quarrel with Reynolds, and the popularity of Barret and Gainsborough, combined altogether to depress the greatest landscape-painter to such a position, that he called one day on a brother painter, and asked, in a tone of the deepest bitterness and despair, if he knew any one who was mad enough to employ a landscape-painter, and if so, would he recommend him? for he had then literally nothing to do. What a question to be put by such a man, and to—Barry!

Following these two exhibitions of the English school came, in 1815, Rembrandt, Vandyck, Rubens, with their Flemish and Dutch successors; and, in 1816, the Italian and Spanish masters. Then, in 1817, there were the deceased British masters; in 1820, the portraits representing the most distinguished persons in the history and literature of the United Kingdom; and since that time, among others of great interest, the exhibition together of the works of the three Presidents, Reynolds, West, and Lawrence, of the works alone of the last-named after his death, and of Wilkie's after his. There is something peculiarly fine in this custom of bringing together the works of a man's life-time, when, alas! he can no longer add to their number. They form a monument to his memory better than stone or brass; they are calculated to call forth more spontaneous and genuine regrets for the departed than the most eloquent epitaph ever penned. And what a study does such an exhibition become to the young painter; what strength may he not derive from it for the prosecution of his own career! Take the Wilkie exhibition, for instance. Why, on those walls the great artist's history, written by his own hand, lay before our eyes. There, for instance, was his first remarkable work, the 'Village Recruit,' which he brought with him to London, and exposed for sale in a shop-window at Charing Cross, with the price of 6*l.* attached to it, and for which sum it was speedily sold. There, too, was the 'Village Politicians,' painted from the "ale-caup commentators" in the ballad of 'Will and Jean,' by Macneil, which at its first exhibition startled artistic London from its propriety, Northcote denouncing it as the "pauper style," and Fuseli, a more enlightened critic, observing to the young painter, "That is a dangerous work: that picture will either prove the most happy or the most unfortunate work of your life:" which of the two it turned out to be we need not state. There too, belonging to the very culminating period of Wilkie's powers in his own peculiar walk, was the 'Chelsea Pensioners,' his greatest work, for which he received from the Duke of Wellington 1200 guineas. Then, again, there were a whole host of works belonging to his later style, his pictures of Monks and Guerillas, his 'Columbus,' and his 'Maid of Saragossa,' telling not in subject only, but in their entire treatment, of the impression made upon his mind by his study of the Spanish painters. Of course, his noble 'John Knox Preaching' and his 'Siege of Seringapatam' were not missing; nor his Oriental subjects, which forcibly spoke to us of the scenes in which his last hours were spent, and in returning from which he found so poetical a grave.

The exhibitions at the British Institution of modern works, of course, are also

* Anecdotes of Artists, Arnold's Mag. 1832.

a most interesting field for comment and reminiscence, but into which, for various reasons that will be sufficiently evident, we must not enter, further than to notice the exhibition of 1822, when such an extraordinary sensation was made by the appearance of Martin's 'Belshazzar's Feast,' not only on account of its general grandeur of conception, but for the technical skill, unequalled, perhaps, in the history of art, which had been brought into the service of a truly sublime conception; we allude to the hand-writing on the wall, the letters of which appeared to be really blazing with light, and illumining the whole scene around. There was at first an impression among artists that the effect was the result of some kind of transparency; we need hardly say the almost magical result was produced by the ordinary means, disposition of colours, and of light and shade. At that same exhibition was another picture, which at once took rank among our chief English historical paintings, Bird's 'Chevy Chase;' a picture having for its subject a passage from that fine old ballad, which stirred the heart of Sir Philip Sidney like a trumpet, and which Ben Jonson said was well worth all his dramas. And the picture is steeped in the poetry and feeling of the antique verses. The history of its production is not without interest. The writer of a memoir of Bird, in 'Arnold's Magazine,' says that he, whilst "in company with a few friends, once asked Bird why he had never painted a picture from a subject which had been such a favourite with him in his boyish days, the battle of Chevy Chase, of which he had already made a sketch. Bird said, 'I will paint a picture of this favourite subject, if the present party will agree to purchase it; and I will get it ready for the competition at the British Institution—the premium, if obtained, to be yours.' This proposition was agreed to, and the design was taken from the day following the battle:—

'Next day did many a widow come
Their husbands to bewail;
They wash'd their wounds in briny tears,
But all would not prevail.'

"The picture was finished and sent to London, but a letter was despatched by the Secretary to Bird, with the mortifying intelligence that his painting had been delivered after the appointed time for the reception of the candidates' works, but that it would be allowed its proper situation in the exhibition. Bird generously offered to return the money he had received for it from his friends, but they assured him that it was merely to give a stimulus to his exertions that they had secured the purchase; and that even if it had obtained the premium, it was not their intention to have deprived him of the benefit resulting from his own talents. The picture was, however, purchased by the Marquis of Stafford for three hundred guineas, the price that had been fixed."

The circumstances attending the production of Bird's next picture, and its exhibition at the British Institution, are also interesting, and have been described by the same writer, evidently from personal knowledge. The success of the 'Chevy Chase,' it appears, "encouraged Bird to commence a trial picture for the ensuing year. His next subject was the Death of Eli, and having (as was too frequently the case) neglected it till the eleventh hour, he threw the picture aside, and abandoned all thoughts of completing it. Sudden determinations and revivi-

[The Battle of Chevy Chase.—Bird.]

fied hopes form no inconsiderable portions of the circumstances of genius, and we often behold in the career of men of superior powers, the very improbability of success stimulating to a task of magnitude. Within three days of the time appointed for its reception at the British Gallery, the artist was assailed by an invincible desire to proceed with his long neglected work. With a rapidity seldom equalled he dashed in the principal part of the picture, he succeeded in realizing his wishes, and in two days his 'Death of Eli' was completed. It was despatched to the coach-office [Bird then resided at Bristol], wet from the pencil, but was refused by the book-keeper, on account of its size and the quantity of luggage already waiting. The spirited coach-proprietor, the late John Weekes, coming into the coach-office, and being made acquainted with the circumstance, declared that all the luggage should be unpacked, sooner than that Mr. Bird's picture should be delayed. To this kindly interference the painter was indebted for his success: the picture was adjudged the premium of three hundred guineas, and was likewise purchased by the Marquis of Stafford," for five hundred guineas; of which last named sum, according to Allan Cunningham, Bird received but three hundred, the picture having been painted on commission for three gentlemen of

Bristol, who, he says, pocketed the difference, and then offered a fresh commission to the artist, which he declined; but the story above narrated seems to show that this is an error, arising probably from the circumstances attending the production of the 'Chevy Chase,' as already stated by one of the parties concerned.

Besides the two annual exhibitions we have mentioned, there is a third of the copies made by students from certain pictures by the old masters, left for that purpose after the exhibition to which they belonged closes. To this the public are admitted free—at each of the others, the admission fee is one shilling. It would be a noble thing in the Directors of the British Institution to throw open the doors of these exhibitions for one or two days of the week, during the season, or for two or three weeks after, to those who are unable to spare a shilling; let us trust that that unfortunately large class of the public will yet have to thank them for such a boon. Of the Gallery itself we may observe that the interior is well fitted for its uses. The exterior is decorated with a piece of sculpture, by Banks, executed for Boydell, as we may guess from the subject, which represents Shakspere accompanied by Poetry and Painting; and in the hall is a colossal statue of Achilles mourning the loss of Briseis, also by Banks, and esteemed one of the noblest efforts of his genius. But that statue is scarcely a less honourable memorial of the fortitude than of the grandeur of the sculptor's mind. It was sent by him to the Royal Academy exhibition soon after his return to England, from Russia, whither he had gone half in despair, at his want of success among his countrymen. Upon this work Banks had expended all his power, in the hope of making his second appearance a more successful one than his first; what then must have been the anguish of the unfortunate artist when the statue, whilst on its way to Somerset House, was accidentally thrown from the car, and broken to pieces? Banks, however, returned home, said nothing to his wife or daughter of what had happened, and with the assistance of his brother set to work to restore it, if possible. They were successful in their most difficult task: the Achilles appeared before the public, and was received with universal admiration.

One of the most interesting features in British art is the sudden growth of the school of painting in water-colours; there are those living to whom it must seem as it were but yesterday, when to say a man was a water-colour painter was to give the idea of his fitness to make correct topographical drawings, and—nothing more. Nay, when artists arose who thought proper to make it something more, and who laid the foundation of a department of British art, in which the native artist should be unrivalled; when these men arose, and at last formed themselves into a separate society, under the designation of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, their brother artists actually treated the assumption of the title as a most unwarrantable act, denying the right of the mere draughtsman and tinters to rank under the same lofty name as themselves of painters. We have changed all that now; and it is but justice to mention that no inconsiderable portion of the change has been owing to the exquisite productions of Turner, who, with Girtin, and in a minor degree, the late John Varley, founded the art. It is curious to contrast this position of the water-colour painters, so short a time ago, with the fact that water-colour painters were in reality almost the only old

English artists, or limners, as they were formerly called. "Oil-colours were not used for imitative art until the fifteenth century, when Van Eyck, by boiling linseed, poppy, and nut oils, with certain resinous mixtures, obtained a vehicle so much better adapted than any then in use, for working, for effect, and durability, that it was generally adopted by the artists of the period when it became known. What these mixtures were which Van Eyck used is not now known, but Vasari calls them a varnish, which all painters had long desired. From this time what is called oil-painting became general, and the various methods in water-colours were proportionately neglected, or employed only when oil-painting was a less convenient mode, as for theatrical and similar decorations, for which distemper (*a tempera*, that is, with an egg, yolk and white together) is better adapted;"* and so the matter may be said to have remained, as far as art was concerned, till about the commencement of the present century, when water-colours again came into use, first for one kind of subject, then another, until at last, if we step into one of the two water-colour exhibitions of the present period, we may reasonably wonder whether there is any department of art for which it is not admirably adapted—from the smallest landscape to the largest historical subject;—fresco, be it remembered, now in all probability again coming into extensive use, is a department of water-colour painting. Of Girtin, one of the founders of this modern school, a curious story is told by the author of the anecdotes before mentioned, who states that Girtin himself was his informant in 1802. When Lord Elgin was about to set out as ambassador to Constantinople, Girtin, it appears, had a great desire to accompany him, naturally fancying the position would be at once delightful to him as an artist, lucrative, and honourable. After many visits, and a good deal of delay and uncertainty, his lordship offered him 30*l.* a-year (of course, we presume, including his board, &c.), adding, that as Lady Elgin had a taste for drawing, he wished to know whether he would engage to assist her in decorating fire-screens, work-tables, and such other elegancies. Girtin, who probably was at first too much surprised at finding his services estimated at about the same rate as his lordship's butler's to treat the proposal as it deserved, replied that for that department he feared he was not the fit man, and that he must add the salary was too small. His lordship remarked he was poor. "Then," said Girtin, "I will engage to find a publisher who shall return the whole money I am to receive from your lordship, on receiving from you the drawings I am to make." With that Lord Elgin and the artist parted; of course neither feeling the smallest desire to renew their conversations on the subject.

Of the three founders of the Water-colour school, Varley alone appears to have been connected with the society, which was formed in order to get rid of the serious disadvantages attending the exhibition of water-colour drawings among paintings in oil, the strength and body of the colours in the last naturally overpowering the more delicate hues of the first. Two societies were in consequence formed, one of which soon died; the other lives and flourishes to this day, under the name of the (Old) Society of Painters in Water-Colours. The founders were

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,'- Water Colours.

Samuel Shelley, a miniature painter of celebrity, and a protégé of Reynolds, at whose house the early deliberations were held, Hills, Wells, Glover, of whom a distinguished portrait-painter used to say he was the only landscape-painter who had conveyed to his mind a perfect idea of the immensity of a mountain, and Pyne; to whom were added by the time of the first exhibition, among others, Barret, Cristall, Gilpin, Rigaud, and W. Havell, whose naturally rich style was greatly enhanced by Mr. Turner's discovery of the process of taking out the lights of a picture with bread, which produced an effect perfectly marvellous to the unaccustomed eyes of his brother painters. The first exhibition took place in Lower Brook Street, and among those who crowded the rooms the Royal Academicians, to their honour be it said, were conspicuous. From Lower Brook Street the Society in progress of time moved to Spring Gardens. We may here observe, that among the pictures of Sir John Swinburne is a small one purchased at one of the exhibitions in Spring Gardens, which that liberal patron of art is, we believe, accustomed to show as the earliest exhibited production of Mr. Edwin Landseer, and the circumstance is referred to as a proof of the young painter's ignorance of the difference between the two exhibitions, his work being in oil; but we presume the fact has been overlooked, that it was at Spring Gardens the water-colour painters became dissatisfied with the principle upon which they had established themselves, and allowed oil-paintings to be exhibited among their other productions. This, no doubt, was owing to the circumstance that some, perhaps most, of the members of the Society painted in both ways, and that the popularity of the new or revived mode was not altogether satisfactory to them. A division took place; but, in 1821, the members wisely reverted to their former system, and exhibited water-colour paintings only in the Egyptian Hall; where they remained till they built themselves a Gallery in Pall Mall East, at which place they have gone on increasing in prosperity as in years; till apparently they began to feel themselves getting too prosperous, too rich, and so imposed restrictions on their wealth, or what we should call their wealth; they would only have so many members, no matter what amount of talent might be waiting to join them. As none but members were permitted to exhibit, the result was inevitable, the formation of a new society of painters in water-colours, which accordingly was accomplished in 1832, though not on a firm basis till 1835, when the first exhibition took place in Exeter Hall. This, too, has enjoyed a rapid course of prosperity; and will doubtless continue to advance just so long as the members recollect its origin, and give no cause, either by limitations or invidious distinctions which pure Art will not acknowledge, to other men to follow their example. The Gallery of this Society is also in Pall Mall. The charge for admission to each of the Water-Colour exhibitions is a shilling. The only other metropolitan Society of British Artists is the one known by that designation, which was established in 1823 for the exhibition of paintings, sculpture, architecture, and engravings, and which possesses the finest gallery for exhibition in London; containing about 700 feet of wall, well lighted. Here also the numbers are limited; though at the outset that point was of the less consequence, inasmuch as that all works were admitted free, whether the productions of members or no. We may here pause a moment to mention a very admirable institution that exists

among artists, and which deserves to be generally known and imitated. They have a society established by themselves, at first under the name of the Artists Joint Stock Fund, now generally called the Artists' Annuity Fund, founded on the principle of securing each other against distress, either during sickness or in the decline of life, when the hand may be no longer able to inscribe on the canvas the busy thoughts that yet people as of yore the brain. Grafted upon this, subsequently, we find the Artists' Benevolent Fund, to which the public largely contribute. The result of the two is that an artist, who subscribes whilst in health to the institution, receives during sickness 30*s.* a-week, and when superannuated an annuity of 60*l.* per year; whilst there are other important benefits also secured to his widow and children on his decease. How inestimable would be the blessings of such an institution to literary men!

Turn we now to a different class of exhibitions that have also in their way helped to diffuse a taste for art among the million, the Panoramas, Dioramas, Cosmoramas, and we know not how many other pictorial shows with similarly terminating designations. Of these the Panorama takes precedence in point of time. This is of national origin; its invention being due to Robert Barker, an Englishman, who exhibited at Leicester Square about 1794. The process of painting is distemper; but applied in a peculiarly ingenious way. The two principal existing Panoramas are Burford's, in Leicester Square, and that of the Colosseum, in the Regent's Park, the last the largest painting of the kind ever attempted, covering, in short, nearly an acre of canvas; there, ascending a flight of steps in the centre of an immense rotunda till we reach the platform on the top, London suddenly bursts upon us, with all the freshness and reality of life—giving us almost the same sensations of being placed on a giddy height that we feel in standing on the spot from whence Mr. Horner took his view, namely, the top of St. Paul's. The picture is lighted all round by the skylight which is over our heads, but hidden from us, and although the lower part is somewhat dim from the immense height of the picture, that circumstance almost helps the general illusion. Indeed, in looking at this panorama, it requires an effort to weigh as they deserve all the difficulties that must have been surmounted. In such works the artist can neither concentrate his light, nor adapt its direction to suit his own purposes; he must take the sun's beams as they come, now strong upon this side of his picture in the morning, now on that in the afternoon. Then, again, he has to represent horizontal buildings on a curved surface; above all, he has no single point of sight, the spectator must turn as he pleases, and everywhere find a grand and harmonious whole. The Colosseum is at present closed, but will shortly, we believe, re-open. The Diorama is a still more delightful piece of artistical illusion, and of very recent origin; the authors are M. Daguerre, since so famous for his discovery of drawing by the agency of light, and M. Bouton. When the Diorama was first exhibited in the French capital, the Parisians were in an ecstacy, and in London its welcome was scarcely less enthusiastic. This took place in 1823, when the building in the Regent's Park, erected from the designs of Messrs. Morgan and Pugin, was first opened. The interior consists of a rotunda forty feet in diameter, for the spectators, with a single opening, like the proscenium of a stage on one side. Surrounding this is

[The Colosseum.]

another rotunda with a similar opening, through which,—as the inner rotunda revolves till the openings in the two rotundas correspond,—the spectators behold the picture in the picture-room beyond. For convenience there are in fact two openings in the outer rotunda, revealing two different picture-rooms, in order that two paintings may be exhibited to the visitors, by merely turning the inner rotunda from one opening to the other. Those who have not beheld the extraordinary scenes that open upon the eye, with each gyration of this platform, can hardly credit the extent to which illusion is here carried. The spectator stands in almost total darkness, till through the proscenium, the picture is revealed to his gaze, which is placed at such a distance, that light can be thrown upon it in front at a proper angle from the roof, which is here too, of course, hidden from him. He sees, therefore, nothing but the picture, which, under such circumstances, acquires an extraordinary beauty and reality of appearance. And as the glazed roof will admit a great deal of light, whilst but little is needed merely to show the work, the exhibitor may be said to have an almost unlimited store of light at his disposal, enabling him from time to time to subdue or increase it, and suddenly or gradually, at his pleasure, by means of folds or screens of different kinds attached to the glass roof; and which also enable him at the same time to imitate the most subtle and delicate atmospheric effects. But there is even yet another advantage possessed by the painter in this very beautiful exhibition. He can make parts of his picture transparent, and with different degrees of transparency, thus obtaining a brilliancy impossible to be obtained by the ordinary mode, whilst he possesses all the strength and solidity of that mode in the more opaque

parts of his picture. With this preliminary explanation let us pay our two shillings in the vestibule of the exhibition, ascend the stairs, and submit ourselves to the guidance of the attendant waiting to receive and conduct us to a seat through the darkness-visible of the theatre, into which we enter; a precaution rendered necessary by the transition from light to gloom, which at first almost incapacitates us for the use of our own eyes. In front opens, receding apparently like the stage of a theatre, a view of the beautiful basilica or church of St. Paul, with its range of delicate pillars and small Moorish-like connecting arches at the top, over which again the entire flat surface of the wall appears covered with beautiful paintings, now lit up by the radiance of the moon streaming in through the windows on the opposite side. This is the church erected by Constantine the Great, over the supposed resting-place of St. Paul, and which was burnt down in 1823; since which period great efforts have been made for its restoration; the work, we may add, is still in progress. But as we gaze—the dark cedar roof disappears, and we see nothing but the pure blue Italian sky, whilst below, some of the pillars have fallen—the floor is covered with wrecks; the whole, in short, has almost instantaneously changed to a perfect and mournful picture of the church after the desolation wrought by the fire. A bell now rings, we find ourselves in motion; the whole theatre in which we sit, moves round till its wall closes the aperture or stage, and we are in perfect darkness; the bell rings again, a curtain rises, and we are looking on the time-worn towers, transepts, and buttresses of Notre Dame, its rose window on the left, and the water around its base reflecting back the last beams of the setting sun. Gradually these reflections disappear, the warm tints fade from the sky, and are succeeded by the cool grey hue of twilight, and that again by night—deepening by insensible degrees till the quay and the surrounding buildings and the water are no longer distinguishable, and Notre Dame itself scarcely reveals to us its outlines against the sky. Before we have long gazed on this scene the moon begins to emerge slowly—very slowly, from the opposite quarter of the heavens, its first faint rays tempering apparently rather than dispersing the gloom; presently a slight radiance touches the top of one of the pinnacles of the cathedral—and glances as it were athwart the dark breast of the stream; now growing more powerful, the projections of Notre Dame throw their light and fantastic shadows over the left side of the building, until at last, bursting forth in serene unclouded majesty, the whole scene is lit up, except where the vast Cathedral interrupts its beams, on the quay here to the left, and where through the darkness the lamps are now seen, each illumining its allotted space. Hark! the clock of Notre Dame strikes! and low and musical come the sounds—it is midnight—scarcely has the vibration of the last note ceased, before the organ is heard, and the solemn service of the Catholic church begins—beautiful, inexpressibly beautiful—one forgets creeds at such a time, and thinks only of prayer: we long to join them. And yet all this is illusion (the sounds of course excepted)—a flat piece of canvas, with some colours distributed upon it, is all that is before us; though where that canvas can be, it seems, to one's eyes at least, impossible to determine; *they* cannot by any mental processes be satisfied that buildings, distance, atmosphere are not before them—to such perfection has the Diorama been brought.

But none of these Panoramas, Dioramas, or Cosmoramas, the last a pretty little exhibition, embodying in a minor degree the principles of both the former, can equal after all De Loutherbourg's famous petite stage, the very name of which is almost enough to make one lift up one's hands in wonder—Eidophusikon—yes, that 's the word—Eidophusikon. If we say that this stage was of the extraordinary dimensions of six feet wide, by eight deep, the reader will be apt to smile at the idea of the performances thereon, and certainly find it difficult to believe the marvels wrought in that space, as recorded by the agreeable author of 'Wine and Walnuts;' who says that "such was the painter's knowledge of effect and scientific arrangement, and the scenes which he described were so completely illusive, that the space appeared to recede for many miles, and his horizon seemed as palpably distant from the eye as the extreme termination of the view would appear in nature." The stage was lighted from the top of the proscenium, in a natural manner; the clouds in every scene positively floated upon the atmosphere, and moved faster or slower, ascended or descended, apparently in obedience to the ordinary laws that regulate their movements; the waves, carved in soft wood, and highly varnished, undulated, and threw up their foam, when at comparative rest, but as the storm began to rage grew more and more violent, till, at last, their commotion appeared truly awful; the vessels, exquisite little models of the craft represented, rose and sunk, and appeared to move fast or slow according to their bulk, and distance from the eye; rain, hail, thunder, and lightning descended in all their varying degrees of intensity and grandeur; natural looking light from the sun, the moon, or from more artificial sources, was reflected naturally back wherever it fell on a proper surface; now the moonlight, for instance, appeared sleeping on the wave; now the lurid flash lit up the tumultuous sea; and all these, and a variety of other imitations of natural phenomena were brought into the service of landscapes, and other scenes from nature, of the most exquisite kind. Loutherbourg, we need hardly say, was a fine painter, but here, no matter how small the canvas, he was absolutely great. His whole heart and soul indeed were wrapt up in his Eidophusikon. The opening subject, it seems, "represented the view from the summit of One tree hill, in Greenwich Park, looking up the Thames to the Metropolis; on one side, conspicuous upon its picturesque eminence, stood Flamsteed House (the Observatory), and below, on the right, the grand mass of building, Greenwich Hospital, with its imposing cupolas, cut out of pasteboard, and painted with architectural correctness. The large groups of trees formed another division; behind which were the towns of Greenwich and Deptford, with the shore on each side stretching to the metropolis, which was seen in its vast extent from Chelsea to Poplar. Behind were the hills of Hampstead, Highgate, and Harrow; and the intermediate space was occupied by the flat stage, as the pool or port of London, crowded with shipping, each mass being cut out in pasteboard, and receding in size by the perspective of their distance. The heathy appearance of the fore-ground was constructed of cork, broken into the rugged and picturesque forms of a sand-pit, covered with minute mosses and lichens, producing a captivating effect, amounting indeed to reality. This scene on the rising of the curtain was enveloped in that mysterious light which is the precursor of day-break, so true to nature that the imagination of the spectator sniffed the sweet breath of morn. A faint light appeared along the horizon; the

scene assumed a vapourish tint of grey; and presently a gleam of saffron, changing to the pure varieties that tinge the fleecy clouds that pass away in morning mist; the picture brightened by degrees; the sun appeared gilding the tops of the trees, and the projections of the lofty buildings, and burnishing the vanes on the cupolas; when the whole scene burst upon the eye in the gorgeous splendour of a beauteous day!"

Scenes of a more absorbing nature followed. A 'Storm at Sea' was exhibited with all its characteristic features, and with almost incredible effect;—old mariners could hardly persuade themselves they were not once more surrounded by the most imminent danger, and that they ought not themselves to reply to the signal-guns of distress, which in the pauses of the terrific gale were heard vainly asking for assistance, and replying with melancholy significance to each other; whilst with the spectators generally the illusion was so consummate that it was a common thing for some one to cry out, "Hark! the signal came from that vessel labouring out there—and now from that!" But the grandest of all the exhibitions of this most perfect of theatres was the last scene, in which was represented, from Milton, Satan arraying his troops in the fiery lake, and the rising of the Palace of Pandemonium. Here, "in the fore-ground of a vista, stretching an immeasurable length between mountains, ignited from their bases to their lofty summits, with many-coloured flame, a chaotic mass rose in dark majesty, which gradually assumed form until it stood, the interior of a vast temple of gorgeous architecture, bright as molten brass, seemingly composed of unconsuming and unquenchable fire. In this tremendous scene, the effect of coloured glasses before the lamps was fully displayed; which being hidden from the audience, threw their whole influence upon the scene, as it rapidly changed, now to a sulphurous blue, then to a lurid red, and then again to a pale vivid light, and ultimately to a mysterious combination of the glasses, such as a bright furnace exhibits in fusing various metals. The sound which accompanied the wondrous picture struck the astonished ear of the spectator as no less preternatural; for, to add a more awful character to peals of thunder, and the accompaniments of all the hollow machinery that hurled balls and stones with indescribable rumbling and noise, an expert assistant swept his thumb over the surface of a tambourine, which produced a variety of groans that struck the imagination as issuing from infernal spirits." Such an exhibition, one would suppose, could hardly fail to be popular, and whilst new it was so—every one who beheld it admired, and none more than artists. The dread Sir Joshua himself, who ruled his little world with a power scarcely less potent than Jupiter's, though after a somewhat more benignant fashion, came again and again, not merely to nod approbation, but to look on with a pleasure that he desired to make contagious: he recommended the ladies among his acquaintance to take their daughters, who studied drawing, to see it, as the best artificial school in which to study the beauties and sublimities of nature. But the Eidophusikon—we love the word—was half a century before its time; so two seasons sufficed to reduce its audiences to so low a point, that the painter was induced to dispose of his exhibition; and, in so doing, we should fancy, must have half broken his heart. His enthusiasm once reached an almost ludicrous height. The author of the account from which we have borrowed our facts and extracts, speaks of

an opportunity he enjoyed of comparing the effect of the awful phenomenon—a thunder-storm, with the imitative thunder of De Loutherbourg's. "A lady exclaimed 'It lightens!' and, in great agitation, pointed to an aperture that admitted air to the upper seats. The consternation caused by this discovery induced many to retire to the lobby, some of whom, moved by terror or superstition, observed 'that the exhibition was presumptuous!'" A party, however, moved to the gallery, and, opening a door, stood upon the landing-place, where they could compare the real with the artificial, when it seems the last bore the comparison remarkably well. But the writer does not mention De Loutherbourg's own opinion as to such a comparison, when he and Gainsborough watched, in a similar manner, the real and the artificial phenomena; and when the delighted painter so far forgot himself as to call out, "By —, Gainsborough, our thunder 's best!"

[Stock Exchange, Capel Court.]

CXLIV.—THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

"THIS country," said the late Mr. Rothschild, in 1832, "is, in general, the Bank for the whole world—I mean, that all transactions in India, in China, in Germany, in Russia, and in the whole world, are all guided here, and settled in this country." The centre of these operations, the heart, as it were, of this "Bank for the whole world" is a circumscribed spot lying eastward of the Mansion House. Passing this Palace of the King of the City we are in an open space which it is intended to embellish by an equestrian statue of the great warrior of the age, and the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange are immediately before us. The streets which branch off from this point are King William Street and Lombard Street on the right, Cornhill in the centre, and Threadneedle Street on the left, the north side of the latter street being formed by the Bank of England, and the south side partly by the Royal Exchange. Princes Street on the western side of the Bank, Lothbury at its north-western angle, Throgmorton Street, one side of which is formed by the Bank, and Bartholomew Lane, which is bounded on one side by the whole of the eastern front of the Bank, partake also of the character which is peculiar to this neighbourhood, and which differs nearly as

much from that of the streets of fine shops as the Temple differs from Cheapside. On each side of Lombard Street, Cornhill, and the other streets we have mentioned, there are numerous passages, apparently leading to some private house, but which, in reality, are busy thoroughfares, along which the passengers hurry to and fro with an eagerness peculiar to this part of the City. We have here marked out the district in which the largest monetary and commercial transactions of London take place. Here are the Bank and the Royal Exchange, the Stock Exchange, the great private and Joint-Stock Banks, the offices of the bullion, bill and discount brokers, and of the stock and share brokers. Three years ago, in pulling down the French church in Threadneedle Street, there was exposed to view a tesselated pavement, which, at least fourteen centuries ago, had borne the actual tread of Roman feet; and the immediate neighbourhood was probably the most opulent part of Roman London.* A greater power than the Roman, a power of which the masters of the old world had no conception, now reigns supreme on this very spot. As a witty writer remarks—"The warlike power of every country depends on their Three per Cents. If Cæsar were to re-appear on earth, Wettenhall's List would be more important than his Commentaries; Rothschild would open and shut the Temple of Janus; Thomas Baring, or Bates, would probably command the Tenth Legion; and the soldiers would march to battle with loud cries of Scrip and Omnium Reduced, Consols and Cæsar." †

Three centuries ago the centre of the money power of Europe was at Antwerp. But, in 1566, Clough, the agent of Sir Thomas Gresham in the Low Countries, expressed an opinion that, were proper means taken to create confidence, "there would be more money found in London than in Andwerpe, whensomever the Queene's Majesty should have need;" and in 1570 Gresham proceeded to act upon this opinion. Writing to Cecil, he urged upon him the expediency of raising the necessary supply of money for the Queen from her own subjects, "wherebie all other princes maie see what a Prince of power she ys." A loan was therefore proposed to the Merchant-Adventurers, who referred it to a common hall, where it was negatived by a show of hands, a proceeding not very imprudent, considering the bad faith of Her Majesty as a borrower of money. Gresham affected to be surprised at the unwillingness of the merchants, and by dint of persuasion and remonstrance he was enabled to take up in the City, from eight of the principal merchants and aldermen, 12,900*l.*, and in the following month, from six others, 8200*l.* more, to be repaid in six months, with interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. When these sums became due they were renewed on the same terms; and as the confidence of the merchants increased loans were afterwards frequently negotiated between them and the State. This was a great improvement on the practice which Elizabeth had been in the habit of resorting to for raising the most paltry sums, which she was accustomed to demand peremptorily of one or other of the City Companies. On one occasion the Ironmongers were directed, if unprovided with the amount she required (the large sum of 60*l.*), to borrow it for her immediately and pay the interest themselves.

The growth of the National Debt, and with its increase the extraordinary development of the financial capabilities of the country and its high credit, would

* Vol. I. p. 200. † Rev. Sydney Smith.

astound the men who lived only a century ago, while to us the wonder is that less than a century and a half since (in 1702) the public debt of the nation was little more than sixteen millions sterling. Such a debt as this could now be paid off at a day's notice. In 1736 the debt did not exceed fifty millions; in 1756 (not ninety years ago) it amounted to about seventy-four millions; in 1776 (within the memory of persons living) it was no more than one hundred and thirty-two millions. The American war raised it to two hundred and sixty-eight millions; and the first war with France, ending with the Peace of Amiens, increased it to six hundred and twenty-two millions. At the conclusion of the Peace in 1815, the debt was eight hundred and eighty-five millions; and after nearly thirty years' peace it now exceeds eight hundred millions. In 1792 the entire public expenditure, including the interest of the debt, was under twenty millions; and, in 1814, for that one year, it exceeded one hundred millions; while from 1806 to 1815 the average was above eighty-four millions. The excess of expenditure over income in these twenty-four years of war was upwards of four hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. Large fortunes were made during this period by loans and stock-jobbing. At the commencement of the great struggle with France nothing could exceed the energy and spirit of the country. In December, 1796, a loan of 18,000,000*l.* was raised with extraordinary rapidity. Negotiations for peace had been for some time pending between the British government and the French Directory. The French authorities seemed to be unwilling to come to terms, and their reluctance was supposed in this country to arise from an opinion that the pecuniary resources of England were crippled, or, perhaps, nearly exhausted. Mr. Pitt, who was then minister, to show that his power of raising money was as great as ever, asked for a loan of 18,000,000*l.* for the service of the ensuing year (1797). The plan by which this large sum was to be raised he communicated to the Bank Directors in the following notice :—"Every person subscribing 100*l.* to receive 112*l.* in 5 per cent. stock, to be irredeemable, unless with the consent of the owner, until the expiration of three years after the present 5 per cents. shall have been redeemed or reduced, but with the option of the holder to be paid at par, at any shorter period, not less than two years from the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Payment in either case to be made in money, or, at the option of the holder, in a 3 per cent. stock valued at 75, liable, if wished, to be converted for a certain proportion into a life annuity. The first payment on the 13th of January, the second in March, the remaining instalments between March and the October following. The receipts not to be issuable till after the second instalment, or till after 20*l.* has been deposited on each 100*l.* Discount, as usual, on prompt payment." The hopes of the nation were strong that by a great demonstration of the unexhausted power of England to continue the war, they would destroy the unfounded notion of the French Directory, and thus accelerate the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

The subscription was opened on Thursday, December 1st. The Bank, in its corporate capacity, subscribed one million sterling, and each of the directors individually 400,000*l.* When the books were closed the first day five millions had been subscribed, and when they were closed on Friday, the second day, the subscriptions amounted to 11,900,000*l.* and upwards. The eagerness to subscribe was not less on the Saturday. On Monday the 5th the country subscrip-

tions were entered first, before the doors were opened, and when this was done little remained to complete the eighteen millions. The lobby was crowded. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock as usual, numbers could not get near the books at all, and many persons called to those who were signing to enter their names for them. So great and so general was the desire to subscribe, that the room was a scene of the utmost confusion. At twenty minutes past eleven the subscription was declared to be full, and great numbers were compelled reluctantly to go away without having subscribed. Persons continued to come long afterwards, and a vast number of orders were sent by post which were too late to be executed. It is a curious fact that the subscription for this enormous sum was completed in fifteen hours and twenty minutes, that is, December 1st, two hours; December 2nd, six hours; December 3rd, six hours; December 5th, one hour and twenty minutes. Most of the corporations in the City (one of which, about two centuries before, reluctantly raised 60*l.* for Queen Elizabeth) subscribed 200,000*l.*, and most of the bankers 50,000*l.* The loan, from the stimulus of national excitement under which it was raised, was designated *the Loyalty Loan.*

The South Sea Bubble created so much prejudice against speculators in the public securities that, in 1720, the House of Commons passed a vote without opposition to the effect "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." A pamphlet, published in 1719, entitled 'The Anatomy of Exchange Alley,' shows that all the ordinary artifices for raising or depressing the prices of stocks by false rumours were in full practice by the ingenious speculators of that day. "If they meet with a cull, a young dealer that has money to lay out, they catch him at the door, whisper to him, 'Sir, here is a great piece of news; it is not yet public; it is worth a thousand guineas but to mention it. I am heartily glad I met you, but let it be as secret as the black side of your soul, for they know nothing of it yet in the Coffee House; if they should, stock would rise ten per cent. in a moment, and I warrant you South Sea stock will be at 130*l.* in a week's time after it is known.' 'Well,' says the weak creature, 'prithee, dear Tom, what is it?' 'Why, really, sir, I will let you into the secret upon your honour to keep it till you hear of it from other hands. Why, 't is this; the Pretender is certainly taken, and is carried prisoner to the Castle of Milan.'" The "cull" is referred to the Secretary of State's office, and there, according to the pamphlet, a confederate meets him and gives a pretended confirmation of the rumour. In the end the unwary man is "bubbled." At this period the great resort of the speculators was Jonathan's Coffee House, in Change Alley, or "the Alley," as it was called. In 1762, an action was brought against the proprietor of Jonathan's for pushing the plaintiff out of the house; and it being proved that the place had been a market, time out of mind, for buying and selling Government securities, the jury, under the direction of Chief Justice Mansfield, brought in a verdict in the plaintiff's favour, with one shilling damages. As the business of stock-jobbing increased, a more commodious room was opened in Threadneedle Street, to which, as we are informed, admission was obtained on payment of sixpence. The Bank Rotunda was, at one period, the place where bargains in stocks were made. Towards the close of the last century the increased scale of transactions in the Funds, and the new loans which were continually being raised, induced the principal frequenters of the

stock-market to subscribe for the erection of a building for their accommodation. Capel Court, on the east side of Bartholomew Lane, once the residence of Sir William Capel, Lord Mayor in 1504, was fixed upon as a convenient situation for the purpose. The first stone was laid on the 18th of May, 1801, and contains an inscription, which states, for the information of remote posterity, that the national debt was then upwards of five hundred millions. This building, which is the present Stock Exchange, was opened in March, 1802. The entrance to Capel Court is nearly opposite the door at the east end of the Bank, leading to the room in that building called the Rotunda.

No one is allowed to transact business at the Stock Exchange unless he is a member. If a stranger unluckily wanders into the place he is quickly hustled out. There are about three hundred and fifty firms of stock-brokers in London, whose places of business are situated in the streets, courts, and alleys within five minutes' walk of the Royal Exchange. To these we must add thirty or forty bullion, bill, and discount brokers. All the more respectable of these money-dealers are members of the Stock Exchange, and the total number of members is at present about six hundred and fifty. The admission takes place by ballot, and the committee of the Stock Exchange, which consists of twenty-four members, is elected in the same manner. Every new member of the "house," as it is called, must be introduced by three respectable members, each of whom enters into security in 300*l.* for two years. At the end of two years, when the respectability of the party is supposed to be fairly ascertained and known, the liability of the sureties ceases; but, as each member of the house is re-elected every year, if in the course of the preceding twelvemonth there is anything discreditable in his conduct, he is not re-elected. If a member becomes a defaulter, he ceases to be a member; though, after inquiry, he may be re-admitted on paying a certain composition; but he must be re-admitted, if at all, by vote of the committee. When a member becomes unable to pay his creditors there are certain official assignees who receive all the money due to him and divide it amongst his creditors. No man can be re-admitted unless he pays 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound, from resources of his own, over and above what has been collected from his debtors. As some of the practices of the Stock Exchange are contrary to law, and cannot be enforced in the courts, the members are only to be held to them by a sense of honour, and such restraints in the way of exposure and degradation as the governing committee may be authorised to apply by the general body of members. Cases of dishonourable or disgraceful conduct are punished by expulsion. The names of defaulters are posted on the "black board," and, in the language of the Stock Exchange, they are then technically called "lame ducks." In short, the committee have the power of effectually destroying the credit of a member whose transactions are of a dishonourable nature. They investigate the conduct of members whenever called upon by other parties, and give their award according to the evidence.

The two leading classes of men who have dealings on the Stock Exchange are the jobbers and the brokers, though the business peculiar to each is not unfrequently transacted by one person. Some members deal for the most part in English stocks, others in foreign, and many confine their attention principally to shares in mines, railways, canals, joint-stock banks, and other public companies;

some call themselves discount-brokers and money-dealers, and transact business to a large extent in commercial securities—that is, in bills drawn by merchants and tradesmen on mercantile transactions. Bargains are made in the presence of a third party, and the terms are simply entered in a pocket-book; but they are checked next day, and the jobber's clerk (their clerks are members also of the house) pays or receives the money, and sees that the securities are correct. There are but three or four dealers in Exchequer Bills, and the greater number of these securities pass through their hands. The majority of the members of the Stock Exchange employ their capital in any way which offers the slightest chance of profit, and keep it in convertible securities, so that it can be changed from hand to hand almost at a moment's notice. The brokers are employed to execute the orders of bankers, merchants, capitalists, and private individuals; and the jobbers on 'Change are the parties with whom they deal. When the broker appears in the market he is surrounded by the jobbers. One of the "cries" of the Stock Exchange is "Borrow money? borrow money?" a singular one to general apprehension; but it must be understood that the credit of the borrower must either be first-rate or his security of the most satisfactory nature; and that it is not the principal who goes into this market, but his broker. "Have you money to lend to-day?" is a question asked with a nonchalance which would astonish the simple man who goes to a "friend" with such a question in his mouth. "Yes," may be the reply. "I want 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*" "On what security?" for that is the vital question; and that point being settled, the transaction goes on smoothly and quickly enough. Another mode of doing business is to conceal the object of the borrower or lender, who asks, "What are Exchequer?" The answer may be, "Forty to forty-two." That is, the party addressed will buy 1000*l.* at 40*s.*, and sell 1000*l.* at 42*s.* The jobbers cluster around the broker, who perhaps says, "I must have a price in 5000*l.*" If it suits them they will say, "Five with me, five with me, five with me," making fifteen; or they will say each, "Ten with me;" and it is the broker's business to get these parties pledged to buy of him at 40, or to sell to him at 42, they not knowing whether he is a buyer or seller. The broker then declares his purpose, saying, for example, "Gentlemen, I sell to you 20,000*l.* at 40;" and the sum is then apportioned among them. If the money were wanted only for a month, and the Exchequer market remained the same during that time, the buyer would have to give 42 in the market for what he sold at 40, being the difference between the buying and the selling price; besides which he would have to pay the broker 1*s.* per cent. commission on the sale, and 1*s.* per cent. on the purchase again on the bills, which would make altogether 4*s.* per cent. If the object of the broker be to buy Consols, the jobber offers to buy his 20,000*l.* at 96, or to sell him that amount at 96⅛, without being at all aware which he is engaging himself to do. The same person may not know on any particular day whether he will be a borrower or lender. If he has sold stock and has not repurchased, about one or two o'clock in the day he would be a lender of money; but if he has bought stock, and not sold, he would be a borrower. Immense sums are lent on condition of being recalled at the short notice of a few hours. These loans are often for so short a period, that the uninitiated, who have no other idea of borrowing than that which the old proverb supplies, that "He who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing," would wonder that any man should borrow

10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* for a day, or at most a fortnight, and which is liable to be called for at the shortest notice. The facilities which the Stock Exchange affords for the easy flow of capital in any direction where profit is to be secured will explain the mystery. The directors of a railway company, whose receipts are 12,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* per week, instead of locking up this sum every week in their strong-box, as a premium for the ingenuity of the London thieves, authorise a broker to lend it on proper securities. Persons who pay large duties to government at fixed periods, and are in receipt of these duties from the time of their last payment, make something of the gradually accumulating sum by lending it for a week or two. A person whose capital is intended to be laid out in mortgage on real property finds it advantageous to lend it out until he meets with a suitable offer. The great bankers have constantly large sums which are not required for their till, and they direct their brokers to lend this surplus cash on the Stock Exchange. One banker lends about 400,000*l.* to the jobbers on every settling day. Bankers are also borrowers at times, as well as lenders. The Bank of England sometimes, and also the East India Company, employ their brokers to raise money on the Stock Exchange. Some members of the Stock Exchange call themselves, appropriately enough, "managers of balances." Whatever the market rate of interest may be, it is more advantageous to a capitalist to employ his resources at the smallest rate of profit rather than that it should remain idle. Sometimes the jobber, at the close of the day, will lend his money at 1 per cent. rather than not employ it at all. But the extraordinary fluctuations in the rate of interest, even in the course of a single day, are a sufficient temptation to the money-lender to resort to the Stock Exchange. During the shutting of the stocks money is invariably scarce; but as soon as the dividends become payable, it is again abundant. At other times, on one day the rate of interest will be 10 per cent., and the next day only 2. The rate of interest offered in the morning will also frequently differ from that which can be obtained in the afternoon. Instances have occurred in which every body has been anxious to lend money in the morning at 4 per cent., when about two o'clock money has become so scarce that it could with difficulty be borrowed at 10 per cent. For example, if the price of Consols be low, persons who are desirous of raising money will give a high rate of interest rather than sell stock. Again, an individual wants to borrow 100,000*l.* on Consols, but they happen to be in great demand, and the jobber may borrow on them at 2 per cent., and lend the very same money on another description of Government security at 5 per cent. The constant recurrence of these opportunities of turning capital is of course the life and soul of the Stock Exchange.

The profit of the jobber, after he has concluded a bargain, depends upon the state of the market, which may be depressed by extensive sales, or by the competition of buyers. These jobbers are middle men, who are always ready either to buy or sell at a minute's notice, and hence a broker, in dealing for his principal, who wants to borrow money, has no need to hunt after another broker, who has money of another principal to lend, but each resort to the jobber, who is both a borrower and lender. The following information as to the extent of the transactions of a firm of stock-brokers, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, of money-dealers, or, to use the technical phrase, "managers of balances," is official, and may be fully relied on:—"Our business, in addition to that of mere stock-brokers,

extends to the dealing in money, that is, borrowing of bankers, capitalists, and others, their surplus or unemployed moneys, for the purpose of lending again at advanced rates, the difference of rate being our remuneration for the trouble and risk attendant thereon. By the general facility thus afforded, from our being almost always ready either to borrow or lend, we have become, as it were, a channel directly or indirectly for a great portion of the loans between Lombard Street and the Stock Exchange; and the magnitude of our money-dealings will be at once understood when I state that we have both had and made loans to upwards of 200,000*l.* at a time with one house; that the payments and receipts through our banking account on each side amount to eighteen or twenty millions per annum, but our loan transactions far exceed that sum, and extend to the vast amount of from thirty to forty millions a-year. Our loans for the year ending October, 1841, exceeded thirty millions, being an average of three millions a-month, or 100,000*l.* a-day; and generally, upon four or five days in every month, the loans have amounted to 150, 2, 3, 4, 5, and even 700,000*l.* in a single day."

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the business created by the national debt, amounting to 800,000,000*l.*, and an income of 50,000,000*l.* a-year from the taxes, an annual circulation of Bills of Exchange amounting to between 500,000,000*l.* and 600,000,000*l.*, a circulation of Bank notes of 35,000,000*l.*, the perpetual transfer of shares in Railways, in which capital to the amount of above sixty millions has been embarked, besides the traffic in shares in canals, banks, insurance offices, and public companies, and in the foreign funds, the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange would scarcely find sufficient employment, if all the transactions which take place there were absolutely of a *bona fide* character, and led in every case to an actual transfer of the property which was the object of speculation. "Time-bargains" fill up their leisure, and the excitement which attends such transactions is rather agreeable than otherwise to those who are accustomed to the atmosphere of the Stock Exchange. The origin of these transactions was legitimate enough. At certain periods, which occur half-yearly, the transfer-books at the Bank are "shut" for several weeks, in order to afford time for the preparation of the dividend warrants. During this interval a person who buys or sells stock must necessarily do so speculatively, "for the opening," that is, for transfer on the day on which the transfer-books are re-opened. These half-yearly opportunities for speculative transactions were not sufficient to gratify the desire for "doing business" which prevails amongst speculators, and, accordingly, periodical dates have been fixed upon by the Committee of the Stock Exchange similar to the "opening," at intervals of about six weeks, making altogether about eight settling days, as they are called, in the course of the year, two of these "settling days" corresponding with the first days of the opening of the Bank books for public transfer. The price at which stock is sold to be transferred on the next settling day is called the price "on account." A party engages to sell to another for a certain sum a certain amount of stock on the next "settling day," the calculation of the seller being that by the day in question the market-price of stock will be lower than the price agreed upon; that of the buyer, that it will be higher. The matter, however, instead of being arranged by an actual transfer of stock, is settled simply by the losing party paying the "difference," that is, the seller, in case of the price on the "settling day" turning out to be below that

stipulated for, gains by the difference between the two sums, and the buyer loses; but, if the price rises above that stipulated for, exactly the reverse would happen. The whole transaction is founded on the anticipation of a rise by one party and a fall by the other, and is, in fact, essentially a bet. The amount of the bet which is won and lost is the difference between the price agreed upon and the actual selling price. These bargains are illegal, and cannot be enforced by law. The jobbers, therefore, depend upon each other's honour. The terms "Bull" and "Bear," which are familiar to every reader of a newspaper, are used, the former to designate those who speculate for a rise, and the latter for those who endeavour to effect a fall in prices, as the bull tosses the objects of its attack in the air, and the bear endeavours to trample it under foot. The "Bull" who buys 50,000*l.* Consols for the settling day, or "for the account," as it is technically called, endeavours to sell them again in the interval at a higher price; and, on the other hand, the "Bear" would endeavour to sell the 50,000*l.* (which, nevertheless, he does not possess, as no transfer actually takes place) "for the account," with a view of buying them in for the purpose of balancing the transaction at a lower price than he originally sold them at. Wars and rumours of wars, favourable turns of the public fortune, every circumstance which can affect the most sensitive of political barometers, re-acts upon the interests of either the speculator for a rise or a fall in the public funds. When the account is not closed on the settling day the stock is carried on to a future day, on such terms as the parties may agree on. This is called a "continuation," which is nothing more than interest for money lent on security of stock, which fluctuates in the most agreeable manner for a speculator, according to the scarcity or abundance of money. Operating upon the "continuation" is a favourite mode of speculation amongst those who can command large capitals, and the foreign stocks offer the most tempting inducements to this kind of enterprise, as they are subject to greater fluctuation than the English stocks; and though the security is not so good, the rate of interest is higher, being sometimes equal to 15 per cent. per annum.

Of all the means of making a fortune none is so rapid as speculation in the Funds,—if good fortune do but smile on the speculator, nor any more uncertain. No Stock Exchange in Europe affords such facilities for speculation as that of London, for the dealings are not confined to English Government Securities, but embrace every description of transferable security, shares in Railways, Mines, Canals, Insurance Companies, Joint-Stock Banks, and indeed all property, the sign of which can be passed from hand to hand, besides including every description of foreign Funds. The foreign capitalist is attracted from every capital in Europe to the English Stock Exchange, and the Jews flock to it from every quarter under heaven. One of the most *naïve* productions we have seen for a long time is the letter of a Jew of Mogadore, who wished his friends to provide him with the means of going on the London Stock Exchange, where he was certain of making a "fortune." The letter, which reads almost as if it were written by the 'Turkish Spy,' was produced in evidence in the Bankruptcy Court, dated London, October, 1841, and is as follows:—"Unfortunately at present there is little business to be done without a large capital to speculate with. Now I am much inclined, and am encouraged to hope making my fortune in the public Funds, for you are aware that

loans are negotiated here for all nations, and the value of each nation's 'Funds' is regulated by its credit, so that the prices rise and fall according to the intelligence which arrives. The Governments of Europe are not like that of our Emperor [of Morocco], who has sacks full of doubloons buried under ground, for they are poor, and indebted to the public. The English Government are indebted to the public eight hundred millions sterling, which are 4,000 million dollars! and all this capital is in the Funds, and bought and sold transactions are in it daily effected, so that one may make a fortune in a few days, as many have done, for the riches of R—— and M—— were all acquired in the Funds; therefore I am urging my dear Judah to become guarantee for me with a broker who deals in this business, and I have a friend who is named Moses Abitbol, of Mogadore, a man of great sagacity, who understands this business, and is skilful in Government matters; he has been in London more than thirty years, and he is desirous of placing me in this business; but as I am not known, and my dear Judah is very well known, Abitbol tells me that I must ask my dear Judah to be answerable for me, and then he will assist me and put me in the way how to act. Now I have already spoken to Judah, who tells me 'he is unwilling to enter into matters which are foreign to his business,' and that 'it is not creditable for a merchant to negotiate in the Funds,' and he 'does not wish to have too much to think of.' That it will be better to import articles from places and gain four pounds or five pounds at a time, than to run risks, as I might perhaps lose. Pray, therefore, write to him in my behalf, and request him to assist me in this matter, as I can assure you that I am confident, with the blessing of God and the assistance of this Mr. Abitbol, to make my fortune. I read the newspapers every day, as I understand the English language, and see by them that from one week to another the public Funds rise 5 per cent., and I am acquainted with everything about them, and what I ask of my dear Judah to be responsible for me is no great thing—the utmost will be 40*l.* or 50*l.*, as I am not going to risk anything which might turn out very detrimental, and, with the Divine aid, 200*l.* may be gained with 50*l.*, so Mr. Abitbol tells me, who likewise says that I may gain 500*l.* a-year. I am in hopes that if you will write and request my dear Judah he will do the needful out of respect for you, and I beg that you will not lose any time so soon as you receive this." We have heard of one firm of stock-jobbers, or rather money-dealers, who would have made 20,000*l.* a-year on their transactions at 10*s.* per cent. Money-jobbers would, in fact, grow rich if they were sure of realising one-eighth per cent. on all their transactions, that is only 2*s.* 6*d.* per 100*l.*; but the way to wealth is not so easy. After having concluded a bargain the market changes, and the speculator may "realise" a loss on the transaction. The Mogadore Jew would not find it so easy to gain 200*l.* with a capital of 50*l.* There is no doubt, however, that large fortunes have been gained on the Stock Exchange by persons who have begun with transactions on the humblest scale; but then how many large fortunes have been lost! Apparently, however, the life of a member of the Stock Exchange would seem to be one of continual excitement. He rushes up from Brighton by the Express Train in an hour and a half, transacts his business, and leaves town again for the coast soon after four o'clock, having, it may be, netted some hundreds of pounds by his clear-headed speculations, or by a fortunate turn in the chapter of accidents. Some of

the prettiest villas all round the metropolis are inhabited by members of the Stock Exchange, who here may tranquillise their nerves in the long summer evenings by those pursuits which seem so congenial to the happy-looking spot.

It would scarcely be possible to arrange under any number of general heads all the "skyey influences" that are capable of elevating or depressing the Funds, which fluctuate with every breeze of popular exhilaration or nervous despondency, every fit of suspicion or confidence, every hope and fear, almost every hope, passion, or caprice of the human breast. In 1797 the prospects of this country, owing to the successes of the French, the mutiny in the fleet, and other adverse circumstances, were so unfavourable, that the price of the Three per Cents. sunk on the 20th of September, on the intelligence transpiring of an attempt to negotiate with the French Republic having failed, to 47⅜, being the lowest price to which they have ever fallen. The same Stock is now at 96. Such events as the battle of Leipsig, the escape of Napoleon from Elba, the battle of Waterloo, which influenced the hopes and fears of mankind throughout the civilized world, are not likely to occur in these times, and we must content ourselves with a more prosaic life.

During the war many frauds were practised on the Stock Exchange, under various forms of false intelligence; but one of the most daring, complicated, and complete, was executed in February, 1814. The parties implicated in this transaction were Sir Thomas Cochrane (commonly called Lord Cochrane), Andrew Cochrane Johnstone (his uncle), Charles Random de Berenger, Richard Gathorne Butt, John Peter Holloway, Henry Lyte, Ralph Sandom, and Alexander M'Rae. Lord Cochrane, the present Earl of Dundonald, had recently been appointed to the command of a ship of war, and was Member of Parliament for Westminster. Johnstone was Member of Parliament for Grampound. Butt had been formerly a clerk in the Navy-Office. Holloway was a wine-merchant in London. Sandom was a spirit-merchant at Northfleet, near Gravesend, but was then in the Rules of the King's Bench. De Berenger, the main agent in executing the plot, was a foreigner who had long resided in this country, and for the previous fourteen or fifteen months had been in the Rules of the King's Bench. Lyte was a small navy-agent. M'Rae was a man in distressed circumstances, who resided at 61, Fetter Lane.

The series of extraordinary military operations by which Bonaparte, in January and February, 1814, kept the allied armies in check had a very depressing effect on the Funds. This country was in a state of the greatest anxiety, and the intelligence of the battle of Montmirail, which was received in London on the 17th of February, reduced Omnium to 27½, which, before the opening of the campaign in January, had been as high as 30.

The plot of this imposture, there is little doubt, originated with Johnstone, Butt, and Holloway. Lord Cochrane was implicated, perhaps unconsciously, as he always affirmed. The rest were employed as performers. Of these the principal was De Berenger, and he performed the first and chief part of the plot himself. The subsidiary part was left to Sandom, Lyte, and M'Rae, whose immediate employer was Holloway.

Johnstone and Butt commenced their speculations in the stocks on the 8th of February; Lord Cochrane on the 12th. Holloway had long been a speculator

in the Funds. On the Saturday preceding the Monday on which the fraud was executed these individuals possessed stocks as follows:—

Andrew Cochrane Johnstone . .	£141,000 Omnium.
„ „ „ . . .	100,000 Consols.
Richard Gathorne Butt . . .	224,000 Omnium.
„ „ „ . . .	168,000 Consols.
John Peter Holloway . . .	20,000 Omnium.
„ „ „ . . .	34,000 Consols.
Lord Cochrane	139,000 Omnium.
	£826,000

The necessary preparations had been made, and everything was now in readiness. The performance commenced a little after midnight at Dover. A person knocked violently at the door of the 'Ship Hotel.' He was admitted. He was dressed in a grey military great coat, a scarlet uniform richly embroidered with gold lace (like a staff-officer), a star on his breast, a silver medal suspended from his neck, a dark fur cap with a broad band of gold lace, and a small portmanteau. This was De Berenger, in the assumed character of Lieut.-Col. Du Bourg, aide-de-camp of Lord Cathcart, just arrived from Paris, and the bearer of the glorious news that a decisive victory had been gained, that Bonaparte had been killed, and that the allied armies were then actually in Paris. With the appearance of great haste and excitement he wrote the following letter:—

"To the Rt. Hon. T. Foley, Port Admiral, Deal.

"Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you that 'l'Aigle,' from Calais, Pierre Duquin, master, has this moment landed me near Dover, to proceed to the capital with dispatches of the happiest nature. I have pledged my honour that no harm shall come to the crew of 'l'Aigle.' Even with a flag of truce, they immediately stood for sea. Should they be taken, I entreat you immediately to liberate them. My anxiety will not allow me to say more for your gratification than that the allies obtained a final victory; that Bonaparte was overtaken by a party of Sachen's Cossacks, who immediately slaid him and divided his body between them. General Platoff saved Paris from being reduced to ashes. The allied sovereigns are there, and the white cockade is universal. An immediate peace is certain. In the utmost haste I entreat your consideration," &c. Signed, "R. Du Bourg, Lieut.-Col., and Aide-de-Camp to Lord Cathcart."

A special messenger was immediately dispatched with this letter to the Port Admiral at Deal, in the expectation that he would have communicated the news by telegraph to the Government in London. The letter was delivered between three and four o'clock. The morning, however, happened to be hazy, the telegraph could not be worked, and this part of the plot therefore entirely failed.

Meantime, De Berenger ordered a post-chaise to be got ready without delay. He offered to pay with napoleons, which the landlord scrupled to take, and he then took out some one-pound notes, paid his bill, and started for London. When he changed horses at Canterbury, Sittingbourne, Rochester, Dartford, he spread the news, and when he dismissed the post-boys rewarded each of them with a napoleon. When he arrived at Bexley Heath he learned from the post-boys that the telegraph could not have been worked, and then told them that they need not drive so

fast. The boys walked by the side of their horses up Shooter's Hill, and De Berenger then informed them that the French were beaten, that Bonaparte was killed, and that the Cossacks had actually torn his body in pieces, and had contended for the parts. He stopped at the Marsh Gate, in Lambeth, got out, entered a hackney coach, and gave each of the post-boys a napoleon, who drove off rejoicing to spread the news as they went. This was about nine o'clock on Monday morning. De Berenger was driven in the hackney-coach to No. 13, Green Street, Westminster, where Lord Cochrane resided, in furnished apartments which he had taken three days previously.

The news reached the Stock Exchange a little after ten, either through the post-boys, or by express sent up from Dover or some of the towns where De Berenger had changed horses. The price of Omnium had commenced at 27½ extremely flat; but when it was communicated that an officer had come from Paris, arrived at Dover, and reached London in a post-chaise and four, bearing dispatches for Government, Omnium rose to 28, 28½, 29, 30. No communication having been made from the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor, at twelve doubts began to be entertained, and the funds fell to 29.

The auxiliary plot now came into operation. Between twelve and one a post-chaise and four drove over London Bridge, and made a sort of triumphal procession through the City. There were three persons in it, two of them dressed like French officers, in blue great-coats with white linings, and having white cockades. The horses were decorated with laurel. Small billets were scattered as they proceeded. They passed over Blackfriars Bridge, and then drove rapidly to the Marsh Gate, where the three persons got out, folded up their cocked hats, put on round ones, and walked away. The post-chaise drove rapidly back down the Kent Road.

The funds now rose from 29 to 30, 31, 32, 32½, 33; but persons having been sent to the office of the Secretary of State, and it having been found that no messenger had arrived there, the deception was discovered, and the funds fell to their original level. Large sales, however, had been made, and the whole of the 826,000*l.* which had been bought by Johnstone, Butt, Holloway, and Lord Cochrane, had been sold.

The members of the Stock Exchange, who had been thus defrauded, appointed a committee, by whom it was discovered that the second post-chaise had been brought from Dartford early in the morning, and had started from Northfleet with four post-horses, bearing Sandom, Lyte, and M'Rae.

It was ascertained that De Berenger, who was the chief agent, was paid a large sum. He was arrested at Leith as he was on the point of leaving this country. His military coat was accidentally fished up from the Thames, in which he had sunk it. Johnstone escaped to the Continent. M'Rae received 50*l.* It was also proved in evidence on the trial, that he brought into his lodgings in Fetter Lane on Saturday, February 19, a couple of great coats, blue lined with white; he had white cockades made up by his wife; and, in reply to inquiries as to the use to which the coats and cockades were to be applied, he said, they were "to take in the flats." He quitted his lodgings in the afternoon of Sunday, stating that he was going down the river to Gravesend, and he returned about two o'clock on Monday, after having got out of the post-chaise at the Marsh Gate.

The profit on the sales of stock was ascertained to have amounted to about 10,000*l.* If the telegraph had worked, so as to have ensured a communication from the Government to the Lord Mayor, the profit would probably have been not less than 100,000*l.* The sales were mostly made by Mr. Fearn, a stock-broker. Butt was active manager; but Johnstone was at the office, which he had taken on purpose, and which was just by the side-door of the Stock Exchange.

The trial came on June 21, 1814, at the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, before Lord Ellenborough. Gurney was the leading counsel for the prosecution, and the prisoners were severally defended by the first lawyers of the day, Brougham, Denman, and others.

All the prisoners were found guilty, and they were all sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in the Marshalsea. In addition to this, Lord Cochrane and Butt were fined 1000*l.* each, and Holloway 500*l.* Lord Cochrane, De Berenger, and Butt were also sentenced to stand one hour in the pillory, in front of the Royal Exchange. The matter, however, was taken up in Parliament, and this ignominious part of the sentence was remitted.

The effect of the great panic of 1825 upon the public funds was more astounding than the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. In January, 1825, the Three per Cents. were above 93, and twelve months afterwards they were under 80. A brief account of this "Panic" has been already given.* The daily newspapers commenced giving at this period an article under the head of 'Money Market,' which is now an indispensable feature in every newspaper, daily or weekly. In 1815 the 'Courier' newspaper did not even give the price of stocks.

Perhaps the next circumstance in point of interest connected with the money market, in the last twenty years, was the extraordinary forgery of Exchequer Bills by Beaumont Smith, discovered in October, 1841. This case is remarkable not only for the large amount of money obtained, but for the length of time during which it escaped detection, that is, from the spring of 1836 to the middle of 1841.

Beaumont Smith was the senior clerk in the Issuing Office of the Exchequer. His confederate was Ernest Rapallo, a foreigner who had been long resident in this country. This fraud related exclusively to the species of Exchequer Bills called Supply Bills, which are issued from the Exchequer under authority of successive acts of Parliament. The periods of issue are March and June, and each bill is either paid off or exchanged, at the option of the holder, at the office of the Paymaster of the Exchequer, after the expiration of a year. There are therefore two exchanges of Exchequer Bills every year—in March and June. The bills have a blank left for the name of the payee, which, however, is rarely filled up, and they pass, like a bank note, by mere delivery; they are numbered, in each successive issue, in regular progression, and are signed with the name of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, but in practice the signature was generally made by the Deputy-Comptroller. As a check to forgery, they are cut from a counterfoil, by comparison with which their genuineness may be ascertained. The number of these forged bills was 377, and they were generally made out for

* Vol. iv., p. 17.

the sum of 1000*l.* In paper, stamp, and every other particular, they were genuine, with the exception only of the signature, which was an imitation of that of the Deputy Comptroller-General. Each of the forged bills was a duplicate of a genuine bill; so that suspicion was only likely to arise in the case of two of the same number coming into the hands of the same person. All the forged bills emanated from Smith, and were passed through Rapallo.

In raising money on these instruments it was essential to abstain from sale; for, if thus brought into general circulation, there would not only be a great probability of duplicates falling into the hands of the same person, but a certainty of being carried at the regular periods of exchange to the office of the Paymaster, where the duplicates would of course come also, and thus infallibly lead to detection. Besides this, there is a great advantage in borrowing money on bills rather than selling the bills and replacing them by purchase. Suppose a banker requires to use his money for a week, if he sells those bills, and at the end of the week repurchases them, he has to pay broker's commission, which is a shilling on 100*l.* bill (if he is a banker he has to pay half); and he also has to pay the difference between buying and selling prices, which generally is two shillings per cent., which would make a loss in the week's work, selling those bills and replacing them, of three shillings on every 100*l.* bill; whereas, if he came upon the Stock Exchange, and borrowed the money even at five per cent., which is a higher rate of interest than that on Exchequer Bills (five per cent. is threepence farthing a day, and he receives upon the Exchequer Bills twopence farthing from the Government), his loss during the week is a penny a day, making sevenpence for the week; whereas if he sells and repurchases the bills it is three shillings. That is the reason why many bankers bring their bills into the market, and borrow upon them, instead of selling. The plan adopted by Smith and Rapallo, in every case, was to raise the money upon loan, and before the next period of exchange came round to redeem it by payment of the money, or to exchange it for another bill of more recent date. This method rendered it necessary to repay in every case the money advanced, as well as to pay the interest due upon the loan; but the opportunity which it afforded of employing large sums of money in extensive speculations in the stock market probably flattered the confederates with the hope of realizing large fortunes as the result.

In carrying the plan into effect, the mode of operation was the following: at the commencement of the transactions, and for some years afterwards, Rapallo delivered over the bills which he received from Smith to Angelo Solari, another foreigner, resident in this country, between whom and Rapallo there had previously been a connection; and Solari raised money upon the bills. This service he effected in part through connections formed by the assistance of Messrs. William and James Morgan, stock-brokers. They introduced him to the banking-houses of Ransom and Co., and Jones Lloyd and Co. From the former he obtained from time to time large sums of money on the deposit of the forged bills. He also obtained similar loans from Price and Co. Messrs. W. and J. Morgan likewise received from Solari the forged bills; and on the deposit of these, in their own names, as the apparent borrowers, they obtained large sums of money, out of which, according to the directions of Solari, they purchased for him foreign

bonds or shares, or paid losses incurred by him in the stock-market. They also, from time to time, paid over to him large sums of money, and paid off the principal and interest which became due on the loans; and received from him, on the other hand, large sums, and sold foreign bonds, and so on, charging the usual commission.

These dealings lasted till the death of Solari, in October, 1840, when Rapallo continued them as the agent of Solari's widow. Solari and Rapallo carried on similar dealings with Mr. William Mariner, who was then secretary to the National Brazilian Mining Company. Mr. Mariner employed as his stock-broker Mr. F. T. De Berckhem. The advances procured from Messrs. Morgan amounted to about 420,000*l.*; from Mariner and De Berckhem to about 465,000*l.*

At length the discovery was made. On the 19th of October, 1841, De Berckhem employed a person to borrow 10,000*l.* for him on the deposit of Exchequer Bills for three months, at 6 per cent. The application happened to be made to a member of the Stock Exchange, who had just lent money on a similar deposit at 4 per cent., and this appeared in all its circumstances so remarkable that he deemed it right to enter into communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Other bills were then obtained from De Berckhem, and on comparison with the counterfoils, the whole were found to be forged. Smith was taken into custody on the 25th of October; and the fraud then became known to the public.

[Terminus of the Blackwall Railway.]

CXLV.—RAILWAY TERMINI.

In the course of our work we have had frequent occasion to illustrate the general magnitude of the metropolis, and of all that belongs to it—as, for instance, in its mighty underground systems; its docks, banks, and markets; its size—its population; but all these together hardly give so vivid an idea of what London truly is as is furnished by its Railway Termini—those gates of the world through which we have only to pass, put on our wishing (or travelling) cap, which we take to be suggestive, in Fortunatus' case as well as in our own, of a short nap, and the thing is done; we are presently either roaming among the sublime mountains of Wales or Northumbria, following with antiquarian interest the route of Henry the Fifth's invading French army, *viâ* Southampton, looking for the samphire on Shakspere's cliff at Dover; or, if we are in a great hurry, whirling away on the other side of the Channel to Paris or Cologne, towards Italy or Vienna, towards Siberia or Timbuctoo. And apparently, before many years, all destinations will be about the same as regards the hours occupied—your only modern mode of measuring—or as regards the comfort and safety with which they may be reached. For, seriously, it would be as idle to sit down now satisfied that travelling has reached its climax, as it would have been when the first of those excellent coaches

started which reached York from London in a week, God willing. One's health, no doubt, requires that there should be a little interval between shaking hands with friends at parting in London, and doing the same with others on meeting at Brighton; but really the amount of that interval promises to depend upon some such considerations only. But of this subject we shall have to say a few words by and bye. And now, as to our metropolitan termini. They are ten in number: namely, the London and Birmingham, 1833 (date of Act for the establishment); the Greenwich, 1833; the South Western or Southampton, 1834; the Great Western to Bath and Bristol, 1835; the Croydon, 1835; the South Eastern and Dover, 1836; the Northern and Eastern, 1836; the Eastern Counties, 1836; the Blackwall, 1836; and the Brighton, 1837; the whole erected at a cost of above twenty-seven millions of money. The streets of London may not be paved with gold, as no doubt, many of our readers can remember once thinking they were, when youth and distance alike lent enchantment to the view, but certainly the roads leading to London seem to have been founded upon that metal. And, if there is something suggestive of almost Oriental visions of wealth and profusion in such an expenditure, there is not the less a decidedly British character of reality about the results. On the Birmingham line, for instance, every 100*l.* expended is now worth 240*l.*! The annual income of the Company is fast advancing towards a million (in the year just ended it was above 830,000*l.*)! whilst the aggregate of the mere duties paid to Government by the ten lines, in the same time, was above 82,000*l.*! It can be hardly necessary to say one word more as to the gigantic commercial character of the metropolitan railways.

But this is, after all, the least important and interesting of their features; the revolution they have wrought in our locomotive capabilities sinks into comparative insignificance when we contemplate the revolution they must yet work in mental and moral phenomena—blending together more and more intimately all countries and peoples, all religions, philosophies, feelings, tastes, customs and manners, through the agency of the great social harmoniser, personal converse. We shall hardly be able to speak much longer of mere visitors to and from London, but of London going to see the country, the country coming to see London—of London running over to inquire how all goes on in Paris, Paris returning the compliment in the same way: already we perceive six hours is the allotted time for passing from London to Boulogne; we do not despair of seeing Paris reached in less than twice that period. Through a great portion of Europe the same kind of communications are preparing; and we may, in short, almost anticipate the time when we shall make as little fuss about the tour of the world as of a tour through the Isle of Wight; when we shall talk of London, Paris, Vienna, Madrid, and so on, as of so many stages for refreshment—a little longer, certainly, than those of a stage coach, but still more nearly akin to them than to anything else. Seeing all this, one can almost excuse the enthusiasm generated in some minds by the subject, and which has led a recent writer into an attempt to explain, by the system of railroads, the mystical Vision of the Chariot by the prophet Ezekiel, and other Scripture passages, which, he says, "have reference to railroads and railway conveyance by locomotive carriages; and the more the form and construction of the powerful engine, in connection

with the carriages, are carefully and minutely examined, and compared with effects, the more opinion strengthens, and conviction confirms the truth, that it is altogether of Divine origin, and little short of a miracle, that after the lapse of so many ages . . . . the description of it should be handed down to us in the nineteenth century, in language so appropriate, so true, intelligible and descriptive, that it is impossible to mistake its meaning; for although Ezekiel saw four living creatures (destined for the four quarters of the globe, 'in the fulness of time'), he shows clearly their component parts were of iron and burnished brass, containing inwardly, fire, without consuming itself—'fire of coals,' sufficiently large and active to send upwards a lengthened wreath upon wreath of crystal-coloured cloud, and their centre to be of burnished brass, sparkling, as with lightning speed they winged their way, emitting sparks as from forged iron, instinct with a vital spirit, unknown till steam, and its powerful effects, were disclosed to man, by the manifold wisdom of God; the force of the steam escaping, panting as with the breath of life, is accurately described by the prophet, and the beautiful confusion of ideas, to give expression to the extraordinary sounds applicable to what he saw and heard, when 'four living creatures' started at one moment before, is grand in the extreme, and true to the letter." Then again, as the writer reminds us, there is the Hebrew tradition that the Rabbins "held a consultation whether they should admit him (Ezekiel) into the sacred canon, and that it was likely to be carried in the negative, when Rabbi Ananias rose up and said, he would undertake to remove every difficult part in the whole book. This proposal was received; and, to assist him in his work, that he might complete it to his credit, they furnished him with *three hundred barrels of oil*, to light his lamp during his studies. But the most convincing argument to our minds, is the preliminary passage of Ezekiel, 'And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the *north*, a great cloud, and a fire,' &c. Was not the earliest railway for which an Act was obtained in 1758, a coal-waggon-way at Leeds? Was it not the Stockton and Darlington Railway which gave the grand impulse to the locomotive movement? Was it not at Manchester that Stephenson's engine, the 'Rocket' first displayed the capabilities of such machines?—All *northern* localities!" If we are to believe all the rest, there can be no reason why we may not have full faith in that part of the explanation too. We cannot however but remark that such parallels must be painful to many, perhaps to most religious persons: who require no such literal illustrations of the spiritual truths of the Bible.

We now propose to notice first and briefly some of the more striking individual features of our metropolitan railways; and then to devote the remainder of our paper chiefly to a view of the economy of a metropolitan station, a subject, if we mistake not, of considerable interest, and not entirely without novelty to our readers, and which, through the politeness of the authorities, we have had ample opportunity of examining. We refer to the London and Birmingham, the earliest in point of time, and greatest, as regards revenue and expenditure, of all the more important railways that radiate from the common centre—London. For the present, then, we pass on to the railway for which an Act was obtained in the same year, 1833, the Greenwich, which is remarkable as standing upon one con-

tinuous series of brick arches, and which is interesting to engineers from the experiment tried upon it as regards the respective value of stone sleepers (or square slabs) at intervals, or continuous bearers of wood, for the support of the rail. Stones were first used, but with such unsatisfactory result, that they were taken up and replaced with timber: the improvement has been most decisive. This is an American custom, which Mr. Brunel, jun., was among the first to introduce into this country, by recommending it for the Great Western. The bearers are there carefully Kyanized to prevent decay, then secured to the ground by piles. There is little doubt that a smoother and more elastic road has been thus obtained. The other advantages held out, superior economy and safety, are perhaps questionable. The formation of the Great Western Railway was signalized by a still more daring innovation on railway customs; the rail has a gauge of seven feet instead of four feet eight inches, the general breadth at the period in question. Larger wheels can consequently be employed, and therefore greater speed adopted with equal safety; the superior width of the carriages, of course, offers also superior facilities for carrying numerous passengers, or for making a limited number more comfortable. As to the speed, the directors of the line estimated their minimum would be twenty-five miles an hour, and their speed for mails and first-class trains much more. They have not been disappointed; their average speed now for the latter, including stoppages, is twenty-nine miles an hour. We may here pause a moment to notice the gradual rise in men's minds of our present ideas of speed. When the projectors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway offered their premium for the best engine, the most important of the conditions were that it should draw three times its own weight at the rate of ten miles an hour. After their success, so astonishing at first to themselves, both as regards the speed and the power they found they could obtain, the directors of the London and Birmingham did not begin at a higher rate than eighteen miles an hour, then gradually advanced to twenty, twenty-two and a half, and ultimately to above twenty six, including stoppages; whilst, excluding stoppages, from thirty-six to forty-two miles per hour is run upon the Northern and Eastern, the South-Eastern, and the Brighton, and not unfrequently forty-five on the Great Western, which, on special occasions of importance, considerably exceeds even that enormous rate. The history of the Great Western, like that of the Birmingham, is distinguished by the severity of the parliamentary opposition that had to be contended with and overcome. The first company in defending its claims expended between 80,000*l.* and 90,000*l.*, and the second 73,000*l.*, facts nationally disgraceful, not so much for the individual selfishness that was at the root of all, as for the view it gives of the business capacities of our legislature, which stood idly and almost unconcernedly by, watching two parties fight their battle as they best might, exhausting their time, temper, and funds, instead of at once causing such inquiries to be made as were necessary in a direct and unquestionably honest manner, and then deciding according to the result of the inquiry. Those party fights have been attended by some ludicrous among many painful exhibitions. We do not know whether the following story ever before appeared in print, but if so it will bear repetition: —An eminent northern engineer was undergoing a rigid examination at the

hands of a barrister on the subject of a proposed line: "And pray, Sir," said the latter, after many other equally shrewd and pertinent queries, "How will you make your crossings?"—"By bridges," was the brief answer. "Yes, yes, of course, but how will you secure the line in that part?"—"By hedges." "All that is very well; but come, Sir, let us suppose a case: I ask you, Sir, to suppose a case. Suppose a valuable cow from our meadow here was to break through or leap over the hedges; what then, Sir, I ask you, would be the consequences?" —"Vary ackward for the coo!" We believe the barrister asked no more questions.

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the South Western or Southampton Railway is the prosperity which it seems likely to confer on the line of country and the chief towns with which it is connected. Already since the establishment of the Railway has Southampton been made a mail packet station by the Government, whilst on the part of the people, chiefly those resident in Southampton and Portsmouth, hundreds of thousands of pounds have been raised for the formation in those places, of docks, piers, jetties, floating ferries, and similar works; and at the present moment a commercial association to India and China is in process of establishment. It is indeed a line in many respects peculiarly favoured. For instance, it necessarily enjoys a great deal of Government patronage, not only by carrying the mails from the most important parts of the world, but also through its connection with the Admiralty at Portsmouth, and through the continual conveyance of troops, which cause it to be in constant communication with the Horse Guards. Some idea of the importance of this last department to the Company may be obtained when we state that, although the charge per head amounts to only a penny and a fraction per mile, between 7000*l.* and 8000*l.* were nevertheless received during the last year from that source. The increasing importance of the South Western Railway is indeed very evident from its present movements. Besides preparing to enlarge its metropolitan station by the addition of some four acres of land in the Wandsworth Road, two new branches are marked out to be undertaken by the Company, namely, to Epsom and to Salisbury; for all which purposes Acts are to be sought in the ensuing session of Parliament. At the same time it is proposed to follow the example of the London and Birmingham Railway, and convert the share capital into Stock.

No less than four of the Railways we have mentioned have their termini at the same spot, the foot of London Bridge, where the strikingly handsome building, of which a part is shown in an adjoining page, is now in course of erection: these four are the Greenwich, the Dover, the Croydon, and the Brighton. The lines of the whole are connected together in a most remarkable manner. Thus, for a short distance there is but one line; then the Croydon Railway diverges to the right, forming to Croydon also the Brighton and Dover lines; from Croydon the last two depart in undivided companionship as far as Redhill, about twenty-one miles from London, where they separate to seek each alone its respective destination. Before this is reached on one of the lines, the Dover, the works become of the most interesting and extraordinary character. At Folkstone the line touches the coast, and from thence the tunnels, sea walls, and excavations in the cliffs are of the most stupendous nature. The accounts in the papers of the

[The London Terminus of the Dover, Brighton, and Croydon Railway, London Bridge.]

blasting of some of these mighty masses of rock by gunpowder, fired by galvanic batteries, are among the most striking memorials of engineering skill and daring. Who can ever forget that sublimely-calm lifting up of the rocky mountain, as if to expire as a mountain should, then descending, scarcely less calm, though rent and shattered to the very heart, and crumbling to pieces as it touched its former apparently invincible foundations? During the last session an Act was obtained on the part of two of these companies which will somewhat obviate the disadvantages arising from such a congregation of termini, and add in other ways materially to the public convenience—we allude to the branch now in progress from a certain point of the Croydon line to a point near the Bricklayers' Arms, where an extensive station will be erected for the joint use of the Dover and Croydon companies. The passing of this Act was a strong hint to these giant monopolies which we are now bringing into existence, perhaps necessarily, just as all others are disappearing. The Greenwich Company demanded fourpence-halfpenny for every passenger that passed over their one mile and three quarters in their way to the other three lines we have mentioned; and they had their reward when this Act passed, in spite of their most determined opposition. We have mentioned the costs of the respective Acts of Parliament for the establishment of the Birmingham and Great Western Railways, but the most expensive contest that has yet taken place in this country was that connected with the Brighton Railway, when for two successive sessions four or five companies were engaged in the struggle. Whilst in Committee the expense of counsel and witnesses is stated to have amounted to about a thousand pounds daily for some fifty days. Can there be any other country in the world where it is so hard to obtain

leave to spend one's money? The Eastern Counties and the North Eastern Railways are also connected at starting from Shoreditch (where they have a joint and handsome station) until they reach Stratford; there the first pursues its route towards Colchester, and the second towards Bishop's Stortford, from which it is to be extended to Newport, an Act having been obtained in the last session. The Eastern Counties, for the first ten miles, runs along one almost continuous series of arches and bridges, the last alone numbering fifty, and one of them, the bridge over the Lea, having a span of seventy feet. When this line was first opened, in March, 1843, three portions of it were crossed by means of temporary viaducts of timber, rendered necessary in two cases by gaps in the unfinished embankments, and in the third by a most perverse land-slip, as it is called, at Lexden, where, in a space of about forty feet by thirty, earth was thrown down in such amazing quantities, without the slightest perceptible elevation, that it is said that sixty thousand cubic yards of soil failed to raise the embankment a single yard either in its height or its length. On the whole of this line there are no less than 365 bridges, arches, and culverts. The expense of the Railway, as may be supposed, was enormous, namely, nearly 2,800,000*l.* up to last August. An Act for a branch from the Eastern Counties at Stratford to the Thames was sought last session, but (it is said, through misapprehension) ineffectually. Since writing the above, we perceive by the papers that the two companies, the Northern and Eastern and the Eastern Counties, have become completely amalgamated into one, and that the general management of both has been transferred to a board of directors consisting of twelve members of the greater company and six of the lesser. We may now hope, it seems, to have the one line pushed on northwards from Newport to Cambridge and Ely, and thence eastward to Brandon and westward to Peterborough. Truly the network of railway is fast enveloping the entire surface of England. The London and Blackwall Railway has some peculiarly individual features to distinguish it from the other metropolitan Railways, arising chiefly from the fact that no locomotive engines are used on it, and that it is necessary to set down passengers very frequently. Accordingly there is an endless rope, nearly six and a half miles long, or double the length of the Railway, attached to two powerful engines, one at Blackwall and one in London. A train starting from the latter is so arranged as that the Blackwall carriages shall be foremost, and the carriages for all intermediate stations similarly placed in order. At a signal, given by means of the electric telegraph, the Blackwall engine begins to wind up the rope, thereby drawing the carriages attached towards it. On approaching the first station the carriage destined for it is detached from the train by the guard, and stopped by a brake; and the same proceeding takes place at all the other stations. Whilst drawing the train, the Blackwall engine has at the same time of course unwound the other part of the rope attached to the London engine, which, in its turn winding up, draws back the train, with all the carriages, which before starting have been attached to the rope, wherever they were, so that they come in with a rather curious-looking want of unanimity, but of course they all do come in by dint of sufficient winding-up of the rope, and so the carriages are again collected together. The same line therefore, it will be seen,

is used both for going and returning. A stranger to the Railway, after reading this account, may be surprised to hear that by such means, and hampered with such difficulties, the Blackwall Railway will take him along at a rate varying from twenty to thirty miles an hour. Yet so it is. And in a great measure this has been accomplished through that beautiful invention of our own times, the electric telegraph. Its importance here may be understood when we state that it is not only necessary for the attendants at each terminus to know when the train is about to start from the opposite extremity of the line, but also when the carriages at all the five intermediate stations are ready: there must be, in short, an almost instantaneous communication, whenever required, through the entire line—and this is obtained by means of the telegraph. The principle of this agency is thus explained by Mr. Cooke:—"As a natural stream of electricity passing round the circumference of the earth causes magnetic needles in general to be deflected at right angles to its course, or toward the north and south poles, so an artificial stream of electricity of adequate strength will cause magnetic needles placed within its influence to be similarly deflected at right angles to its course, whatever that may be." A wire, then, is laid down from London to Blackwall, connected where required with certain small instruments, containing a needle so fixed that it moves either toward the left or the right, in accordance with the direction given to the magnetic current passed through it; the one movement intimating "stop," the other "go on:" those who desire to give the signal previously ringing a bell placed above the dial in the place where the signal is to be received, and which is also managed by an ingenious application of the voltaic stream. Of course the communication between the battery of any particular station and the general wire may be interrupted or continued as required.

It has been calculated, and the fact gives one a striking idea of this truly stupendous undertaking, that the quantity of earth and stone removed on the London and Birmingham line, 112 miles long, was about sixteen millions of cubic yards, which, if formed into a belt three feet wide and one high, would more than encompass the earth at the equator. Yet the mere quantity of the earth and stone removed formed but a small portion of the mighty task; which consisted rather in the circumstances under which the labours were so frequently carried on—now in piercing through a mile-long tunnel; now cutting for two miles together, and fifty feet deep, through the limestone rock; now through another tunnel above a mile and a quarter long, where nearly 600 yards of the entire length was a perfect quicksand, in which the excavators could only pursue their labours by the aid of most powerful steam-engines; and which tunnel, alone, cost 400,000*l*. The fact is, that such lines of railway are each a conquest over an aggregate of difficulties, any one of which, a few years ago, would have made their engineer famous. Passing from the line itself, to the stations which are formed on it at intervals, we have a scarcely less magnificent idea presented to us of the character of the Railway. Three of these stations alone—those at Birmingham, Camden Town, and Euston Square, occupy fifty acres, in addition to which there are stations of great magnitude at Wolverton, Rugby, and Hampton, and several smaller ones. The original estimate for stations was about 70,000*l*., but such

has been the immensity of the traffic, and the greater accommodation consequently required, that ten times that sum have been expended. One of these last-named stations—Wolverton, the grand central one of the Company—is, alone, worthy of a visit; the Company have there built quite a little town, which has already its population of 800 souls, almost all their own people; a church, in a beautiful early English style, with parsonage-house attached, in the Tudor style; a market-house, reading-rooms, schools, streets, and squares—aye, even squares. The schools have four teachers—a master, and three mistresses. Many of the houses have a small garden-plot attached; but in order to assist in rendering such tastes universal, the Company have rented a piece of ground, of fourteen acres, simply to let out to their people at a low rent.

The Camden Town Station is used chiefly as a kind of supplementary station to that of Euston Square; here, for instance, are kept the engines required for the metropolitan extremity of the line; and here all the heavy goods are set down, with cattle, sheep, &c., thereby leaving the Euston Square station entirely for the accommodation of passengers, and for the receipt and delivery of parcels. And, as one looks at the immense warehouses that range along one side of the Camden Town Station, with the well-known names inscribed on their front—Pickford and Co., Chaplin and Horne, &c., how the eventful history of the last few years, as regards conveyance, rises forcibly to the mind! Where are the fly-vans of the one now? Where all the fast coaches of the other? that those great leviathans of the road come hither so meekly to take up their lot with the Opposition? They have put down many an opposition in their time, but, apparently, there was no putting down this! So the fly-vans and fast coaches were dropped quietly into oblivion, and their owners now content themselves with carrying heavy goods to and from the Railway. The change has been indeed wonderful in all that relates to coaches and coaching, whether drawn by four horses, three, or two; in all that relates to vans, waggons, and carriers' carts; in all that relates to the inns and yards where they were erst accustomed to start from or to put up at. Our metropolitan inns and yards in particular could, we fear, tell a melancholy story of deserted rooms, pining chambermaids, and misanthropic ostlers, of gallant teams that *used* to prance in and out so, notwithstanding the narrowness of the way, of landlords once thriving, but since gone into the Gazette, or measuring the time when they must go into it. We suspect that not all their faith in political economy can satisfy them of the beauty of these adjustments of the natural principles of supply and demand; and that, in reality, their only consolation is—they can't help it. But to return. The plan adopted on the Birmingham Railway is, to leave the collection of all bulky commodities to the carriers before mentioned, the railway proprietors only receiving from the public what are called parcels; and charging the carriers at a fixed rate per ton for whatever they put upon the line to be transmitted. And a goodly train they provide for the Company occasionally. There have been as many at one time as eighty-four waggons in a single train, to draw which four engines were required; the country people must surely have thought London was removing *en masse*. We now advance towards the engine-house, passing, on the way, the coke-yard, where a long double range of furnaces are constantly

employed forming small coal into coke. The engine-house is a strange-looking place, with the floor covered with tracks and circles, the last a most ingenious contrivance for turning the engine round so as to remove it from one line of rail to another. To this house the engines, which go no further than Wolverton, are brought on their return from that place with the trains, to be cleaned and carefully examined; no engine being sent out a second time till it has undergone these processes. How many of those beautiful and powerful things, which really seem, in the words of the writer before quoted, to be instinct with a vital spirit, and panting like some mighty animal—how many of these, may it be supposed, are required for the service of the Birmingham Railway?—Ninety! There are absolutely ninety of them now in the Company's possession, all in the most perfect condition. The performances of some of these engines are marvellous. Three or four years ago, a very minute investigation was made into their respective powers, as well as into the separate branches of expense attending their employment. It was then found that one engine, the most powerful among the passenger engines, had run during six months 14,822 miles, and conveyed loads which, for one mile, would be equal to 650,246 tons. As regards consumption of fuel, and cost, the averages struck for the performance of all the passenger engines engaged in the six months, showed that 37¾ lbs. of coke were consumed for each mile run, and fourteen ounces for each ton conveyed one mile, and that the cost was 7½*d.* for each mile run, or about one-sixth of a penny for each ton conveyed that distance. The locomotives, as is well known, stop at Camden Town, and from thence the carriages run by their own impetus down an inclined plane to Euston Square; and up which, on their return, they are drawn by an endless rope, stretched on small wheels between the rails, and winding at each extremity round a great wheel beneath the ground, motion being given by one of two powerful steam-engines at Camden Town, also buried beneath the earth, where the two tall and rather elegant-looking chimneys stand that are so conspicuous for miles round. But hark! Whence that whistle? It seemed to come from the little wooden shed where we descend to the steam-engines just mentioned.' It did so, we are informed, and intimates that a train is ready at Euston Square to start. Hardly anything in particular makes you wonder on a railway, everything is so wonderful; therefore quietly asking for an explanation we are shown a contrivance of the most ingenious and simple character. There are two cylinders without tops, one of which is turned upside down into the other, and the last filled with water; the inner one is, therefore, air-tight. In this is a pipe extending from hence to another little signal-house at Euston Square similarly furnished, and, by the mere turn of a handle, air is suddenly forced into the pipe, when, in about two seconds after, a whistle is heard at the other end, a mile and three quarters distant. The whistle, therefore, we have just heard comes from Euston Square. Instantly the steam-engine sets to work, the rope glides rapidly along, which, being perceived by the man at Euston Square, tells him, in answer to his whistle, that all is ready. Presently we see the train come thundering towards us and stopping here for its engines, the policeman welcoming it with the white flag, signifying that the way is clear. It is an anxious time on a railway when that white flag is

not seen, and when in its place a green one is exhibited, enjoining caution, or more terrible still when the red one appears, threatening dangers, and commanding an instantaneous halt. By night the flags are exchanged for lamps, which, with so many turns of the hand, exhibit the same colours. The perfection of all the arrangements on such a railway as this is, indeed, most extraordinary; every contingency has been thought of, and systematically provided for. Here is an instance in this train that has just come up from the country. A ship going into harbour is not treated with more caution than a train meets with in being led into the metropolis; like that, too, it must have its special pilots, the bank-riders, as they are called, a small body of men who do nothing but this; from Euston Square to Camden Town, and from Camden Town to Euston Square is the extent of their travels; and very absolute in their dominions they are. The engine called the pilot-engine furnishes another instance of the Company's care and forethought. Let but any train exceed its time by a certain number of minutes, and out comes the pilot-engine and runs off as fast as it is able to seek its truant fellow and all the carriages under his charge, learn what is the matter, and render its assistance if necessary. The duties of the metropolitan pilot-engine extend as far as Tring, where there is another, ready for the same purpose, and so along the whole line at intervals. And what, it may be asked, is that man doing who seems to delight in lounging along the line of a railway, of all places in the world? Oh, he does nothing but take care of the rope, watching daily over its state with the most kindly and incessant solicitude. It is interesting to mark the result of such care and foresight in connection with the whole of our English railways. During the years 1840-41-42 there was a regularly decreasing average of accidents, until in the last mentioned year, if we omit accidents caused by the evident misconduct of passengers, or accidents to servants of the companies, we find the almost miraculous result that of eighteen millions of persons carried by railway in 1842, one only was killed! Still, it is to be observed, that in looking at the character for safety of any particular system of locomotion, accidents to those engaged in promoting the public convenience must not be esteemed of less grave consequence; and such accidents are, it appears, very numerous. These, too, must disappear before we can or ought to be content with any system. It is useless to put dangerous tools into men's hands, with the hope that the knowledge of their danger will make them habitually careful; it never does anything of the kind: and we should be thankful for it. Could a more horrible state of existence be devised than one where men felt in continual danger of their lives?

The most conspicuous feature of the Euston Square Station is, of course, the gateway, the grandest specimen of Grecian architecture perhaps existing in England, which is almost saying, in other words, that it is the grandest of all English gateways, which we think it is. There are, no doubt, many richer, many more interesting, many more valuable, from various causes, but none so truly, purely noble. Look on it from what aspect you will, and however often, it never wearies, never seems to grow smaller either in its style or actual dimensions, which is more than can be said of most modern structures; it is, in a word, worthy of its position, and we know not what higher praise could be bestowed on it.

[Entrance to the London and Birmingham Railway.]

We need not dwell upon its details, since they are shown in the adjoining engraving; it will be sufficient therefore merely to add that its height is seventy feet, and that the granite pillars, though hollow at the core, are eight feet six inches in diameter.

And now as we walk round the busy scene before us; at every step some illustration of the liberality and the wisdom that pervades all the arrangements meets the eye. Here, on the right of the gateway, one of the little buildings that flank it is now being elegantly fitted up for the accommodation of persons waiting to receive friends; whilst those who come to see friends depart follow the latter into the rooms that lie on either side the office where tickets are obtained. Then again mark that carriage coming in at its own separate entrance; how quietly and rapidly the horses are removed, the carriage turned with its back to the edge of the platform, and then pushed over the little pieces of iron lying embedded in the stone, till turned back upon the railway-truck, like little bridges—and that work is accomplished; or mark the arrangements for passengers leaving who require a cab; the wish is expressed to the porter, who calls the one of the forty-five allowed within the yard whose turn it is; the vehicle hurries along with its fare, but before passing through the gate the driver's destination and number are taken down by a clerk. You wonder at the meaning of so troublesome a proceeding, as you fancy it must be, to the Company—you get home, jump out, and in the delight of return forget your carpet-bag, with heaven knows how many valuables in it. You hurry off in a great fume and fright to the Station—before you have well got out the story the clerk hands you

over the bag: you appreciate fully then the Company's thoughtfulness. The fact is that each of these men deposits a certain sum (two pounds) before he is admitted into the railway-fellowship, and so sure as he neglects to bring back anything left in his cab, or charges a solitary sixpence more than his fare, even to ease his conscience—for certainly all cabmen must look upon the legal fare as a sin alike in him that gives and him that takes—so sure as any complaint of that kind reaches the Company is he fined, suspended, or altogether dismissed from the yard. It is quite touching, we understand, to see the virtue and humility of the cabmen under these little provisions for their welfare and that of the public. In the same spirit of regard for the protection of their customers, which contrasts so gratifyingly with the selfish recklessness that too often characterised the old coach-proprietors, the Company make it an invariable rule to have all the carriages examined on the arrival of every train, immediately after the passengers leave them, and whatever is found is carried also to the office for the custody of lost property, where it stays, if unclaimed, till the annual sale, the proceeds of which exceeded a hundred pounds last year, and which will probably regularly average at least that amount. The disposal of the proceeds of the sale reminds us of another honourable feature of the Company's establishment. They have formed a Friendly Society among the parties connected with the Railway, which every one must belong to, though the compulsion is anything but disagreeable, considering that the benefits are more than proportionate to the payments. The proceeds of the annual sale go to the Friendly Society, all fines levied by the Company from their officers do the same, and then there is continually some irregular source of income arising through the liberality of the directors. For instance, when Her Majesty, the other day, travelled on the line, the Company of course made no charge, and Royalty of course was not the less munificent—fifty guineas were presented, and handed over to the Friendly Society. The members receive from this a handsome weekly allowance when sick or superannuated. The number of persons permanently engaged on the Railway, and for the greater part of whom the Society has been instituted, is probably not less than fifteen hundred—a goodly establishment, commencing with Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Board of Directors, and then passing gradually downwards through all the stages of Secretary, Superintendent, Superintendent of Locomotive Power, Architect, Consulting Engineer (Mr. R. Stephenson, the son of the patriarch of the system), Resident Engineer, Cashier, Accountant, Heads of Departments, Engineers, Overlookers, Guards, Ticket Collectors, Police, Porters, &c. &c. Having alluded to Her Majesty's visit, we may remark that the carriage built for her use is exceedingly chaste and beautiful, of a rich chocolate colour on the outside, with white window-cases and plate-glass, and lined throughout in the interior with delicate blue satin—walls, couch, and the two arm-chairs. But a still more delicate mark of attention is in preparation for the next occasion on which the Sovereign may honour the Company with her presence: two rooms, one a kind of ante-chamber, are fitting up in the most exquisite style. The walls are white and buff, painted in large pannels, with the most fairy-like scroll-ornaments and flowers. The windows reach from the floor to the ceiling, and, one of these opened, Her Majesty will step at once out upon the platform, ready

to enter her railway-carriage. This kind of fitness of every office, or room, or thing to its place, is characteristic of all the arrangements; so that in the very height of the bustle and apparent confusion, nothing in reality but the strictest order prevails. Among the many other interesting objects about the Station, the vast number of the carriages must attract attention, ready to provide accommodation, at a minute's notice, to any conceivable number of passengers that may present themselves. The Company possesses 438 of these carriages at the present time, in addition to 600 waggons. Among these the Mail carriages appear conspicuous, each one painted a different colour, according as it favours Liverpool or Manchester, Birmingham or Coventry. But, not content with building towns, and churches, and schools, forming Friendly Societies, establishing their own hotels (those two splendid ones opposite the gateway belong to a company formed out of the greater Company), the Railway must have its own Post-Office too; this carriage before us, partially divided in the centre into two rooms, in one of which, shaped into a half circle, the upper portion of the wall is covered with neat little nests, each with the name of a place painted beneath. Here, regularly as the hour comes round, resort two clerks and a guard, with all the northern letters; the door is shut, and work begins. And thus while the train is rattling away at its usual swift pace, the bags are, one by one, emptied of their contents, and distributed into these little nests, till the whole of those required for the line are exhausted; then they are re-made up into the proper bags, and a new phase of the capabilities of the Railway Post-Office is exhibited. As the train is approaching a minor station, where no stoppage is allowed, the bag for that station is suspended outside the carriage, on a curious little hook. At the station itself the arrangements are of a similar character—the bag is suspended by means of a pole, so as to be quite close to the Railway Post-Office which is to receive it. As the carriage passes at the rate of some thirty miles an hour, it quietly knocks off the bag into a net which lies extended beneath, and with the same movement releases the other bag from the hook and sends it whirling into the road, far out of harm's way. We don't know what those old respectable postmasters, who have always been accustomed to think a dignified slowness part of the duty of the office, must think of this—but could fancy they must feel greatly scandalised. But we must dwell no longer on this subject, as another demands our little remaining space; so, with the mere mention of the new Ticket Office, so admirably fitted for its object; the Bude Light, which so brilliantly illumines the outer area; and lastly, the Transfer Office, where a register is kept of all transfers of Stock, as the capital is now called, by virtue of a recent Act, and which, when completed to its full amount of seven millions, will be worth some seventeen millions on the Stock Exchange, we conclude our notice of the London and Birmingham Railway Terminus. We may here append a table showing various particulars connected with the foregoing railways, such as the amounts expended upon each, the cost of construction per mile, the average number of passengers weekly, and the average weekly receipts (omitting fractional sums), which we have extracted from a more comprehensive statement of the same kind just published in one of the railway journals:—

Name of Railway.	Amount expended as per last Report.	Cost per mile.	Passengers per week.	Receipts per week.
London and Birmingham	£5,953,831	£52,882	..	£12,019
London and Greenwich	1,026,101	264,228	30,397	647
South Western	2,588,984	27,834	..	5,144
Great Western	6,651,928	56,372	29,275	10,932
London and Croydon	683,304	75,923	3,472	241
South Eastern and Dover	2,615,283	36,835	7,546	2,449
Northern and Eastern	914,004	31,517	10,205	1,553
Eastern Counties	2,700,157	53,736	16,141	2,412
London and Blackwall	1,289,080	332,705	34,879	583
London and Brighton	2,634,058	57,262	11,317	3,073

There is a short railway, but little known among the public, called the West London, constructed to unite the Great Western and the Birmingham railways, and give both facility of communication with the Thames by means of the Kensington Canal at Kensington. On that railway exists a very remarkable spot, where first, at the lowest level, we see the railway, then above that a canal, and over that again a bridge or public roadway, the whole work being we believe perfectly unique in the annals of engineering. This arrangement, which got over great difficulties, was the work of Mr. Hosking. But that railway is still more remarkable for a series of experiments commenced upon it two or three years ago in order in test the capacities of a new locomotive agency—the atmosphere itself. Along the middle of the track for about half a mile was laid, at a certain height from the ground, an iron pipe, nine or ten inches in diameter. In this a piston was moved along at a rate of from twenty to thirty miles an hour, by simply exhausting the pipe constantly before it, by means of air-pumps worked by a stationary steam-engine. Of course there was a groove through the whole length of the pipe, with a valve to close it, made air-tight by means of tallow, &c., which gave way to the impetus of the advancing piston, and was immediately relaid by a hot iron. The engine being attached to the piston, the whole apparatus was complete. Now the advantages promised by this system were of the most important character, if the idea itself was practicable. There were no steam-engines to burst and scatter death and dismay on all sides; no possibility of running off rails, since the engine was firmly bound by the middle to its proper line; no collision by meeting other trains, since the engines in front would each stop the other by preventing the formation of the necessary vacuum; in short it promised to rid us at once of all the formidable dangers attending railway travelling. But it did seem too good to be practicable. At the best it was thought it would probably turn out slower or dearer than the old mode. What then must we now think of the system when we hear on unquestionable authority that on the Dalkey extension of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway, trains, *bonâ fide* trains, have been for a considerable time propelled at rates of speed varying from twenty-five to *fifty or sixty* miles an hour? and that, too, in spite of an upward inclination of the line in some cases as steep as 1 in 57, and averaging generally 1 in 115, and in spite, too, of several curves of a more than usually small diameter! Nay, in the late 'Westminster Review' the speed is said to

have reached eighty miles; and that whilst safety and economy—for with all its other wonders it is said to be more economical too—are both secured in an extraordinary degree, there really seems no limit whatever to the speed of the Atmospheric Railway. This is indeed advancing with giant strides to perfection.

[Bridge, Canal, and Railway at Wormwood Scrubbs.]

[The Council Chamber of the Artillery Company.]

CXLVI.—MILITARY LONDON.

THERE are few pleasanter occupations than that of wandering about among the localities which the chroniclers of Old London have made memorable, or which derive still higher interest from the great men who have been born, who have lived, or who have died in them. The metropolis is wonderfully rich in such associations; every district, almost every street, lane, or alley, has its own separate story; and many of those persons who hurry from clime to clime in search of amusement and instruction from turning over the decayed débris—as though they were so many pages of the history—of the past, might be surprised, on investigation, to find how much they had left unnoticed within a few paces of their own fireside. Wandering the other day, with some such thoughts as these floating through the mind, we found ourselves in Moorfields, upon the very spot that, seven centuries ago, formed a vast lake, and which, when frozen over in winter, was the resort of all the sledgers and skaters of the metropolis; the sledge of the one being a large cake of ice, the skate of the other the leg-bone of some animal, with which, if they could not rival the quadrille parties of the Parks in the nineteenth century, they at all events managed to progress with such speed, that Fitz-Stephen likens their velocity to the flight of a bird, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow. Poor Fitz-Stephen's shade would be somewhat bewildered could it be shown Moorfields now, and told that that was the spot he so graphically

described. But beyond Moorfields the change has been no less comprehensive. As we strolled on, recollections of Finsbury Fields and the Archers' Butts, with their quaint names, each a trophy of some wondrous feat in the art, rose to the mind; but, on looking round, no sight nor sound was there to intimate even the possibility of such things having ever happened there; the very solemn-looking mansions of Finsbury Square alone met the eye, and the only noticeable recollection suggested by them was of anything but an harmonious nature,—Lackington, the bookseller, and the statue which the inhabitants would *not* let him erect in the centre of the square, when he was so kind as to offer one of—himself. Still, passing on northwards towards Bunhill Fields, we thought of the spot where the author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' lies buried; and of Milton, blind, sitting by the door, warming himself in the blessed sunshine, and answering every heavenly influence in tones of grander harmony than ever swelled from the fabled Memnon's breast; in a house in Artillery Walk was 'Paradise Lost' written, and there the sublime author died. But whilst thus

"Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy"

we were interrupted; surely, thought we, that was a volley of musketry; yes, again it came; we looked in the direction of the sound, and the gates of the Artillery Company met our gaze; so then it was the remnant of that once famous body of citizens that we heard, still exercising with unfaltering resolution! No longer praised, but still exercising; no longer in reality wanted, but still exercising; their occupation, like Othello's, might be gone, but it was something to show that they *had* had such an occupation, so there they were still exercising. There was something in the very constancy of such attachment that smote us forcibly, and as again the volley came, what with our admiration in one direction, and what with our impression in another that we had heard better firing, we found ourselves half unconsciously imitating the Frenchman's enthusiasm and honesty—Magnifique! Superbe! By Gar, it pretty well! And as this feeling passed off, and we began to recall, incident by incident, the military glories of London, and to reflect how large a share of them was directly owing to the men of the Artillery Garden, those sounds did seem an extraordinary and most significant illustration of the progress of civilization, of peace, and generally of juster ideas and habits; we could not for the life of us resist the impression that they were a kind of military farewell to the departed; a portion of the funeral ceremony performed by the last representatives of the warriors of ancient London, the heirs to all their reputation. To be sure they need not repeat the ceremony every Thursday in order to convince the world of their respect and reverence; but what harm is there in so doing? Nothing can be more innocent than the volleys here, unless it be the intentions of those who fire them. And the neighbourhood would have a right to look for compensation, if they were deprived of their accustomed opportunities of unbending *their* bows, strained somewhat severely by the harshnesses of business, by losing the exhibition of the little facetiæ of the Artillery Garden. Yet, if now such exhibitions have necessarily dwindled away till few things can be smaller, there are, on the other hand, few, if any, municipal military histories grander than that with which the Artillery Company has been so closely and honourably identified.

The earliest noticeable event recorded, that gives us a glimpse of the prowess of the citizens, has a double value, inasmuch as it gives us also a charming trait in the character of the noblest of British monarchs, Alfred. When the Danish chief, Hastings, was roaming with his followers like a pack of hungry wolves over the country, pillaging where they could pillage, and destroying where they could not, his wife and two sons were left in the Castle of Benfleet, in Essex, then in his possession. Partly, perhaps, with the hope of making a diversion in Alfred's favour, and partly, perhaps, tempted by the value of such captives if they could obtain them, Ethelred, Alfred's son-in-law and eolderman of the Mercians, led a body of London citizens and others against the Castle, stormed, and took it: then returned to the metropolis with the prisoners and an immense booty of gold and silver, horses, arms, and garments. When Alfred reached London, the wife and the sons were presented to him, and he was advised to put them to death; Alfred's answer was, to load them with presents, and send them back to the husband and father. The bravery which this little story implies was still more decidedly shown in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, when the citizens repeatedly drove back the Danes from their walls; and, again, in the short sovereignty of Edmund Ironside, when they thrice repelled Canute and all his host; and, perhaps more conspicuously still, in the Conqueror's marked hesitation in entering London, after the battle of Hastings and death of Harold; nay, he did not venture at last within the walls till the clergy and nobles had betrayed the national cause, and made opposition on the part of the City useless. Such even from the earliest period was Military London.

We may judge, then, that the influence of London on all occasions of great importance, such as the struggles of rival parties, or of rival sovereigns, was great; the facts show that in numerous cases it was decisive; Henry I. may be said to have owed his crown to the support of the London citizens; so also Stephen; whilst John, at the last moment, was forced into the solemn recognition of Magna Charta by the adhesion of London to the Barons, then advancing with a powerful army. There are some features connected with the metropolitan support of Stephen too interesting to be passed over. Just when Matilda had succeeded, through the flattering promises of her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, in obtaining the tacit support of the Londoners, so far as to induce her to enter London and prepare for her coronation, and when she began to think herself strong enough to refuse to fulfil those promises, with something like contempt for the petitioners, there appeared one day about noon, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, a body of horse on the other side of the river immediately opposite the City. They bore the banner of Queen Maud, Stephen's wife. The church bells rang throughout the City, and, as though prepared for the event, the people rushed instantly to arms; from every house, we are told, at least one man went forth with whatever weapon he could lay hand on; like bees issuing from their hives they gathered in the streets. The ominous sounds reached Matilda as she sat at table: she rose, mounted the first horse that was brought, and galloped off just in time to escape being made prisoner. Before she had well cleared the western suburb, the people were pillaging and destroying in her apartments. From that time till the final arrangement which gave her son the succession to the crown, and left Stephen himself while he lived in peaceable

possession of it, neither Matilda nor any of her partizans again were seen in London. During the contention between Henry III. and the Barons, and Edward II. and the same (to royalty) troublesome body, the efforts of the citizens on the popular side were scarcely less memorable; and when, during the rule of Edward III., "sides" disappeared, they distinguished themselves no less zealously by their support of that monarch in his French wars; now responding to his call upon those "strong in body" to use in their recreations bows and arrows, or pellets and bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting; now giving him practical proof of their progress by supplying him with a hundred men-at-arms, horses and accoutrements, all complete, and five hundred armed foot soldiers; now, to finish the whole handsomely, lending him individually or collectively sums of money: one Simon de Fraunces, in 1343, lent 800*l.*, while in 1355 the Companies raised for him 452*l.* 16*s.*, worth probably to him twenty times its nominal value to us.

But let us here look a little closer into Military London itself; and suppose, first, we glance at two or three specimens of the military citizen. Here is one, the son of a country tanner, apprenticed in London to a tailor, subsequently pressed into the army, and there finding himself very much at home, staying in it to please himself when no longer obliged to do so to please others. Not merely his own country, but his own country's wars, are insufficient for his expansive genius. His brother Merchant Tailors at home hear one year that he is famous in France, the next in Italy, the next in Florence, the next in Pisa. At last, indeed, they learn that he has set up the business of warrior on his own account; that he has, in short, become captain of one of those bands known as Condottieri, who let themselves out for hire to any king, prince, or duke that wants them. But he is no vulgar freebooter; he marries the niece of the Duke of Milan, and then fights him, and at last dies in Florence with the character of the best soldier of his age, and has a sumptuous monument erected to his memory. So much for Sir John Hawkwood, Merchant Tailor. Contemporary with him was there living one John Mercer, also a freebooter, but who managed his trade so badly as to be called what he was. This Mercer, encouraged by the feeble grasp with which the youthful Richard held the affairs of the nation, preyed upon the English mercantile navy, carrying off many rich prizes, and on one occasion sweeping out the entire shipping from the harbour of Scarborough: this was in 1378. Of course there was great outcry among the merchants, who complained to the government, and were promised redress. More ships were seized, more complaints made, more promises given, and kept as before. Then quietly stepped forward John Philpot, a distinguished citizen, fitted out at his own expense and risk a strong fleet, put on board a thousand armed men, and then stepped in after them himself as their commander. The pirate was soon met, flushed with success, a goodly train of captured ships about him, among them no less than fifteen Spanish vessels richly laden. A long and desperate fight ensued, which ended in the capture of the pirate with most of his ships. Of course all this was unendurable at court. John Philpot was summoned to explain what he meant by his presumption and conceit in dealing with grievances in this summary fashion; but Philpot was as able to speak as to fight, and modest withal; so that the great benefactor of his day succeeded in obtaining—an acquittal!

with the understanding, however, one may presume, that he was to put down no more pirates. In many other ways did this noble specimen of military London distinguish himself. He was, says Fuller, "the scourge of the Scots, the fright of the French, the delight of the Commons, the darling of the merchants, and [not the least of his merits] the hated of some envious lords," for whom John Philpot, no doubt, was much too patriotic. Our third and last specimen of the citizen soldier of the fourteenth century is Sir William Walworth, the man whose decision at a most critical moment broke to pieces in an instant the most formidable class insurrection that England has ever seen. King Richard, with his retinue of barons, knights, the Lord Mayor, and other city magistrates, in all not exceeding sixty persons, met the vast body of the rioters, headed by Wat Tyler, in Smithfield, who came thither at the King's invitation, forwarded by Sir John Newton, who, having pressed the Tyler to hasten, was told he might go and tell his master he would come when he thought proper. As soon as Wat Tyler saw the King he set spurs to his horse, and rode up with the abrupt salutation, "Sir King, seest thou all yonder people?"—"Yea, truly," was the reply: "wherefore sayest thou so?"—"Because," returned he, "they be all at my command, and have sworn to me their faith and truth to do all that I would have them." "In good time I believe it well," said the King. "Then," continued Wat Tyler, "believe thou, King, that these people, and as many more as be in London at my command, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?"—"No," replied Richard; "ye shall have them, they be ordained for you, and shall be delivered to every one of them." At that moment it seems the Sir John Newton before mentioned, who had probably offended the people's leader by his bearing, caught his eye, as he sat on horseback carrying the King's sword; upon which he was told it would better become him to be on foot in his (the speaker's) presence. Sir John remarked that he saw no harm in that; when the infuriated Tyler, intoxicated with the obedience that had been hitherto paid to him, drew his dagger, and called Sir John Newton a traitor, who flung back the lie in his teeth, and drew his dagger also. Wat Tyler then demanded from him the sword he bore. "No," said the knight, "it is the King's sword, of which thou art not worthy; neither durst thou ask it of me if we had been by ourselves." Wat would then have rushed upon him, but the King caused Sir John to dismount. This furnishes a pretty fair example of the spirit in which the advocate of the people's wrongs, which were undoubtedly real enough, was prepared to seek their redress: at the same time, it is to be observed, he was an utterly uneducated man, raised suddenly to his position by over-controlling circumstances, and therefore utterly unfit for it. In the conference that ensued, his personal behaviour seems to have grown more and more intolerable, and to have suggested to the minds of those about the King the idea of a bold attempt to put a stop to the whole business by arresting him. Richard, with some reluctance, consented to so fearful an experiment, which he confided to the care of the mayor, Sir William Walworth, who, being no sheriff's officer, went about the arrest in the most characteristic manner, commencing with a blow from his sword that wounded Wat Tyler dangerously; and, as he turned to rejoin his men, Ralph Standish, one of the King's esquires, ran him through the body, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and, beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his

unhappy ghost." It was an awful success. The men of Kent cried out they were betrayed, and bent their bows for the indiscriminate slaughter of the royal party; when Richard, as though putting into one act the entire resolution of a lifetime (for he was, indeed, weak afterwards), galloped fearlessly towards them, exclaiming, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor: I am your King, and I will be your captain and guide." Insurrectionists, like women, are generally lost when they hesitate: these hesitated now, and, whilst they were hesitating, the King rode back to Sir William Walworth for counsel. "Make for the fields," was the prompt answer: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our ruin is certain; but let us gain a little time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the City, who are preparing and arming with all their servants." The King obeyed, and rode off, followed by the greater part of the people, towards Islington; whilst Sir William hurried into the city for succour, where a thousand of the citizens, armed, had been waiting in the streets for some knight to lead them, lest coming out of order they might easily be broken (a noticeable proof of their sense of the value of military discipline), when, by chance, Sir Robert Knowles passing by, they requested him to lead them, which, with the assistance of other knights, he did. As soon as the host that had followed Wat Tyler beheld them, they were struck with a sudden panic. Some ran away through the corn-fields, and the rest threw down their arms, and begged for pardon; which Richard, who could be kind only to be cruel, not only granted, but also with it a charter of manumission; and so the people dispersed to their homes. Soon after Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 men, whilst the strength of the insurrection had completely melted away. That was the time to show what he really meant; so the villeins were informed their charters of freedom meant nothing; and then began the executions with all their horrors. To that time it is supposed we owe the worse than savage custom, only so lately disused among us, of hanging in chains, which was done to prevent friends from carrying away the dead bodies. We need hardly add to this notice of Wat Tyler and his insurrection, that the dagger in the City arms is supposed to have been derived from this event. Walworth was knighted by Richard, as were three other aldermen, among whom was Philpot, who was, therefore, evidently one among the King's retinue during the day. Richard, in addition, granted fee-farms to the whole, worth, in Walworth's case, a hundred pounds a-year, and in each of the others forty pounds a-year.

From the leaders of the citizens, we now turn to the conduct of the citizens themselves, as shown in another insurrection of a scarcely less memorable character in the following century, Jack Cade's. There is little doubt that in all the large towns and cities, those nuclei of the more liberal opinions of the age, the wrongs on which the insurrection was based were pretty generally acknowledged, and therefore the attempt at remedy sympathised with. As a proof, Cade was received by the citizens of the metropolis in a friendly spirit, and entertained by some of the more eminent of them with great hospitality; which he returned by robbing the entertainers. The houses of Malpas, an alderman, and Gerstie, were, it appears, both spoiled by him, as an after-dinner amusement. That the citizens generally might be left in no doubt as to the character of their guest, many of them were obliged to pay heavy fines for the safety of their lives

and goods, which, after all, were found to be anything but safe. The citizens now determined to show Jack Cade that if he thought they had been frightened into admitting him, he was labouring under a great mistake. His head-quarters were in Southwark, where he was accustomed to retire after the agreeable proceedings of the day in investigating the truth of the popular notion as to the wealth of London. Lord Scales then held the Tower for the King, Henry VI. to him the citizens sent secretly for a leader, and presently one of the ablest soldiers of the time, the veteran Matthew Gough, was among them. It was then Sunday night. Silently, towards and over the old Bridge, now poured the dense array of the citizens, with the determination to keep the passage against all the multitudes encamped on the other side of the water. Part of the bridge-way, we may observe, lay over a drawbridge situated near the Southwark extremity; but the machinery had been previously destroyed by Cade, when he first entered London, so that it could not be used. Quietly as these arrangements had been made, and little as the insurgents anticipated any such opposition to their re-entry, the news reached them two or three hours after midnight, and without a moment's loss of time they seized their arms and hurried to the Bridge, headed by Cade himself. And now began a desperate fight. The shock of the advancing assailants was tremendous, but firmly met, and resisted; every step gained was dearly paid for; the mass of combatants heaved to and fro, scarcely knowing friend from enemy in the terrible darkness, but each man striking and pressing forwards through the opposing multitude. And strangely shifted the chances of the battle from side to side; now were the assailants up to the very drawbridge on one side, presently again they were retreating beyond the "stoops" into Southwark on the other; where Gough, who was praying earnestly for the day to come, kept the citizens from following them, seeing how gallantly the insurgents fought, how numerous their numbers, and the consequent danger of their out-manœuvring, or even altogether overwhelming, his little band of civic heroes in the darkness. And as hour after hour advanced, fiercer and fiercer grew the fight. At last, in one united and perfectly irresistible stream, the men of Kent forced those of London back—step by step—it was like moving a mountain—but still back—to the drawbridge; but there the citizens, redoubling their energies, kept them awhile at bay;—one leader after another fell—Matthew Gough himself was seen to drop dead; then back further still they were driven; and the insurgents began to fire the houses on the Bridge, where men, women, and children were stifled in the smoke, or burnt in the flames, killed by the sword as they rushed out by the doors, or drowned as they leapt from the windows, their cries of agony swelling and sharpening the hoarser clamour of the combatants. Still back the citizens were irresistibly impelled, till the very extremity of the Bridge was reached; a moment more and London had been given up to pillage and sack, and all the worst horrors that ever scourged or disgraced humanity, when, despair itself lending new strength, the tide was at length arrested, then rolled back, in its turn, to its source;—the heroic citizens were again masters of the Bridge. For six hours did this memorable engagement last, during which nearly all that we have described was repeated over and over again, and with great loss of life on both sides, till both parties growing faint and weary, a cessation of hostilities took place at nine in the morning, on the understanding that

the men of Kent were not to come into the City, nor the men of London to go into Southwark. Excellent citizens! they not only beat their adversaries with their hands, but with their heads. This was truly reciprocity all on one side; giving the Londoners exactly what they had fought for. But we suppose it sounded well, that agreement not to go over into Southwark, so there the matter ended. The old game of promising, without the intention of performing, was then again successfully tried by the government; the insurgents became divided among themselves, and—a prey. We need not follow their fate further.

And now for a Military Gala-day; with a few words on the Martial exercises of old Military London. During the reign of Henry VIII. the names of all the male population of the City, between the ages of 16 and 60, were registered and accounts taken of their "harness" and weapons of war, and a general muster or review took place before the King. And truly the exhibition must have been in the highest degree picturesque and splendid. The number of the armed citizens is not mentioned, but it must have been very large (we read of 15,000 on another and later occasion in the same reign), and these were all arrayed in white harness, or armour, white coats and breeches, white caps and feathers. Their chief officers, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Sheriffs, were still more sumptuously adorned. These too had their white harness; but over that they wore coats of black velvet, embroidered (probably in silver) with the arms of the City. They had also black velvet caps on their heads, and gilt battle-axes —no toys with such men—in their hands. Each wore a gold chain of great weight and price. Their horses were caparisoned in the richest manner. Following each Alderman and the Recorder were four halbertiers, in white silk or buff coats, and carrying gilt halberts; whilst the Lord Mayor's attendants formed a troop alone, dressed in crimson velvet and cloth of gold. First came his two pages, riding on beautiful horses, their superb trappings almost sweeping the ground; one of these carried the helmet, the other the pole-axe, both richly gilded. Then came five footmen, dressed from head to foot in white satin; and lastly sixteen attendants, all picked men, gorgeously habited in white satin doublets, caps and feathers, chains of gold, and bearing long gilt halberts. As the framework to this rich picture, there were the King and his nobles, magnificent of course, and the great body of citizens not engaged in the armed array, most of the wealthier among them clad in white satin, or white silk coats, wearing chains of gold, and in some cases rich jewels. This muster took place in 1532. As to the mode and principles of training, we have already incidentally seen that the citizens were accustomed to rely on orderly array as one of the grand essentials. In minor details the exercises in use toward the close of the century appear to have been of a very complex and, considering the weight of the armour worn during them—back and breast plate, scull-cap, sword and musket, and bandoliers,—a very arduous character. The ponderous match-lock of the time could only be loaded, primed, and fired during the performance of a long series of manœuvres. To accustom the new recruit to the recoil of his piece, and to give him gradual confidence in the use of it, at first a little powder only was flashed in the pan. As the use of wadding to keep in the ball was not yet understood, he could only fire usefully breast high; and this he was taught to do in the act of advancing, lest he should himself be marked out by the enemy

while taking aim. The pike was a most formidable weapon, of pliant ash, some sixteen feet long, and required continual practice in order to be used with anything like skill or effect.

In the year 1585 we first hear of the Artillery Company. The time was one of great excitement: the Spanish Armada was then hanging like a vast cloud over the political horizon, and all men's minds were earnestly discussing how they might best avert the danger. Foremost ever at such times, the Londoners now surpassed all their former doings. Among the merchants there were many able soldiers who had served abroad; these seem to have led the way in the formation of an association of citizens of similar rank, who submitted themselves voluntarily to continual exercise and study of the theory and practice of war, with the view of being able to train and command on emergencies large bodies of their fellow-citizens. Within the first two years they numbered above three hundred members, "very sufficient and skilful to train and teach common soldiers the managing of their pieces, pikes, and halberts, to march, countermarch, and ring." A pleasant evidence of the spirit in which they congregated is given by their custom of letting every man serve by turns every office, from the corporal's up to the captain's. And as the Armada grew more and more a reality, every month bringing fresh news of its advancing state, plenty of work was found for these merchants of the Artillery Company. The City furnished no less than 10,000 men for the public defence, who were officered chiefly by the civic authorities and the captains of the Artillery Garden; and the government exhibited its appreciation of this force in a marked manner: while 1000 men were sent to the great camp at Tilbury, the other 9000 were kept by the Queen around herself as a part of the army appointed for her protection, and which was commanded by Lord Hunsdon. The raising of this body was undertaken by the several wards of the City, each sending a certain number of soldiers in proportion to its wealth and rank. Farringdon Ward Without stands at the head of the list; this sent no less than 1264 men, namely, 398 shot or fire arms, 318 corselets with pikes, 18 corselets with bills, 159 calivers, 106 bows, 212 pikes, 53 bills; and the composition of this body shows with sufficient accuracy the composition of the whole 10,000, or, in other words, the composition of an English infantry army in the sixteenth century. Thus much for the field strength. At the same time (1587) the City supplied the Queen with sixteen of the largest ships in the Thames, and with four pinnaces or light frigates, all completely furnished, armed, manned, and victualled, at its own expense; and even this powerful fleet was further increased, when the Armada did actually set out, to the entire number of thirty-eight ships.

The discomfiture of this gigantic expedition caused the assemblies in the Artillery Garden for a time to be neglected; but in or about 1610, Philip Hudson, lieutenant of the Company, revived them with considerable éclat. Country gentlemen, ambitious to shine in the discipline of these trained bands, flocked hither: the courtiers condescended to nod approval. Prince, afterwards King, Charles became their patron. Six thousand volunteers were at one time on the list. A beautiful stand of 500 arms was purchased, and an armoury built. The Garden was situated in Bishopsgate Street, on the spot now occupied by Sun Street, Fort Street, Artillery Street, and Artillery Lane. But as the Company about this time had an

historian of its own, and he a poet, we must not presume to describe the history of the Garden in any but his words, which were evidently written immediately after the erection of the building just named :—

" This fabric was by Mars's soldiers framed,
And Mars's armouries this building named.
It holds five hundred arms, to furnish those
That love their sovereign and will daunt his foes.
They spend their time and do not care for cost;
To learn the use of arms, there's nothing lost."

So much for the Armoury. Now for the Garden.

" The ground whereon this building now doth stand
The teazel* ground hath heretofore been named.
And William, Prior of the Hospital,
That of our blessed Lady, well we call
St. Mary Spittle, without Bishopsgate,
Did pass it by indenture bearing date
January's third day, in Henry's time,
Th' eighth of that name;—the convent did conjoin
Unto the guild of all artillery,
Cross-bows, hand guns, and of archery,
For full three hundred years excepting three:
The time remaining we shall never see.
Now have the noble council of our King
Confirmed the same; and under Charles's wing
We now do exercise, and of that little
Teazel of ground we enlarge St. Mary Spittle;
Trees we cut down, and gardens added to it;
Thanks to the lords that gave us leave to do it," &c.

Marischallus Petowe composuit.

As the more regular prose historian of the Company, Highmore, observes, we may see from these verses, " there was not wanting mental as well as personal ardour to support their cause;" nay, we even subscribe to his remark, that, " considering the early period in which they were composed," when nothing better than a book of Canterbury Tales, a Faery Queene, or a Hamlet, had appeared, " that they may be not unworthily preserved." We have all heard of the wish—Oh, that mine enemy would write a book; if he be an antiquarian, by all means let us add, and Oh let that book be in poetry! In 1641 the Company removed to their present home, a plot of ground leased to them by the City, in consequence of some unusually gratifying exhibition of their skill before the citizens in Merchant Taylors' Hall. This ground, prior to 1498, was covered with gardens and orchards, and called Bunhill Fields; in that year it was converted into a spacious area for the use of the London Archers. On the decline of archery, the close was surrounded by a wall, and used by the gunners of the Tower for their weekly practice of firing against a butt of earth. At the time of their removal, busier than ever became the scenes in the exercising ground. At no period of the metropolitan history had weightier considerations occupied the minds of the citizens of London; the Armada even seemed to grow trivial in comparison. In a large, thickly populated, wealthy, brave, and martial country,

* It was called the Teazel Close from the plant formerly grown there, used for raising the nap on woollen cloth, and which forms so important an article in the same manufacture at present.

undistracted by internal dissensions, successful invasion must be at all times exceedingly difficult, almost impossible; and such was the position of England when the Armada threatened. Great sacrifices might have had to be made in resisting; but there could hardly be a doubt from the first, in the eyes of an intelligent bystander, that England would successfully resist. But now England was to be divided against itself, through all its length and breadth—county against county, city against city, friends, fathers, brothers, and sons, each against each. Here too, was no one straightforward object to be obtained by either party, such as the taking of this castle or that place; it was to be a war of principles, which might lead men they knew not whither, through interminable years of warfare, to end perhaps in a despotism, perhaps in a republic. And through all the eventful period that now commenced, the City, having chosen its side, (the popular one as usual), did not simply show itself worthy of its former reputation, but achieved new glories, that won even from its bitterest enemies an almost enthusiastic approbation. A large proportion too, of the trained bands, as they were called, were new men; not previously accustomed to join in the regular exercises of the Artillery Company, or even in the more general musters of the City Militia once a year, or the separate Companies' musters, which occurred four times in the year, and lasted each for two days. The Puritans, in short, looked with abhorrence at the meetings in the Artillery Garden, as consisting of men too profane and wicked for their saintships. But no sooner did their preachers begin to show them from the pulpits that the spiritual battle they were about to fight must be decided by carnal weapons, than they soon rushed to the exercises, and though, no doubt, many a laugh greeted their first attempts, there was no laughing long at men so terribly in earnest. The Cavaliers said it took two years to teach a Puritan to discharge a musket without winking; but they were mistaken; it did not take the majority of them so long a time even to enable them to return the jest with a fearful amount of interest. At an early period of the dispute the trained bands of London were placed under the command of Serjeant-Major Skippon, one of the most popular, brave, and zealous of commanders, who had raised himself by his merit from the rank of a common soldier to that of captain. Charles made numerous attempts at first to keep, and subsequently to regain to his cause, the people of London, but in vain. In May, 1642, or but three months before Charles erected his standard at Nottingham, it became evident to the whole country that London was heart and soul with the Parliament: a general muster then took place in Finsbury Fields, where six regiments appeared under arms, comprising 8000 men, all officered by men of known devotion to the Parliament, and headed by Skippon. To witness the review, tents were pitched for the accommodation of both Houses of Parliament; and the whole ended in a sumptuous dinner given by the City to all the chief persons concerned. The storm rolled on, and in the following month new preparations were made: Guildhall then presented a remarkable aspect. In obedience to the orders of Parliament, orders that willing spirits alone would have obeyed, people in London, and from the country around for eighty miles, flocked thither with all the money they could spare to lend in support of the cause: arms and horses were also desired and supplied; and those who had none of these things were bidden to provide what they could—plate, jewels, valuables of every kind down to the

smallest trifle. "Not only," says the historian May, "the wealthiest citizens and gentlemen who were near dwellers brought in their large bags and goblets, but the poorer sort, like that widow in the gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause to call this the *thimble and bodkin army*." The first occasion of the trained bands being drawn forth gave little opportunity for testing the quality of the soldiers thus ridiculed. This was when Charles, taking advantage of a November fog, and of the circumstance that the Parliamentarians were deliberating on some proposal he had made to them the day before, never dreaming he would play them such a trick, caused Prince Rupert to advance unexpectedly from Colnbrook to Brentford, hoping he might force his way suddenly into London; but at Brentford the broken regiment of Colonel Hollis received him like a wall of iron, and delayed the entire royalist army so long that the regiments of Hampden and Lord Brooke had time to come to Hollis's assistance. The united body suffered greatly, but yielded not an inch; so there the royalists were content to stay for the night; which in London and on the road was a very busy one. In vast numbers the citizens poured forth, headed by Skippon, who, although entirely illiterate, knew how to address his soldiers with an effect that a Hannibal might have envied. "Come, my boys, my brave boys," said he on the present occasion, "let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." "And thus," continues Whitelock, "he went all along with the soldiers, talking to them, sometimes with one company, sometimes with another; and the soldiers seemed to be more taken with it than with a set oration." To make them all very comfortable, it appears their wives and friends in the City sent after them many cart-loads of wines and provisions to Turnham Green, with which the next day, as the armies faced each other inactive, the soldiers made merry; and, as Whitelock observes, they grew merrier still when they heard that the King and all his army were in full retreat. This alarm over, a rumour of a second attack was shortly after bruited abroad; when the Londoners gave a new specimen of what they could do for the cause. They determined to fortify the City; and they carried out their determination in a most characteristic style; gentlemen of the best quality, knights and others, even ladies, took spades and mattocks in hand, and went with drums beating to the works; which put such spirits into the hearts of the general mass of labourers, that in an almost incredibly short space of time entrenchments twelve miles round were thrown up.* Fresh bodies of troops, horse and foot, were now raised under the name of auxiliary regiments; and soon after, a part of these, joined to two regiments of trained bands, were engaged at length in the open field, and had an opportunity afforded them of replying to all the Cavalier ridicule of the courage and military prowess of these London recruits—these apprentices, artisans, and shopkeepers. That was at the battle of Newbury. And what says Clarendon, the royalist historian, of their conduct in it? Why, that men, relying "on their inexperience of danger, or of any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their posture in the Artillery

* See the Plan of these Works in Vol. II. p. 104.

Gardens," had held them too cheap; for they now "behaved themselves to wonder, *and were in truth the preservation of the army that day;* for they stood as a bulwark and a rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse [which he elsewhere says no other troops in the kingdom had been able to withstand] to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." This was the first important blow struck at the King's power, and it was indeed a severe one. He lost fifteen hundred men, and many officers of rank, including three accomplished noblemen, the Earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the Secretary of State, the lamented Lord Falkland. Worst of all he must have felt the moral injury done to his cause by the result of such a battle. And for the whole he was, as we have seen, in the main indebted to the citizens of the metropolis.

[Review of Volunteers by George III. at Hounslow.]

The only remaining occasions of importance since the Civil War for the exhibition of the military capabilities of London that we can mention were the wars during the latter part of the last and the early part of the present centuries. In the former of these periods the military arrangements were materially changed by the passing of an Act for the raising of two regiments of militia in the city; the Staff of this force, called the Royal London Militia, is alone now kept up, under its Colonel, Sir Stephen Claudius Hunter, Bart. and Alderman. Of course such provision was merely for ordinary times. During the extraordinary period of the

wars with the French Republicans, and subsequently with Napoleon, the old fire blazed out with all its former intensity. Armed associations sprung up in every quarter of the metropolis; till the citizens of London and Westminster, and parishes immediately adjacent, raised a volunteer force of above 27,000 men. In addition to this, and the militia, and the Artillery Company, all the great Government establishments became so many strongholds, garrisoned by the clerks and servants, constantly in preparation for siege. The East India House had a little army, 1676 strong, formed into four regiments of foot and one of horse; the Bank had a regiment of 546 men, with a supplementary corps of 189; the Excise Office a regiment numbering 590, and the Custom House a regiment numbering nearly 400 men.

In the Company's Hall and Armoury there is nothing demanding lengthened notice. The former is in process of rebuilding, and the latter is much the sort of place our readers will imagine an armoury must be—hung round with breastplates, helmets, and drums, and containing plenty of guns, swords, and bayonets, presented by different members of the Company, all handsomely displayed. The Company has received various royal patents, but essentially it is based on the principle of its own thorough independence, paying all its own expenses of clothing, arms, and ammunition, making its own rules, choosing its own officers. Of course it does not form one of the 89 City Companies, though in most of its arrangements imitating them; it is governed, for instance, by a Court of Assistants; and has been accustomed, apparently, to exercise similar jurisdiction over the private conduct of its members: of which one odd example occurs in the Company's records under the date of 1670: "The name of John Currey, for his unmanly action in biting off his wife's nose, was ordered to be razed out of the Company's great book." The members are persons of respectability and wealth, and do not now exceed, we believe, 250 in number. Their Garden has enjoyed some reputation in connection with other than military subjects. In the last century it was the chief place for the settlement of cricket-matches, when county met county, and great was the tug of the sportive war. Here too in November, 1783, the first balloon was launched into the air from English ground by Count Zambeccari, no one ascending with it; the balloon measured ten feet, and was afterwards found near Petworth, forty-eight miles from London. And in the following year the first balloon ascended with living beings in England from this Garden. This was the machine of M. Lunardi, whose account, as preserved in the books of the Company, taken down probably from his own mouth as he delivered it before the Court of Assistants, when he dined with them two days after, is deeply interesting. We extract the commencement, descriptive of his ascent, which was attended not only by all the natural anxieties incident to an experiment then so full of danger, but by accidental circumstances calculated to disarm the strongest nerves of their tone. He says that "a short time before he set off, while he was in the house, somebody told him that his balloon was burst, and all was ruined, which so agitated and confused his spirits, that he could not recover himself; his chagrin was considerably increased by the disappointment he suffered from the inability of the balloon to carry his companion: being obliged, however, to content himself with the company of a dog, cat, and pigeon, he prepared himself for his journey, taking with him two fowls, and two bottles

of wine, a compass, and a thermometer that stood at 61° upon the earth. Everything being ready, he desired the people to leave his gallery, and, throwing out some ballast, he began to ascend, but was exceedingly alarmed when he found himself sinking again, and, hastily casting over some more ballast, he ascended readily, and felt himself perfectly easy and satisfied as soon as he was clear of the houses. He then waved his flag, and dropped it, as a token of his safety; after which he applied himself to his oars, but, unfortunately, one of them slipping out of its fastenings, he lost it; he continued, however, to work one with great success, finding he could raise or lower himself by that only, and did not doubt doing it with perfect ease when properly provided with both. He was much pleased with the success of the experiment; but, growing tired, he rested from his oar, and took a glass of wine, and (being supplied with the necessary utensils) wrote a letter, which, having folded up, he fastened it with a hair-pin to a napkin, and threw it down. He was now, and had been for some time, stationary. With respect to height, the thermometer standing at 50°, he for a short time indulged himself with a prospect beautiful beyond description; for at this height M. Lunardi could clearly distinguish every object; and the distance from the earth, by enlarging the field, greatly added to the grandeur of the scene. The appearance of London had an amazing effect, in which St. Paul's was majestically conspicuous, and the winding Thames, with its shipping, rendered the whole beautifully romantic and picturesque."

In conclusion, we must observe, that our object in the foregoing paper has been rather to give some adequate and systematic view of the courage, address, skill, and liberality of the citizens of London from the earliest times, and of the mighty influence which they have in consequence exerted over the destinies of the country, looked at simply in a military point of view, rather than to attempt what with our space was neither practicable nor desirable, namely, to enumerate all the great events in which they have been prominently engaged. We have, therefore, said nothing of their fortifying the City with iron chains drawn athwart the streets, in the time of the quarrel between Henry III. and his barons, and of the other "marvellous things" which they are then said to have done; nor of their answer to Edward II., when wife, sons, brothers, cousin, as well as almost everybody else were marching against him, and he requested supplies of men and money—to which they replied, "They would shut their gates against all foreign traitors, but they would not go out of the City to fight, except they might, according to their liberties, return home again the same day before the sun set;" upon hearing which Edward gave up all hope, fled, and was soon after murdered. Almost every few years of the City's annals are signalised by events of such, or scarcely less, importance. Thus again in 1471, whilst Henry VI. was confined in the Tower, and just after the battle of Barnet had decided the fate of his dynasty, the bastard Falconbridge made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to rescue him, that only the more surely precipitated his death: Edward IV. entered London one day in triumph; the next it was rumoured through all its streets that Henry was dead. The attempted insurrections of Wyatt for the Protestant, and Essex for his own cause, are also interesting points in the civic history, inasmuch as that both were decided in its streets, that the leaders in both had relied on the aid of the citizens, and not receiving it, fell. Wyatt,

it is said, would have obtained this aid but for his own folly in delaying on the road to repair a gun-carriage, which prevented his arrival at the time that certain friends were ready to open the gates. Before he did arrive the plan had become known to the government, and was no longer possible. This story is the more likely from the evident feeling of the Londoners for him, as exhibited by a body of their soldiers, who, at the Lord Treasurer's request, were got ready in the course of a single day, to the number of five hundred, and shipped for Gravesend; but who no sooner reached the enemy than, moved by the spirited address of their captain, Brett, they at once joined the man they had come to oppose. The reviews under different sovereigns would furnish also materials for many a pleasant page, from those of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth in Greenwich Park down to those of George III. at Hyde Park and Hounslow; but, on the whole, we have probably said enough to show the Honour of Citizens and Worthiness of Men (to borrow one of Stow's quaint Chapter Titles) in the conduct of the affairs of Military London.

[Soldier of the Trained Bands, 1638.]

[Royal Hospital of St. Katherine, Regent's Park.]

CXLVII.—ENDOWED AND MISCELLANEOUS CHARITIES.

THE bustle of the streets of London, where one man jostles another in the eagerness of his own engrossing pursuit, hurries along even those who have no particular impulse to quicken their steps; but he who *has* time to look around him, and time for reflection also, will see much that is calculated to raise him above the thronging scene by which he is surrounded. His eye catches a glimpse of institutions devoted to religion, to education, or charity, which, besides having a claim upon his respect, show that something has been saved from the general scramble of selfishness, for human solace and the promotion of men's best interests. The church, the school, the almshouse, are evidences of the piety and worth of those who have gone before us, shining with mild lustre apart from the glare of temporary and passing interests. The contemplation of their good works is soothing to the spirits, and the oldest parts of London abound with proofs of the bountiful and liberal hearts of many of its former citizens. Their benevolence was as varied in its objects as the individual character of men's minds; but the result is that posterity is indebted to them to an extent not generally understood. Saved, as we have remarked, from the general scramble after individual ownership, and set apart for public purposes, there is now an annual income of 310,000*l.* in London alone. The income of the royal hospitals amounts to 128,000*l.* a-year; that of the City companies to 85,000*l.*; and the parochial charities amount to 38,000*l.* The endowments for the purposes of education exceed 57,000*l.*, or more than one-third of the total sum applicable to this object in the whole of England and Wales. For grammar-schools the endowments in London (included in the above sum) amount to 49,000*l.* a-year; for schools not

classical, to 7000*l.*; besides upwards of 1000*l.* a-year devoted to the general promotion of education. If Westminster be included, we find endowments for general purposes of the value of 24,000*l.* a-year, of which about 6000*l.* are for education. If Middlesex (exclusive of London and Westminster) be added, there is a further sum of 50,000*l.* a-year, of which there is 3599*l.* for grammar-schools; and above 14,000*l.* for schools not classical. Altogether there is a total of upwards of 384,000*l.* of the annual income arising from property in the metropolitan county which is devoted to purposes of charity and education. The bountiful disposition of the citizens of London is also further attested by the numerous endowments which they have founded in every county in England. After having acquired a fortune in London, they remembered with affection the place of their nativity. They endowed a grammar-school or an almshouse, not unfrequently both the one and the other; or they bequeathed a fund to provide bread or clothing for the poor, or perhaps for the erection of a bridge or the repair of the roads. In this way the foundation was laid for establishments for liberal education, which have attained an importance of which they had not the faintest conception. When Lawrence Sheriff, grocer and citizen of London, left the third part of a field of twenty-four acres, in the parish of Holborn, for the endowment of a grammar-school at Rugby, it produced only 8*l.* a-year. This field was called the Conduit close, and was nearly half a mile from any house. It is now covered with buildings, and the rental exceeds 10,000*l.* a-year. In the same way, and about the same time, Sir Andrew Judd founded the grammar-school at Tunbridge, endowing it with property in the City, and also with his "croft of pasture, with the appurtenances, called the 'Sandhills,' situate and being on the back side of Holborn, in the parish of St. Pancras," and then valued at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This property is situated on each side of the New Road, and now forms a part of Judd Place and Burton Crescent. It was let in 1807 on a lease for ninety-nine years, at 2700*l.* a-year. The property in Gracechurch, which in 1558 produced only 23*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a-year, was let in 1822 for 490*l.* Other property, in St. Mary Axe, the rental of which was 5*l.* a-year in 1558, was let in 1822 for 166*l.*; at which time the yearly rents of the property bequeathed by Sir Andrew amounted to 4306*l.* By the advance of the country in wealth, the charities of the citizens of London have become in many instances truly splendid and munificent. Sir Andrew Judd's school now enjoys sixteen exhibitions of 100*l.* each, payable out of the founder's endowment, and tenable at any college out of either University.

Passing by the endowments for churches and monasteries, and gifts for their repair, to which the citizens of London were liberal contributors, we turn to an interesting class of foundations of which there were a great number in London before the Reformation. These were the chantries, established for the purpose of keeping up a perpetual succession of prayers for the prosperity of some particular family while living, and the repose of the souls of those members of it who were deceased, but especially of the founder and other persons specifically named by him in the instrument of foundation. They were usually founded in churches already existing, as all that was wanted was an altar with a little area before it and space for the officiating priest, and a few appendages. After the close of the twelfth century, when the disposition to found monasteries declined, the same

object was secured by the endowment of a chantry. Most of the old churches of London had four or five of these chantries, and the number in old St. Paul's was thirty or forty; and nearly all the gifts and devises to the City companies in Catholic times were charged with annual payments for supporting chantries for the souls of the respective donors. Where a chantry was not founded, the testator bequeathed property for the celebration of his obit. This observance owed its origin to the opinion which prevailed in Catholic times of the efficacy of prayer in respect of the dead as well as the living. At the celebration of these obits it was customary to distribute alms, and frequently refreshment was provided for those who attended. Mr. Herbert remarks, in his 'History of the Twelve Livery Companies,' that a great part of the beadle's duties before the Reformation, and almost wholly those of the almsfolk of the Goldsmiths' Company, were connected with the keeping of the Company's obits. The chantry services maintained by the Merchant Tailors' Company were also numerous, and were performed at various churches. A single notice of one of the bequests for securing the services of the church for the donor after his decease, will be sufficiently explanatory of the general character of the rest. Sir John Percival, late Lord Mayor, had left property in trust to be applied for the good of his soul, and his widow, who died six years afterwards, left eight messuages, the rents of which were to be expended as follows:—To augment the salaries of either of the two chantry priests singing for her deceased husband in the church of St. Mary Wolnoth; to the conductor for keeping the anthem; for maintaining the beam light; to the sexton for ringing the bells and helping the mass priest; to the Lady-mass priest at the obit; to the churchwardens for various services, as dealing out the coals ordered for the poor by Sir John Percival; for providing two great wax-tapers for the sepulture; and she ordered also that fivepence be given to five poor people every Sunday throughout the year, to have her soul, her husband's soul, and divers other souls in remembrance. In the celebration of every one of the obits returned by the Company the poor were remembered. In several instances the obit was only to be observed for a certain number of years, varying from thirty to a hundred: in others a certain sum was to be paid to the members of the Company who were present at the celebration of the obit. Herbert says that the custom in keeping most of the obits of the Drapers' Company was for those who attended to have bread and ale in the church where the service took place; in some instances, however, they adjourned to the nearest public-house. At Sir William Herriott's anniversary, who had been Lord Mayor

[Bedesman.]

in 1481, the entry of charge "for brede and ale at the Swanne, in Vanchurch (Fenchurch) Strete, at the evensong," was only fourpence. At William Galley's obit, who died in 1535, the twelve sisters of Elsing Spitall were to receive four shillings for their attendance, and one shilling for their potation. The wardens and others of the Drapers' Company present were to "drynk with the freres." The parson of the church where the obit took place and the church-wardens were bound to the Company for its due performance.

An ordinance made by the Goldsmiths' Company in 1521 states that the wardens had yearly held and kept twenty-five obits, at divers parish churches, and went to the said obits twenty-five times, to their great hindrance and trouble and that of the livery; whereupon they resolved, for the time to come, to keep yearly two obits, upon one day, at two several churches, on which occasions they would cause to be spent upon a potation, at each of the same two obits holden in one day, twelve shillings and sixpence. By an Act passed in 1546 the estates out of which these observances were maintained were directed to be given up to the king; but they do not seem to have been finally extinguished until the first year of Edward VI., when they, as well as all payments by corporations, mysteries, or crafts for priests' obits and lamps, were irrevocably vested in the crown. "This," says Strype, "was a great blow to the corporations of London; nor was there any way for them but to purchase and buy off their rent-charges, and get as good pennyworths as they could of the king; and this they did in the third of Edward VI., by selling other of their lands to make these purchases." Scarcely any of the property of the Companies was exempt from obligations which had now come to be considered as superstitious; and, according to Strype, the re-purchasing of the lands cost the Companies 18,700*l.*, "which possessions, when they had thus cleared them again, they employed to good uses, according to the first intent of them, abating the superstition." After the time of Edward VI. the endowments of the City Companies were generally applied, as described by themselves, to the following objects:—"In pensions to poore decaied brethren; in exhibitions to schollers; to their almsmen; and to the maintenance of a schole or scholes." The principal ancient foundations for education in the City of London have been already noticed in various parts of the present work.

The ordinary parochial charities of the City consist chiefly of the following items: gifts in money, bread, clothing and fuel; loans with and without interest to young men beginning business; marriage portions; apprenticeship fees; payments for sermons on particular days; and there is the endowed school of the parish, where the children are gratuitously educated and, in many instances, also clothed, and in a few entirely maintained. In Sir John Cass's school, St. Botolph, Aldgate, which has an income of above 1500*l.* a-year, ninety children are educated, clothed, and fed.

The number of almshouses in London is probably not far short of one hundred and fifty. We can scarcely enumerate even the principal ones, which are chiefly maintained out of endowments left in trust to the City Companies. A brief notice of two or three of these institutions will give an idea of the general character of the rest; but, first, we must notice an establishment which is really an almshouse, though it scarcely assumes the character of such an institution. The

Royal Hospital of St. Katherine was founded in 1148 by Queen Matilda, wife of King Stephen. The master has an income of 1200*l.* a-year and an elegant mansion in the Regent's Park, situated in the midst of its own pleasure-grounds. The three brethren have each 300*l.* a-year, and the three sisters each 200*l.* The real alms-people are non-resident, and three or four years ago two of the sisters were non-resident also, and let their residence in the hospital at a rent of 90*l.* a-year each. Queen Matilda's endowment was for a master, three brothers chaplains, three sisters, and six poor scholars, reserving to herself and her successors, the future queens of England, the nomination of the master upon every vacancy; but she granted the perpetual custody of the hospital to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, which was then in high repute. The ground on which the hospital was built was on the east side of the Tower of London, on the north bank of the river. The site is now occupied by St. Katherine's Docks. In 1255 Queen Eleanor brought a suit against the monks, and acquired the custody of the hospital and its entire revenues. After the king's death she refounded it for a master, three brothers, three sisters, ten poor women called bedeswomen, and six poor scholars. Her charter is dated the 5th of July, 1273. Had not the original hospital been dissolved, St. Katherine's Hospital would now have been the most ancient ecclesiastical community in the kingdom; and it is still the fourth in point of antiquity, coming after Peter House, Cambridge, and Merton and Balliol Colleges, Oxford. The queens of England are by law the perpetual patronesses, it being considered, say the lawyers, as part of their dower. They nominate the master, brethren, and sisters, and may increase or diminish their number, and alter the statutes for the government of the institution. "The Queen Dowager hath no power or jurisdiction when there is a Queen Consort;" but "if there is a Queen Regnant and a Queen Dowager, the latter would have the power in preference to the Queen Regnant." In Queen Eleanor's charter the object of her foundation is stated to be "for the health of the soul of her late husband and of the souls of the preceding and succeeding kings and queens." One of the priests was daily required "to sing the mass of the Holy Virgin Mary; another, daily to celebrate the divine service of the day, solemnly and devoutly for the aforesaid souls." She ordained that every day throughout the year until the 16th day of November, which was the deposition of Edmund, the Archbishop and Confessor, there should be given, at the ordering of the master and his successors, to twenty-four poor men, for the aforesaid souls, twelve pence; and on the said day of St. Edmund the Confessor, namely, the day of the death of her husband, King Henry, there should be bestowed, in form aforesaid, upon one thousand poor men to each a half-penny.

In 1442 privileges of a most remarkable kind were granted to St. Katherine's, which, we may feel assured, never wanted "a friend at court" while there was a queen consort. The master had reported that the revenues of the hospital were insufficient for its maintenance, on which the king, Henry VI., granted a charter constituting a certain district in the neighbourhood of the hospital a precinct exempt with all its inhabitants from all ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, except that of the Lord Chancellor and the master of the hospital. This charter further granted to the hospital a fair to be held on Tower Hill within the precinct every year, for twenty-one days after St. James's Day; also the assize and

assize of bread, wine, beer, and other victuals, custody of weights and measures, civil and criminal jurisdiction; exemption from payment of tenths or other quota granted by the clergy; also exemption from subsidies imposed by the Commons; and they were to have as many writs as they pleased out of the king's courts without fee of sealing. The hospital held this precinct as its own property and demesne, its revenues being increased by fines on renewal of leases and by ground-rents of the houses which it contained. It is said, and with much probability, that the intercession of Anne Boleyn with Henry VIII. saved the hospital from dissolution. The revenues at that time appear from a survey to have amounted to 338*l*. The first master appointed by Queen Elizabeth sold the privilege of holding the fair to the City for seven hundred marks; and he was suspected of other peculations not very creditable to the newly reformed religion. In 1698 Lord Chancellor Somers, as visitor, removed the master, and drew up rules and orders for the better government of the hospital. In 1705 a school was established for the children of the precinct at the charge of the hospital, and after they left school they were apprenticed and placed at service.

Early in 1824 some of the principal merchants in the City obtained the sanction of Government to apply for an Act of Parliament to construct wet-docks between the Tower and the London Docks, a space which would include the site of the chapel, hospital, and entire precinct of St. Katherine; and when the act was obtained, the new Dock Company made compensation to the hospital, under the direction of Lord Chancellor Eldon, to the following amount, namely, 125,000*l*. as the value of the precinct estate; 36,000*l*. for building a new hospital; 2000*l*. for the purchase of a site; and several smaller sums, as compensation to certain officers and members of the hospital, whose interests would be affected by removal to another situation. The precinct possessed at this time both a spiritual and temporal court. The spiritual court was a royal jurisdiction for all ecclesiastical causes within the precincts, probates of wills, &c.; and appeals from it could be made to the Lord Chancellor only. The officers of this court were a registrar, ten proctors, and an apparitor. In the temporal court the high-steward of the jurisdiction of St. Katherine's presided, and heard and determined all disputes arising within the precinct. A high-bailiff, a prothonotary, and a prison were appendages of the court. In 1661 the number of houses within the precinct was 731; in 1708 there were 850; and the number successively diminished to 505 in 1801, and 427 in 1821, which were inhabited by 685 families.

A site having been granted on the east side of the Regent's Park by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the new hospital buildings were erected there. The centre consists of a chapel, with chapter-house; and on each side of the chapel are three houses, those on one side being for the brothers, and the others for the sisters, with requisite offices and outbuildings, including a coach-house; and at each end, by the Park side, there is a lodge. The residence of the master, on the opposite side of the carriage-road, is situated in about two acres of land laid out in ornamental grounds and shrubberies. The ancient and interesting monuments were transported at the expense of the Dock Company to the new chapel, where they have been restored at an enormous expense. The cost of setting up and restoring the monument of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who died in 1448, which constituted the most remarkable feature of the old hospital,

amounted to nearly a thousand pounds; and no expense was spared which could add to the embellishment of the edifice. Large sums were expended for stained glass, and for the iron railings and walls round the premises. The well and an ornamental pump cost many hundred pounds, and, after all, the water proved totally unfit for use. The site is so bad, from the nature of the soil, as to have required a very large sum for the repair of the foundations.

The affairs of the hospital are managed by the chapter, which consists of the master, the three brothers, and the three sisters. The brothers are in holy orders, but are not restrained from marriage; and the sisters are usually unmarried, though instances have occurred of widows being appointed. All important business must be transacted in the chapter-house, and by a majority of the chapter present, as voting by proxy is not allowed. The master, brethren, and sisters have each a vote, and the requisite majority of four must include one of each; that is, the master, one brother, and two sisters, or the master, two sisters, and one brother. One brother is required to be in residence constantly, in order to conduct the service in the chapel. He is assisted by a reader, who is paid 100*l.* a-year from the funds of the hospital. The sisters, as before stated, do not always reside. The original number of ten bedeswomen has been increased to twenty, and an addition made of twenty bedesmen. They are non-resident, and receive 10*l.* a-year for life, but have no duties to perform. The appointment of bedesmen and bedeswomen rests solely with the master, and they are usually decayed small tradespeople, old servants of good character, or other aged people. The school is on a small scale, and contains twenty-four boys and twelve girls, who are clothed during their continuance, and dine at the hospital every Sunday. At a suitable age the boys are apprenticed, with a premium; and on the girls going to service they receive an outfit, and a sum is deposited for them in a savings' bank. If they conduct themselves well, both enjoy some subsequent pecuniary benefit. The income of the hospital in 1837 was 5504*l.*, and the expenditure 4454*l.* The sum paid to the master, three brothers, three sisters, and forty bedesmen and bedeswomen, amounts to 2100*l.* a-year. The fines on the renewal of leases are distributed into three parts; one of which goes to the master, one to the brethren and sisters conjointly, and one-third for repair of buildings.

The principal almshouses, properly so called, which are intended as an asylum for the aged and infirm, are those under the management of the City Companies, which have been benefited and brought to their present state by successive endowments. They are intended for the liverymen and freemen of each fraternity or their widows, and are elected by the courts of assistants. The Drapers' Almshouses are amongst the earliest foundations of this kind, having originated in 1522. The Merchant Tailors erected seven almshouses for fourteen poor widows in 1593, on Tower Hill; in 1637, accommodation was provided for twelve more; and in 1835, in consequence of the dilapidated state of the old buildings, and their confined situation, the Company erected new almshouses at Lee, in Kent, at a cost of 10,000*l.*; and the number of almswomen is now increased to thirty. The almshouses of the Fishmongers' Company, called St. Peter's Hospital, are situated at Newington, opposite the Elephant and Castle, and are occupied by forty-two poor men and women free of the Company, or widows of freemen.* The married

* A view of this Hospital is given in vol. i. p. 244.

people received 12*s.* a-week, the single 7*s.* or 8*s.*, and 10*s.*, according to their age and infirmities; and those who require a nurse enjoy 2*s.* a-week more, or 12*s.* altogether. The almspeople also receive various gifts in money and clothing in the course of the year. Service is performed daily in the chapel, and the chaplain visits the almspeople when ill. A medical man is paid by the Company for attending to their health. The hospital consists of three courts, with gardens behind; and there is a dining-hall. The expenditure is about 1700*l.* a-year. Most of the almshouses of the Companies are of the same character, and it is unnecessary to describe them further.

Whittington's College, called "God's House" by his executors, is a superior institution, founded in 1421 by Sir Richard Whittington, an Alderman of London, "for perpetual sustentation of needy and poor people." It is now under the management of the Mercers' Company. The principal is a person in holy orders, called the tutor, whose duty it is to perform service in the chapel, and "to oversee the husbandry of the house, and nourish charity and peace among his fellows." Each poor person admitted is to be one "meek of spirit, destitute of temporal goods in other places by which he might competently live, and chaste and of good conversation." The inmates must be single persons above fifty-five, not having freehold property to the amount of 20*l.*, or other property to the amount of 30*l.* a-year. They receive from the funds of the college a yearly stipend of 30*l.*, besides enjoying some money gifts, and the advantages of medical attendance and the assistance of nurses. There are thirty out-pensioners, who receive 30*l.* a-year. The present college, situated near Highgate Archway, was erected in 1822, at an expense of 17,000*l.*, and is handsomely built of stone in the collegiate style. The annual income is nearly 5000*l.*

Morden College, though not situated within the limits of the metropolis, is chiefly designed for its "poor, honest, sober, and discreet merchants," of the age of fifty at least, and "such as shall have lost their estates by accidents, dangers and perils of the seas, or by any other accidents, ways, or means, in their honest endeavour to get their living by way of merchandizing." It was founded by Sir John Morden, in 1702, and is situated in the parish of Charlton, near Blackheath. The building consists of a quadrangle with two wings, the north wing containing a common hall and a common cellar under it. There is a chapel, vestry, and burial-ground; a common kitchen, laundry, and brew-house; thirty-nine dwellings for the apartments of the inmates, each comprising a sitting-room and bed-room, with a cellar; and those on the upper story have a small room in addition. The chaplain and treasurer have each a garden and small close, and the four senior fellows have each small garden plots. A common table is kept, and a cook, butler, and other servants are maintained out of the funds of the college. In 1828 the number of inmates was only twenty, but there are at present thirty-nine. Their income was raised to 60*l.* a-year each in 1835. The Turkey Company selected the inmates as long as it was in existence, but they are now appointed by the East India Company. The total income of the college is about 5300*l.* a-year. The chaplain has a stipend of 800*l.* a-year, 715*l.* being derived from an estate left for his especial benefit.

There are many institutions of a charitable nature which are at present chiefly dependent upon voluntary contributions, but are gradually advancing to the position of endowed establishments.

[Procession of Freemasons' Orphans at Freemasons' Hall. From Sothard.]

THE number and magnitude of the miscellaneous charities of the metropolis have been so often dwelt on and illustrated, that it may not be unadvisable to look at them from a somewhat different point of aspect; let us, then, see if their comprehensiveness and completeness be not equally remarkable. And as the multitude of facts with which we may have to deal will, if marshalled in all their native simplicity, be more valuable than interesting, more weighty than attractive, suppose we endeavour to give them relief and buoyancy by the aid of a little fiction, as to the form of the narration.

There was a family, originally of some respectability, but gradually reduced by various causes to indigence, the head of which, having a great admiration for our London charities, determined to show his admiration by making the most of them. And first he turned over with curious eyes the pages of his 'Guide' to see what he could do for himself. "Hospitals, Infirmaries, Dispensaries," said he; "Societies for Asthma, Ruptures, Ophthalmia, and scores of others of the same kind; I don't want any of these now. I have not had an accident lately, so I can't go to the Accident Relief Society; and I *have* had recent loans, so I can't go again as yet to the Friendly and the Philanthropic for more. Then, again, I am no poor pious clergyman of the Established Church residing in the country; no aged and infirm Protestant Dissenting minister, nor evangelical Dissenting minister of inadequate income; so it is useless to look for assistance to any of

those societies. Medical Benevolent Society: I am no doctor. Law Association: I am no solicitor, in the sense they mean. Literary Fund: I am no author. Royal Society of Musicians: I am no fiddler. Surely there must be something somewhere to suit me. Let us see what there is in connection with trade. Ah! here are Societies for the Commercial Travellers, members of the Stock Exchange, Licensed Victuallers, Master-Bakers, Cheesemongers and Poulterers, Clock-makers, Printers, and Bookbinders; but, no, I can't exactly say I belong to any of those pursuits. Alas! Why was I not a Blue-Coat boy? I see there is a Benevolent Annuity Fund of Blues for the relief, not only of themselves, but also of their wives and children. If, too, I had been a Catholic, there must have been one among this group of charities called the Associated Catholic Charities to have suited me: if a Jew, I might have gone into the Hospital at Mile End: if a Jewish convert, even, to Christianity, this 'Operative' Institution would have taken care of me while I was learning a trade, a matter, of course, in which there need have been no hurry. But I am a Protestant, and a decided Christian, and neither Catholic, Jew, nor convert. Decided Christian did I say? I have it; here 's the very thing,—the 'London Aged Christian Society,' for the 'permanent relief of the decidedly Christian poor of both sexes, who have attained the age of sixty years, and who reside within five miles of St. Paul's.' This is the very thing; I'll see about it immediately." And no doubt he would have done so with his accustomed zeal and industry, for no man ever worked harder than he to avoid work, but that unexpectedly he died; characteristically observing in his last moments that at all events his death would leave his dear children orphans, and reminding his wife of the number of the Orphan Societies.

Were any of our readers ever eye-witnesses of the way in which orphan cases are got up? The rummaging through the printed Lists of Subscribers, to see if there be any names there of persons with whom one's cousin's cousin's acquaintance has at some time or other spoken; then the canvassing of all such persons, to obtain their votes; then as the election time approaches, if you find your orphan has no chance for the present, lending all those votes to some other orphan who has, to be repaid in kind, and often with interest, at another election? Well, our deceased lover of charities had taught his family his own tastes and habits; so, after due examination of the respective merits of the London Orphan, the Female Orphan, the British Orphan, the Infant Orphan, and the Orphan Working, and passing over as unsuitable the Sailors' Female Orphan, the Merchant Sailors' Orphan, the Incorporated Clergy Orphan, the Army Medical Officers' Orphan, the indefatigable widow got one of her children at last into the London; and among the whole 1400 which that excellent institution justly boasts at the present moment to have sheltered and trained during its thirty-one years of usefulness, no better specimen of the latter has been sent forth to the world. She entered into domestic service. The National Guardian Institution, whose business it is to protect the London public from servants with false characters, have in that capacity nothing to do with her, though no doubt her name is on their books in another; with the instinct of the family, be sure she trusts to them in the event of sickness or destitution, that she looks to them also for that permanent provision for her old age which the society promises to meritorious servants. Nay, it is most likely that she is already availing herself of the annual rewards for being good

given by the London Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants; and that the Provisional Protection Society are accustomed to her visits when she is out of place; for, as she used to observe during those intervals, if so many kind ladies and gentlemen desired to pay the expenses of her board and lodging, why shouldn't they?

The widow's eldest boy was unusually afflicted; he was at once deaf, dumb, and blind. The widow was a kind of optimist; how could she help perceiving the double chance those very calamities gave her of getting him provided for, either at the School for the Indigent Blind near the Obelisk, or at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in the Kent Road? The which? was a knotty question. She had heard that persons often learnt in the one, in the course of a few years, to earn from 7*s.* to 18*s.* per week, in the manufacture of thread, lines, baskets, and mats; whilst at the other reading and writing, nay, even ciphering and grammar, were successfully taught, as well as those useful arts, by which the pupils might subsequently be able to earn their own livelihood. The boy's genuine misfortunes obtained him ready admittance to the latter; and the widow is already teaching him, young as he is, to look forward to the time when he shall be fifty-five, and qualified to become one of the 500 recipients of the ten-pound yearly annuity granted by Hetherington's Charity!

Looking over the 'Guide,' the widow was astonished and delighted at the number of the Naval Charities: another son was at once picked out to be a sailor. She saw there was the Marine Society, which benevolent Jonas Hanway and the keen-sighted Justice Fielding helped to establish, ready to receive, prepare him for, and send him out to sea; that there was the Royal National Institution, to watch over and preserve his life from shipwreck; the Sailors' Home to receive him when he returned, if, laden with prize-money, he was in danger of the land-sharks; or the Distressed Sailors' Asylum, or the Destitute Sailors' Asylum, if he were in want; or the Seamen's Hospital Society if he were sick; and, in short, half a dozen other societies ready to meet any contingency of naval life. Yes, certainly, she would have one son a sailor. And again she was, in course of time, successful. But the widow began to find all this very slow, tedious, and harassing work, and that, what with her difficulty to struggle on, whilst her time and strength were so occupied, what with her increasing years, that she must now rest as contented as she could, and trust to manage with her four remaining children, by availing herself to the utmost of such societies as the Charitable Sisters', who gave relief to poor aged widows and others; and the Widows' Friend Society, the principle of which is to help those only who are endeavouring to help themselves; and so, leaving her children to shift as they might for all but food and lodging, she got along, as she thought, tolerably well. But the *laissez faire* principle is as dangerous in private as we are beginning to perceive it to be in public life; the widow's remaining children have turned out but badly. One went into business in some little way, and the last she heard of him was that he had been thrown into prison for a trifling debt, and released, months afterwards, by the Society for the Discharge of persons in his position. Another boy she heard of also from the same melancholy kind of place, but under infinitely worse circumstances; he had been a convicted felon. The first shock over, the widow fell back with a sense of comfort once more upon

the charities. The Prison Discipline Society in Aldermanbury had failed, in her boy's case, in one of its objects, that of preventing crime by inspiring a dread of punishment; but might it not succeed in another, that of inducing the criminal to abandon vicious pursuits for the future? Then there was the Sheriff's Fund, established for the very purpose of assisting such persons in a pecuniary way. Come, matters were not so bad after all. Nay, if even nothing resulted from an application in those quarters, there was the Refuge for the Destitute at Hackney, formed to make provision for criminal youth of both sexes, and thus enable them to retrieve lost characters and positions, or to obtain good ones for the first time; there was the Philanthropic in the London Road, also prepared to reform criminal boys, as well as the children of criminals. There was much enthusiasm about the widow whenever charities were concerned: she already saw her boy safe in the walls of the latter institution, and learning some one of the numerous trades there taught, printing—letter-press and copper,—bookbinding, shoemaking, tailoring, &c. &c.; unfortunately, when she applied, the numbers were full. And before she could run the round of the others, a new and more appalling event to a mother's mind occurred—her favourite daughter's absence and fall. The poor widow! even then charities—Charities alone in her mind, alone suggested where she should seek the runaway. So, half-distracted, she ran from one society to another of those who make it their care to tempt the unhappy wanderers back to the paths of virtue from which they have strayed; she ran from the Asylum in Westminster to the Guardian Society in St. George's East, from the London Female Penitentiary at Pentonville to the Magdalen in the Blackfriars Road, and from that again to the Maritime Penitent Female Refuge. It is to be hoped the poor widow was only too early in her applications, and that she will yet find her daughter within one of these admirable institutions. In the mean time she is growing reconciled to her troubles,—the charities again are luring her on,—she has got a strange fancy for a pension from one of the three societies, the General Annuity, the East London Pension, or the City of London; and in order to have still another string to her bow, was busy, when we last heard of her, inquiring about the National Benevolent Institution in Great Russell Street; which, as it relieved distressed persons of the middle classes without regard to sex, country, or persuasion, must have an opening for her, she thought.

But if in tracing the views and lives of such a charity-seeking family (whose prototypes, however, in a somewhat less concentrated shape, surround us on all sides) we have borrowed pretty largely from the general list of London charities, we have by no means exhausted the list; which, in its sphere of operations, embraces one extensive division of charities to which we have not yet even alluded, those whose operations are based upon a local principle, such as the county or country of the subjects of relief; neither have we yet referred to another division of charities designed for the assistance of the most wretched of all classes of our poor, the homeless, bankrupts alike in heart and hope, in health and fortune. As to the former we have Yorkshire Society Schools, the Cumberland Benevolent Institution for indigent natives and their widows and children, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire societies for apprenticing poor children of natives of those shires. From these we pass to the countries of Great Britain. For Scotland we have the Highland Society to relieve distressed highlanders, and establish Gaelic

schools among their native hills, the Caledonian Asylum in Copenhagen Fields, to support and educate children of indigent Scotchmen, and the Scottish Hospital, originally founded by Charles II. For Ireland there is the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, educating, clothing, and apprenticing children born in London of poor Irish parents; and the Irish Charitable Society for relieving the parents themselves, or, at least, distressed natives of the country. For Wales there is the Welsh school, which maintains as well as educates the children of poor natives born in or near the metropolis. The circle still widening, our charities now include the Society of Friends of Foreigners in distress, the Polish Society, the—but no, strange to say, our list is nearly exhausted in that division; so turn we now to the other. There have been several associations in existence for a considerable period aiming either to relieve the lowest class of social unfortunates, or to divide from that class the impostors who merely profess to belong to it; or, as in the Mendicity Society's instance, undertaking both those duties. The affairs of this institution, by far the most important of its kind in London, are of great magnitude. In the year just closed it has received and answered no less than 38,734 applications, many of them from large families; it has given to mendicants under urgent circumstances, without setting them to work, above five hundred pounds; it has given 167,126 meals (each consisting of ten ounces of bread and one pint of good soup, or a quarter of a pound of cheese), at a cost of above 1300*l.*; it has employed at its own mill, or in the oakum-rooms, or at the stone-yard, 4790 men and 1187 women, at a cost of nearly 1000*l.* Then, further, it has investigated 4481 begging-letter cases, and reported thereon to the respective subscribers concerned, in consequence of which, in deserving cases, considerable sums have been given by the latter. Lastly, it has apprehended 1573 vagrants, of whom 1018 have been committed to prison, and the remainder discharged with an admonition from the magistrates. One might almost think such an institution was able to cope successfully with the destitution and mendicancy of the metropolis; but if so, the first half-dozen yards we walk in the streets is quite sufficient to disabuse the mind of such mistakes; there, on the contrary, one would suppose, but for actual knowledge to the contrary, that there were neither mendicity nor any other charitable societies existing for the relief of the poor within fifty miles, such is the truly awful amount of misery exhibited in them to those who can venture to look out of their comfortable capes and coats these wintry days with an observing eye upon the realities that surround them. Seldom, perhaps, has such a story been heard of in any country, savage or civilized, as that which shocked all persons, even the most selfish, a short time ago, when it was publicly made known, but so accidentally that, for aught we can tell, there may be many such stories yet unrevealed, that on an average there were fifty persons, men, women, and children, in the last stages of hunger, nakedness, and disease, sleeping in the parks the whole year round! The parks, with their palaces, range after range! with their warm luxurious drawing-rooms and chambers! their soft beds of down, their well-furnished tables, the very remnants of which, to those poor shivering creatures a few yards distant, were a luxury, too high even to be dreamt of! The recent or rather present movement suggested by the disclosure of this appalling fact, is, of course, familiar to most of our readers, the result seems to be a strengthening of the capacities and increas-

ing the number of the former houses of Nightly Relief for the Poor, and the formation of an entirely new association. The former comprise, under one management, the central asylum, in Playhouse Yard, Whitecross Street; the eastern asylum, East Smithfield; and a western asylum, just about to be opened, in Foley Place; there is also the West-End Nightly Institution in the Edgeware Road, which appears to be a private speculation, and which boasts in its advertisements to have relieved nearly 90,000 poor within five years. The new institution referred to seems to be partly founded on the idea of the Strangers' Friend Society, founded so long back as 1785, for the express purpose of finding out the distressed poor, by visiting them at their habitations, instead of assisting as usual the more obtrusive and clamorous, and leaving the sensitive and retiring to their fate. The new society, however, is established under the sole auspices of the Bishop of London and the clergy of the Established Church, and sets out with the object of improving the condition of the poor by means of parochial and district visiting; and as the objects of relief are not to be selected according to their creed, why perhaps it is as well that the cordiality ensured by men of kindred views working together should be obtained by such divisions of the labourers in the broad field before them. We presume that the clergy and religious of all denominations will follow the example set them, and be no less active and liberal in the charitable than in the educational rivalry now going on. Glorious rivalry! happy may be its results! It is one of the essential features of the pursuit of the good in anything, that with whatever motives we commence it, we can hardly end without loving it at last simply for itself.

The press occasionally gives us some pleasant peeps into the operations of our other charitable societies: here is one:—"Yesterday a deputation from the Humane Society, consisting of Sir E. Codrington, Captain Codrington, M.P., Mr. Hawes, M.P., &c., presented to Jean Gerret, a sailor on board the French frigate 'Cuvier,' lying off Blackwall, a silver medal, for having, at the risk of his own life, saved a gentleman of the name of Turner from drowning, on Christmas-eve: the gentleman had fallen into the river from Blackwall pier." This shows us one of the objects of the Society, namely, to honour those who have exerted themselves in the cause of humanity; but it also holds out pecuniary reward to those who are more sensible to that kind of inducement for exertion in saving the lives of apparently drowned persons. The Society itself has no less than eighteen receiving-houses in the metropolis, all properly supplied with apparatus; and at one of these, the principal station, by the side of the Serpentine river, a medical attendant is always at hand during the bathing and the skating seasons; and an immense number of persons have been saved on that single piece of water in consequence. To be sure, if the Park authorities should ever happen to perceive that the part in question might be drained, the bottom levelled, and the whole depth afterwards kept at something like four or five feet, all the expense, and anxiety, and loss of life that does now occur would be obviated, and the Humane Society's exertions happily rendered unnecessary there: but authorities don't generally perceive these abstruse truths; and, besides, it would be a bad precedent; there 's no saying how many of our London and all other charities might not be got rid of entirely, if we once begin the dangerous process of tracing evils to their source, once commit ourselves to those presumptuous attempts at prevention for

the future to which such processes are sure to lead. As a slight notion of the valuable character of the Humane Society's labours, we may mention that during the past year 170 cases of recovery from drowning came under the committee's notice; and that it distributed rewards among 156 persons. Its total receipts for the year exceeded 2500*l.* With a notice of two other societies we may conclude miscellaneous charities of the metropolis.

At one of the annual dinners of the Literary Fund—we believe it was that of 1822—when the Duke of York was in the chair, and an unusually brilliant assemblage present, among them Canning, and the French Ambassador, Chateaubriand, an incident occurred which strongly marked the valuable nature of this charity. The ambassador in question, who had looked with deep interest on the proceedings of the day, subsequently addressed the audience, and in the course of his speech related the following story. During the time of Napoleon's supremacy, while so many French emigrants were in England, one of them, connected with literature, suffered great distress, in consequence of the pressure of a small debt. The case was represented to the Literary Fund by a friend (understood to be Peltier, whom Napoleon unsuccessfully prosecuted in our law courts) and the result was his obtaining the relief he desired, which completely saved him from ruin. At the restoration he returned to his native country; he was employed by the state, rose from office to office, at last he came back to the very country where he had been thus assisted, as ambassador, "and, gentlemen," concluded he, "*I am that man!*" It is one of the most valuable features of the society that it preserves the greatest possible secrecy as regards the recipients of its bounty. But let us glance, as far as we are permitted, at the operations of a single year, the one ending February 28, 1843. In that year 46 cases were relieved, in 8 of which grants of 10*l.* each were made; in 6, grants of 15*l.*; in 8, grants of 20*l.*; in 3, grants of 25*l.*; in 8, grants of 30*l.*; in 4, grants of 40*l.*; whilst in no less than 9 there were grants of 50*l.* each assigned. Of these 46 grants, 3 were to female authors, 11 to widows of authors (amounting to 400*l.*), and 16 to or for the orphans of authors. The classes of authors included history and biography, 5 cases; theology and biblical literature, 6; topography, 5; medicine, 3; classical learning and education, 6; science and art, 5; poetry, 3; drama, 2; fiction, 4; miscellaneous literature, 7. The rooms of the society, at the corner of Russell Street and Bloomsbury Square, contain two small glass cases not undeserving mention. In one are kept the daggers used by Blood and Parrot, at the time of their daring attempt on the crown deposited in the Tower, and which were bequeathed by Mr. Newton, a great benefactor to the society, who believed himself (erroneously, we understand) to be the last descendant of Sir Isaac Newton, and in consequence thought it only fitting that the Literary Fund should be the recipient of his bounty. The other glass case contains a part of an original MS. of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' in the Icelandic tongue. Our readers will recollect Byron's lines—

> "Still must I hear? Shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl
> His creaking couplets in a tavern hall,
> And I not sing?"

in which he refers to the poetical addresses with which the gentleman in question used frequently to regale the Literary Fund members, according to the custom

then in use;—and some of the Literary Fund Festival Odes, by the way, have been by men of mark; there was one by Crabbe, another by Allan Cunningham. This Fitzgerald, as he himself takes care to tell us in a note to an Ode, introduced the case of the author of the Icelandic MS. to the Literary Fund as that of a clergyman, whose entire income amounted to about 6*l.* 5*s.* yearly, and who in the midst of great privation had had the spirit to undertake, and the ability to accomplish, a translation of the great Englishman's greatest work. The Fund immediately sent him a sum of money, and the poor poet-minister in his gratitude sent back this MS. as the most appropriate acknowledgment that it was in his power to offer. We understand that the translation is really a noble performance, Miltonic in its spirit and tone. There is a very meritorious society allowed to meet in the rooms of the Literary Fund—the Society of Schoolmasters. If the following letter (never before we believe correctly transcribed from the books of the Society), should but be the means of aiding the Society ever so slightly, we are sure none would rejoice more heartily than the writer of it, the present King of the French: "The Duke of Orleans presents his compliments to Dr. Kelly, and is very sorry that his note remained so long unanswered. It was his intention to have expressed sooner how much he was flattered by Dr. Kelly's very obliging intimation of the motives for which the Duke of Orleans ought to feel a particular interest for the schoolmasters. The Duke of Orleans has in fact more motives for being attached to that useful and respectable class of men than he believes Dr. Kelly can be aware of; since it is not probable he should know that among the many vicissitudes of fortune which fell to the lot of the Duke of Orleans is to be found that of having been a schoolmaster. It is, however, a matter of fact that, at a time of severe distress and persecution, the Duke of Orleans had the good luck of being admitted as a teacher in a college, where he gave lessons regularly during the space of eight months. The Duke of Orleans hopes, therefore, that the Society for the Relief of Distressed Schoolmasters will permit him to tender his mite as a fellow schoolmaster. *Twickenham, Dec.* 10, 1816."

["Highflyer not to be Sold." Richard Tattersall, ob. 1795, æt. 72.]

CXLVIII.—TATTERSALL'S.

THE regulations which hang over the fire-place in the counting-house at Tattersall's bear the date of 1780. There are few States in Europe whose laws can boast of so respectable an antiquity as the code of this horse-auction establishment. The laws of most Continental Governments have been entirely new cast since that time—France has, during the interval, had its old laws, and its no law, and its new law—and even at home here, where revolution has been best kept at bay, the innovators have been nibbling; sometimes mashing up whole cart-loads of penal statutes, or navigation laws, into one statute, sometimes beating out a simple act of parliament of the olden time into half-a-dozen. Amid all these choppings and changes the little empire of the Horse-mart, at the back of St. George's Hospital, has retained its constitution unaltered.

Such were our musings a few days ago, as with one foot on the fender, enjoying the genial warmth of the fire, we stood perusing the above-named regulations, not that they were new to us, but because we had no better way of whiling away time at the moment. Everything about Tattersall's is in keeping with the stability indicated by the Mede-and-Persian unchangeableness of its laws. There is the simple unpretending finish of English aristocracy about it. There is nothing of the lath and plaster smell about it which characterises newly run-up American hotels and erections on our great railway lines—none of the frippery of a continental mart

for horses. Above all, there is not a suspicion of *slang* about the buildings or any of the persons connected with it. Everything is neat, well-kept, and in good condition, but nothing looks new (except the new subscription room). You feel in a moment that the place and its owners belong to the established institutions of the country—that they date from before the coronets of some titled families. And so it is.

Richard Tattersall, the founder of the family, and of the establishment, died in 1795, at the ripe age of 72. Our information about him is more meagre than we could have wished, for the maker of "Tattersall's" was a remarkable man. He was training-groom to the second and last Duke of Kingston, brother of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, husband to Mrs. Chudleigh, doomed to an equivocal immortality in the letters of Horace Walpole and the State Trials. After the death of the Duke (1773), Tattersall does not appear to have entered into the service of any other employer. Lord Bolingbroke, ex-husband of Lady Diana Spencer (for whom *vide* Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' *passim*), sold Highflyer to Tattersall, in the beginning of 1779, for "two thousand five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain"—a long sum in those days. In the contract of sale (published in 1824 in the thirteenth volume of the second series of the 'Sporting Magazine') Tattersall is described as "Richard Tattersall, of the parish of St. George-in-the-Fields, liberty of Westminster, and county of Middlesex, gentleman;" from which we infer that he had previously opened his auction-mart. A receipt of the same date is appended to the contract of sale, but we have reason to believe that credit was given—a high testimony to Tattersall's integrity. This horse was the foundation of Tattersall's fortune, who commenced a stud-farm, in addition to the auction-room for horses, to which we are now about to introduce our readers.

There is a good picture of Tattersall the First in the possession of his family—or rather two pictures, of which it is not very well ascertained which is the original, and which the copy. It is not a matter of much consequence, but were we to venture on pronouncing an opinion, it would be in favour of the one from which the engraving at the head of this article is taken. Both are clever paintings—both have that something about them which leaves the impression that the portrait is a likeness—but if anything there is a degree of *hardness* in the face of the other, which is entirely absent from that which has been transferred to our pages. It is a characteristic picture. The rotundity of person indicates a man, who, in youth, had been accustomed to violent exercise; the hale, ruddy complexion—the almost juvenile freshness—at his advanced age, speaks of out-of-door habits. It is a thinking face: some call its expression melancholy; upon us it produced more the impression of thoughtful kindness. In the picture which we have (right or wrong) assumed to be the copy, there is introduced (a family tradition says at his own urgent request) below the "stud-book" a small label bearing "Highflyer not to be sold." This attachment to the fine animal by which he had made his fortune is expressed also by giving the name "Highflyer Hall" to a house he built in the Isle of Ely. Take him altogether as he appears in his portrait, Tattersall looks the ideal of a substantial yeoman, or better class farmer of his day.

Though we have been unable to learn any incidents of Tattersall's early

history, his personal appearance, his high character for integrity, and his sterling sense and benevolence, have always led us to fancy him a kind of counterpart to John Watson, training and riding groom to Captain Vernon, in whose service Holcroft, author of the 'Road to Ruin,' spent two years and a half as stable-boy about 1757-60. What we know of John Watson is contained in the commencement of an auto-biographical sketch by Holcroft—the best thing he ever wrote—inserted in his Memoirs, published in 1816. A few extracts will convey a more lively idea than anything else can, of the respectable grooms of that period—the Watsons and Tattersalls:—

"In the very height of my distress I heard that Mr. John Watson, training and riding groom to Captain Vernon, a gentleman of acute notoriety on the turf, and in partnership with the then Lord March, the present Duke of Queensberry, was in want of, but just then found it difficult to procure, a stable-boy. To make this intelligence the more welcome, the general character of John Watson was, that, though he was one of the first grooms in Newmarket, he was remarkable for being good tempered: yet the manner in which he disciplined his boys, though mild, was effectual, and few were in better repute. One consequence of this, however, was, that if any lad was dismissed by John Watson, it was not easy for him to find a place. * * * * It was no difficult matter to meet with John Watson: he was so attentive to stable-hours, that, except on extraordinary occasions, he was always to be found. Being first careful to make myself look as much like a stable-boy as I could, I came at the hour of four (the summer hour for opening the afternoon stables, giving a slight feed of oats, and going out to evening exercise), and ventured to ask if I could see John Watson. The immediate answer was in the affirmative. John Watson came, looked at me with a serious but good-natured countenance, and accosted me first with, 'Well, my lad, what is your business? I suppose I can guess; you want a place?'—'Yes, Sir.' 'Who have you lived with?'—'Mr. Woodcock, in the Forest: one of your boys, Jack Clark, brought me with him from Nottingham.' 'How came you to leave Mr. Woodcock?'—'I had a sad fall from an iron-grey filly that almost killed me.' 'That is bad indeed!—and so you left him?'—'He turned me away, Sir.' 'That is honest: I like your speaking the truth. So you are come from him to me?' At this question I cast my eyes down, and hesitated, then fearfully answered, 'No, Sir! No!' 'What, change masters twice in so short a time?'—'I can't help it, Sir, if I am turned away.' This last answer made him smile. 'Where are you now, then?'—'Mr. Johnstone gave me leave to stay there with the boys a few days.' 'That is a good sign. I suppose you mean little Mr. Johnstone at the other end of the town?'—'Yes, Sir.' 'Well, as you have been so short a time in stables I am not surprised he should turn you away: he would have everybody about him as clever as himself, they must all know their business thoroughly. However, they must learn it somewhere. I will venture to give you a trial, but I must first inquire at my good friends Woodcock and Johnstone. Come to-morrow, at nine, and I'll give you an answer.' * * * * I ought to mention, that though I have spoken of Mr. Johnstone, and may do of more Misters among the grooms, it is only because I have forgotten their christian names: for, to the best of my recollection, when I was at Newmarket, it was the invariable practice to denominate each groom by his christian and surname,

unless any one had any peculiarity to distinguish him. * * * * I know not what appellations are given to grooms at Newmarket, at the present day, but at the time I speak of, if any grooms had been called Misters, my master would certainly have been among the number: and his constant appellation by everybody, except his own boys, who called him John, was simply John Watson."

Another incident or two will complete the picture of John Watson:—"The stables are again open at four, and woe to him who is absent! I never was but once, when unfortunately Captain Vernon himself happened to arrive at Newmarket. I never saw John Watson so angry with me before, or afterwards; though even then, after giving me four or five strokes across the shoulder with an ashen plant, he threw it away in disgust, and exclaimed, as he turned from me, 'Damn the boy! On such a day!'" His last appearance on Holcroft's pages is as follows:—"Having taken my resolution, I had to summon up my courage to give John Watson warning; not that I in the least suspected he would say anything more than very well: but he had been a kind master, had relieved me in my distress, had never imputed faults to me of which I was not guilty, had fairly waited to give my faculties time to show themselves, and had rewarded me with no common degree of praise when accident brought them to light. It was, therefore, painful to leave such a master. With my cap off, and unusual awkwardness in my manner, I went up to him, and he, perceiving I was embarrassed, yet had something to say, began thus—'Well, Tom, what is the matter now?'—'Oh, Sir, nothing much is the matter; only I had just a word to say.' 'Well, well, don't stand about it, let me hear.'—'Nay, Sir, it is a trifle; I only came to tell you I think of going to London.' 'To London?'—'Yes, Sir, if you please.' 'When do you mean to go to London?'—'When my year is up, Sir.' 'To London! What the plague has put that whim in your head?'—'I believe you know my father is in London.' 'Well, what of that?'—'We have written together, so it is resolved on.' 'Have you got a place?'—'I don't want one, Sir. I could not have a better place than I have.' 'And what are you to do?'—'I can't tell that yet; but I think of being a shoemaker.' 'Pshaw, you are a blockhead, and your father is a foolish man.'—'He loves me very dearly, Sir, and I love and honour him.' 'Yes, yes, I believe you are a good boy, but I tell you, you are both doing a very foolish thing. Stay at Newmarket, and I will be bound for it, you will make your fortune.'—'I would rather go back to my father, Sir, if you please.' 'Nay, then, pray take your own way.' So saying, he turned from me with very visible chagrin, at which I felt some surprise; for I did not imagine it would give him the least concern, should any lad in the stables quit his service."

The traits of John Watson, which appear in these extracts from Holcroft's simple narrative, convey a lively notion of the character and appearance of the first-rate grooms of that day, and no one can look at the picture of Richard Tattersall, and recollect that it was his integrity that originally made his establishment at Hyde Park Corner, without feeling convinced that he belonged to the class of John Watsons. There is one very striking feature of their common character—what Holcroft calls the serious look of John, and the thoughtful (or, as many will have it, melancholy) expression of Richard's face. The truth is, that the responsibility of the training-groom is very heavy. The animals intrusted to

his care are of themselves extremely valuable, and, from their high breeding and keeping, delicate and liable to a thousand accidents. The sums of money, too, dependent upon the state of their health, increase the constant anxiety of their keeper. And none but a man who has a keen and ever-wakeful sense of his responsibility can be intrusted with so valuable a charge. He must be a man, too, who has the sense to know that honesty is the best policy; he must value his reputation for integrity as that upon which his existence depends. It requires both sound and deep feeling, it requires sagacity, and the power of self-control, which constitutes force of character, to make a first-rate training-groom—the man to whom a nobleman can confide, in perfect confidence, at once the care of a property valuable, liable to casualties, and a source of pride to the owner. Such a man cannot fail to know his own value, and this knowledge lends a sturdy independence to his character. His good sense teaches him at the same time his subordinate position, and impresses a deferential character on his manners. Constant intercourse with the aristocracy communicates much of their refinement to him, and his native good sense teaches him to adopt precisely those peculiarities which are in keeping with his station. It is a fine character that is formed in such a school—and the veterans of the latter half of the last century were perhaps the finest specimens of it.

But while prattling of old Tattersall and his class, who are favourite heroes of ours, we are keeping our readers waiting too long in the counting-room. If they will have the goodness to step up the length of Grosvenor Place with us we will introduce them in form.

At the south-east angle of St. George's Hospital, there is an unconspicuous arched passage,—down that lies our way. At the bottom of the pretty rapid descent we have before us a tap, designated "The Turf," on the left hand, an open gateway leading into a garden-like enclosure, with a single tree in the centre rising from the middle of a grass-plot, surrounded by a circular path of yellow sand or gravel. Immediately beyond the gateway is a neat small building, with an entry from the passage or court in which we stand, and another from the enclosure just described. This is the subscription-room. The interior is remarkably well-proportioned, lighted, and ventilated: it is from a design by Mr. George Tattersall—the ingenious author of "Sporting Architecture"—a gentleman who combines the hereditary tastes of his family with a high talent for architectural art. The room contains merely a set of desks arranged in an octagonal form in the centre, where bets may be recorded or money paid over. A cartoon of Eclipse is over the fire-place. The low flight of steps at the entry to the grass enclosure is intended and well adapted for a station whence to watch the action of the horses shown off in it.

On our right hand (we are still standing in the passage) is a covered gateway through which we enter into the court-yard. The engraving at the end of this paper conveys a tolerably just notion of its appearance as seen from under the gateway, except that the perspective produces the impression of too extensive a space. The point of view, from which the drawing has been taken, is on the west side of the gateway. At the back of the spectator is the old subscription-room (the new one has only been erected about a year), which deserves a visit for the sake of an excellent and characteristic portrait of Reay, many

years clerk to the establishment. It is one of those faces which one so often meets with among the respectable portion of traders in horse-flesh in his rank in life. What stamps this common expression upon them it were hard to say: perhaps the favourite square massive crop of the hair above the forehead helps. Standing at the door of the old subscription-room, the door of the dwelling-house is on the left hand. In the parlour is that portrait of Richard Tattersall, already mentioned, which has the inscription so honourable to his heart—"Highflyer not to be sold." The other, from which our engraving is taken, is in an apartment upon the first floor, entering from the other side of the gateway. In the parlour, which contains the "not to be sold" portrait, is an excellent likeness (by Stubbs, we believe) of Highflyer himself, with Highflyer Hall in the back-ground. These are historical portraits of value in the annals of the turf. Another picture in the room will come to be equally interesting as a memorial of the past in time—but remote may that time be. We speak of the portrait of the present worthy representative of Richard Tattersall, riding after the Derby stag-hounds.

We return to the court-yard. The counting-house, where we commenced these rambling recollections, is on the opposite side of the gateway from the old subscription-room, and like it facing to the yard. The quiet, gentlemanly character which, at the outset, we attributed to the whole establishment, is here felt in its full force. The air of the place is precisely that of the counting-house in the City of some old "firm," which has weathered the changes of time, passing from father to son since the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is the pride and peculiarity of this country, that we of the middle classes—of the industrial middle classes—have this kind of aristocracy within our order as imposing, though more homely, as the coroneted order itself. The appearance of the clerk of the counting-house at Tattersall's would be quite in place in the Bank of England; and, indeed, the very grooms and stable-boys catch the air of the place, and without being a whit less like their business than others of their class, are entirely free from slang and swagger. The books of the establishment, which appear in a safe in one of the corners, might almost furnish forth a history of the English thorough-bred horse, for the last sixty years, of themselves. The advertisements relative to breeding and sporting matters, and, perhaps, samples of the latest improved patent bridles, suspended against the wall, are the only indications of the kind of business transacted in this counting-house.

But now for the court-yard in good earnest. The domed structure in the centre surmounts a pump. The watering trough has an elegant classical figure, and from its side runs the pump itself—in form, a truncated cone, surmounted by the appropriate emblem of a fox. The bust over the dome is a likeness of George IV., in his eighteenth year, at which period he was a frequent visitor at Tattersall's. Thus well nigh half a century later than the breach between the Prince and Charles Fox, the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of his wild days, is one reminded of their alliance by a juxta-position that forces an involuntary pain upon the beholder.

A covered way runs round three sides of the court-yard. The alley at the further end serves as a kind of *remise* for vehicles of the most miscellaneous description. That which is on our left hand, looking from the gateway, calls for no particular remark; that on the right hand, where our artist has introduced a

horse and one or two human figures, has the counting-house at the one end, and the auctioneer's box—the simple throne of the dynasty of Tattersall—on the other. A door near the end of the side-wall, next the counting-house, admits into a spacious, well-ventilated and lighted stable, where the horses to be disposed of are kept in readiness on the days of auction. An open passage, to which the entry lies between the dwelling-house and the covered way on that side of the court-yard, has ranges of stabling on either side—every stable constructed on the most approved modern principles, every improvement being adopted that experience recommends as conducive to the health of horses. Indeed, the stables at Tattersall's are in some sort for the Houyhnhnm race what the crack hotels of London are for their masters—more comfortable homes than home itself, and the difference there is in favour of the horse—that *he* pays nothing extra for his accommodation.

The reader has now a tolerably correct notion of the arrangement of the premises. If his visit is not on a public day, a stillness reigns throughout the premises, very different from the bustle through the medium of which most casual visitors are accustomed to behold it. A few grooms are standing about. A few buyers may have dropped in, and perhaps the head or managing groom is in the ring—the enclosed grass-plot adjoining the new subscription room—with a light strapper breaking a horse selected from the stalls of the stables set apart for private sales. A small knot of subscribers is gathered on the steps of the room, eyeing the horse, and the intending purchasers, in the intervals of their talk about past and coming matches—the progress of the education of some colt of "high and far descent"—or reminiscences of the two and four-footed heroes of the turf of the olden time. There is a quiet about the place at such times that is almost rural. The imagination, prompted by the sight and smell of stables, wings its way to the country. The quadrangles of Oxford have not an air of more profound repose and isolation.

Very different from this tranquillity is the appearance on public days. The days of sale are Mondays throughout the year, and Thursdays in the height of the season. Monday, however, is always the great day. On Friday the horses come in from the country, on Saturday all the preliminary arrangements are made, and on Monday the sale takes place. There is generally a pretty numerous gathering on the Saturday afternoon—a still larger on Sunday immediately before the hour for resorting to Hyde Park—and on Monday comes the throng or confusion of business. The throng of carriages, cabs, horses, grooms, and tigers, in the vicinity of the arched passage, leading from Grosvenor Place, is immense. About noon the stream of professional and amateur dealers in horse-flesh rolls down the passage like a river in flood—"frae bank to brae," as a Scotchman might express himself. There is a clatter of pewter in the tap, for grooms are thirsty customers, and the beer is good. But the main crowd precipitates itself into the court-yard—their paces hastened on hearing the crack of a whip, or the words "Lot 1 is up." A horse is already running his trot between the auctioneer's box and the counting-house door. Biddings commence—"crack" resounds the whip, urge the spurs, and up he comes well on his haunches, with his nose under the hammer.

But there are days in comparison with which this animated scene is a mere still-

life picture. Let us suppose that the 2000 guinea stakes have been run for, and the winner is up as a favourite for "the Derby." It is a day for re-modelling, or for making "a book." There is flutter and bustle and excitement even in the penetralia of the subscription room, but the hubbub in the court defies description. All are eager—excited—in earnest—even savage. Short and sharp are their exclamations, and in a language which the disciples of Irving might have been excused had they mistaken it for one of the unknown tongues. "Hedging"—"levanting"—"a hundred ponies to one"—and a triple-bob-major rung on all the devil-may-care names of the whole list of horses entered for the Derby. This is the augury of coming events, but what passes when "the struggle is over, the victory won?"—why, in the words of an older and better song, "there's nobody knows"—at least nobody but the initiated. On the awful "settling day" the doors are shut on the *profanum vulgus*, and the betters pay, receive, or make themselves scarce, among themselves. It is quite useless for any one who has not the *entrée* to attempt to catch a notion of what passes. But scandal-mongers do say that a peculiar school of philosophers, great observers of life, may be observed on such days hovering in the neighbourhood—the sheriff's officers for the county of Middlesex.

The attendants, both on show and sale days, are a motley group; for though the owner of the premises is a gentleman, and though it may be charitably hoped that most of his customers deserve the same character, yet a horse-mart, like a court of law, must admit all sorts of company. And, if all tales be true, the comparison between a horse-mart and a court of law runs on all fours, which similes very rarely do. The nucleus of the company at Tattersall's consists of the regular supporters of the establishment—subscribers to the rooms—gentlemen on the turf, and frequenters of Melton Mowbray—parties who frequently have horses to buy or sell—runners of horses, betters on horses, or breeders of horses. Some there are who merely keep a running horse or two, but rarely bet—though it is impossible to withstand at times the desire to nibble; and betting is like tippling—it is easier to be a teetotaller than a rational temperance man. Some merely back and bet on their *friends'* horses: these are of two classes—the men who never had horses, and the men who can keep them no longer. It is among these chiefly that the moss-troopers of the Turf are found—the dwellers in the debateable land between the blackleg and the gentleman. Still they are decidedly on the daylight side of the hedge, though often in sad danger of slipping through its gaps. The owner (or lease-holder) of your stud-farm for thorough-breds comes here too—not that he runs horses, or even bets upon them, but he likes to keep the progeny of his farm in view through life. He takes an almost parental interest in their fortunes. These are the men to whom to apply for information respecting the pedigree and character of horses: they know more of these matters than the men of action on the course, or in the field—partly because it is their interest to know the results of crossings and breedings, and partly on the principle that the bystander sees most of the game. Among the class we are now describing, there is also a sprinkling of what may be called imaginative amateurs of horse-flesh. At the utmost one of this set never owned more at a time than a three-fourths bred pony—what cattle-dealers would call "a shot," not fit for the field, or even for a roadster if the rider is very particular,

and which therefore has lost caste, though it retains enough of the marks of its origin to give it a superior air among hackneys. But though this animal constitutes our friend's whole stud at any given moment, he may be called the proprietor of numerous horses, for he is continually changing his beast. The only pleasure he appears to find in his horse is in buying or selling him. Then he knows all the latest gossip of the subscription-room, though he never bets; and he is continually looking at horses, and giving his opinion of them, which is civilly listened to, but never taken. He reads the Sporting Magazine regularly, has some book of farriery, and the Useful Knowledge Society's book on the horse by heart. In short, he is perfect in the theory of sporting. He is mild and gentlemanly in his manners, and rather a favourite than otherwise; his usual dress is a surtout of some shade of green, approaching in its cut and fit to the "pink" of the hunter, cords, and top-boots.

Next in consequence to these are the trustworthy jockeys and grooms, a set which still retain many of the characteristics of John Watson, but, according to their place in the scale, are marked by various peculiarities. Some of the most mercurial are constantly run away with by strong animal propensities, and it requires strong pulling up from time to time to enable them to avoid losing caste altogether. Nothing could save some of them occasionally but their unrivalled skill in riding, their passionate love for the horse, which renders them incapable of cheating it, though they might have less scruple about its master, and a fund of practical drollery. They are your "chartered libertines," and not a few of them look the character—for sometimes what an artist would call defects in structure are the making of a jockey. A long fork, and scarcely any body, are not the *ideal* of the human form divine, yet they give the man who owns them great advantages on horseback, and he may carry weight naturally in the shape of a hump, or have nose and chin meeting like nutcrackers, and be never the worse rider. We have known in our day not a few of these whom their better qualities kept in employment, while their foibles, continually getting them into scrapes, prevented them from rising. One tiny individual, with bandy legs, we do remember in his old age, sitting by the door of the cottage his master had assigned him, listening to the tuneful cry of the pack he was never again to follow as it died away in the distance; and another scarcely so old—still able to act as huntsman to a pack of harriers, who could never, even when the hare was on foot, pass a tempting bunch of water-cresses without slipping off to pick a salad. Marry! his overnight potations might render some such cooling necessary.

Around these two essential constituent parts of the assembly gather the nondescripts—the casual visitors, some of them pretty frequent in their attendance too. Young guardsmen not on guard—clerical fox-hunters come up to pay their respects to the Bishop and see Tattersall's—the bagman, whose habit of travelling in a gig has necessarily rendered him learned in horses—the butcher, who rode his rounds to his master's customers as apprentice, and thus contracted a taste for cantering—publicans who find Derby Clubs and news of the turf sure baits to draw in customers—staid shopkeepers who go to Epsom once a year, and to Tattersall's occasionally of a Sunday to recal the pleasures of the last trip, or anticipate the glee of the one that is coming—and the concentrated pertness and glib impudence of the tiger world.

Tattersall's gives the tone to the sporting world, and has long done so. The confidence reposed in the integrity of the founder went far to establish it, and its situation helped not a little. At the time when it was first opened, Tattersall's was in a manner in the country. It stood on the townward verge of an open and uninclosed space of ground sloping down to the stream which carries off the superfluous waters of Hyde Park, and now rolls dark and turbid, more a sewer than a rivulet, down by the back of the houses in Sloane Street. It was a lonely place, "the five fields," and where Belgrave and its adjoining squares now stand—celebrated for nightingales and footpads. The visitations of "the minions of the moon" made one feel as far out of town there as at Finchley, Bagshot, or Hounslow. And at the same time it was centrically situated for the gay world. The mansions of the nobility from Piccadilly to St. James's were at an easy distance; a chain of villas stretched out towards Kensington; the region round Grosvenor Square was filling up; and the proximity of the mart almost invited a visit from the idlers in the Parks.

The Prince of Wales was one of the earliest, and, for a considerable time, one of the most regular visitors at Tattersall's. This was enough to stamp it the *ton*. But the name of the proprietor was a still greater attraction to the real earnest admirers of a good horse. From the day that the emporium was opened down to the present, there has not been a single eminent character in the racing and hunting world who has not made this his lounge. And a taste for these sports is so intimately interwoven with the habitual tastes of all classes, that we may say there has scarcely been a man of any note in any line during that time, who has not been found here on some occasion or another. Even gallant Admirals have been attracted hither, and Bishops and Wilberforces have not disdained to look in, in search of good carriage-horses. A strange variety of personages are associated within these walls: let us take a few of the first that offer. First, in virtue of his station, and of his bust over the cupola in the centre of the court, constantly reminding us of him, comes "the first gentleman of Europe." We are here reminded not of the elderly gentleman with shattered nerves and a troublesome wife, who mounted the throne after the hopes of young life had long withered, and hid himself from his subjects ever after, but of the frank, handsome, and fascinating "rascalliest sweetest young Prince," of blooming eighteen. Next rises to our memory Old Q., of equivocal reputation. There are many still alive who remember his appearance at the bow-window of the house in Piccadilly now inhabited by Lord Rosebery. Haggard he was, and feeble, as if a breath of wind could have blown him to pieces like a spider's web; yet the nice tact of Hazlitt selected him to illustrate what he meant by the look of a nobleman. Samuel Whitbread has been at Tattersall's many is the time and oft, that sturdy representative of the cross between the feudal and trading aristocracy of England—that compound of the patriot, theatrical amateur, conventicle-saint, fox-hunter, and brewer of "good ale." Lord Wharncliffe was a frequenter of Tattersall's in his day, the tremendous Rhadamanthus of the Jockey Club—at least so poor Mr. Hawkins, who fell under the ban of that Court of Honour, appears to have felt him. Lord Wharncliffe, as Mr. Stuart Wortley, did good service on one occasion to the country gentlemen. When about the year of grace 1819 Henry Hunt had made the white hat the distinguishing mark of the radical, sore was the dismay among the magnates of quarter-sessions as the dog-

days approached, and not one of them dared indulge in the luxury of a white hat, lest his principles should be suspected. But Mr. Stuart Wortley relieved them by appearing at a county-meeting in a white hat: his politics were above suspicion, and the unsaleable stock of all the hatters in the neighbourhood was disposed of before nightfall.

"What tower has fallen? what star has set?
What chief come these bewailing?"

There has one passed away from among us within these few days—almost without exciting a passing question, whose death would at one time have struck a chill wide through the land. Sir Francis Burdett had disappeared from public life, and become almost forgotten before his death. By accident it was at Tattersall's that we heard the first mention of the event, and a fitter place for receiving such intelligence could scarcely be. Whatever men may think of the wisdom of Sir Francis's public career, his character stands high as a warm-hearted, honourable, and accomplished English gentleman—thoroughly English. Enthusiastically attached to field-sports, he too was a frequenter of Tattersall's, and perhaps he would have been a happier man had he contented himself with dividing his life between them and the social or the studious hour, instead of plunging into the political struggle to which he brought, after all, more ambition than talent. But we must break off, for shadowy figures do so environ us—the Seftons, Osbaldestons, Berkeleys, and what not—that our pages would be overfilled did we pay to each only the passing tribute of a name.

The opening of Tattersall's marks an era in London life. About 1779 it appears to have been opened, and the regulations bear the date of 1780. It was in 1780 that Crabbe first came to London to establish his character as a man of genius, and then to withdraw for a long silent interval into the country, there to mature the works that were to render his name lasting. In 1780, Philip Astley was coming into vogue, exhibiting feats of riding and sleight of hand, and teaching Lord Thurlow's daughters to ride the horses that Tattersall had sold them. In 1783 Samuel Johnson, who has recorded his admiration of his namesake, who was Astley's precursor, and of Astley himself, passed from this scene of struggles. Gilray's earliest caricature that has been preserved is a likeness of Lord North, in 1782. It was a period when old men in literature, in fashion, and in catering to amusement of the gay world were passing away, and new ones hurrying in to supply their place. In none of these departments is the change from things as they were before 1780, and things as they have been since, more marked than among the amateurs of the turf. We have heard the period which has since passed called by many names; but, in so far as London and its gay world are concerned, the age of Tattersall's might be more truly descriptive than most of them.

These retrospects almost supersede the necessity of remarking that the rank which Tattersall's took immediately on its first establishment it has retained to the present day. Almost the only change it has undergone is an extension of the range of business, under the direction of the present proprietor. Edmund Tattersall is the principal—we might almost say the only—dealer whom the princes and nobles of the Continent employ to procure for them the thorough-bred English horses, which are the pride of their studs. The arrangements on Mr. Tattersall's stud-farm at Willesden are among the most perfect of the kind.

We have noted already the death of the first Tattersall: it may not be without interest for our readers if we wind up the history of the establishment with a chronology of the establishment. The auction-mart was originally instituted by Richard Tattersall, in what year is uncertain, but apparently on or before 1779, for in the contract of sale by which he became master of Highflyer, he is described as "Richard Tattersall in the parish of St. George and liberty of Westminster, Middlesex, gentleman." He died on the 20th of February, 1795. He is said by a contemporary to have "died as he lived, as tranquil in his mind, as benevolent in his disposition." It is added that "from his indefatigable industry and the justice of his dealings, he acquired a degree of affluence which was exercised for the general good without ostentation." Richard was succeeded by his only son Edmund I., who walked in his father's footsteps, and maintained the reputation of the establishment. He died on the 23rd of January, 1810, at the age of fifty-two. He was, in turn, succeeded by Edmund II., by whom the connections of the house abroad were first formed, and the foreign trade in thoroughbred horses conducted on a scale of unprecedented extent, which it would have gladdened the heart of the great Sully to contemplate, who, of all the historical characters with whom we are acquainted, appears to have trafficked the most, and most profitably, in horse-flesh, as may be seen in his "sages et royales économies."

We are not writing a history of the Turf, or the Hunting-field, but simply taking a stroll with our readers through the greatest and most respectable horse-mart in England, that is, in the world, and touching as we go upon the associations of the place. We have avoided, as much as possible, the technical language or slang of the stable, and that for two sufficient reasons. The first is, that stable-slang can only be correctly spoken by professional gentlemen: the merest stable-boy could detect our imperfect acquaintance with it at once. But the second is a far more powerful reason: it is that we love and venerate the horse and all the sports and employments in which he and man are yoke-fellows, and that we loathe everything that vulgarises him or them, and slang, of course. Slang we can somewhat more than tolerate in Holcroft's 'Goldfinch,' for there was originality in the character—it was the first of the kind brought upon the stage. We can more than tolerate it in the pages of 'Pierce Egan,' for there is truth and nature in them; and slang is so incorporated with his style, with his very thoughts, that it is, in a manner, natural to him. But everywhere else it is nauseous. The lawyers have got rid of their slang; the conventicle has got rid of its slang; it is high time that the Turf and Hunting-field should get rid of their slang also.

Tattersall's, it has been remarked more than once, has given a tone to the sporting world, and in this respect it has, probably, had a more beneficial effect than the Jockey Club itself. That representative of the power of the organised turf can only deal with overt acts of an ungentlemanly or dishonest character. But Tattersall's—"the glass of fashion and the mould of form"—has set the whole sporting-world to "assume a virtue," even when they have it not. Its influence in this way has been materially promoted by the institution of the subscription-room, which took place at a very early date subsequent to the opening of the mart. For a while at first, the court was the only place of meeting for all parties; but as soon as it became a place of resort for the news of the sporting-world, it was soon found advisable to fall upon some means to keep at a distance

the crowd of questionables. With this view the subscription-room was opened for the accommodation of gentlemen, as the Tap had been opened for the accommodation of their servants. The regulations of the room have not undergone any material alteration since. Its frequenters are, in a manner, the natural aristocracy of Tattersall's, and the lower orders frame their manners "ad exemplar regis," as like those of the subscribers as possible. This has contributed in no small degree to diffuse a recognition of the point of honour (in theory, at least) through all ranks of sporting characters. The influence which has achieved this might effect more; and it is to be wished that the subscription-room at Tattersall's would throw itself with all its weight into the scale of those gentlemen who are exerting themselves so strenuously to purify the provincial race-meetings.

This is the more desirable now that horse-racing is, and ought to continue to be, a passion with all ranks of England. There are three tastes which an Englishman carries with him wherever he goes: he must have his newspaper, he must have his cup of tea, and he must have his race-course. Of the two first-mentioned we have discoursed under the head of newspapers. In proof of the last, it only requires to be stated that Calcutta has its race-course; the capital of Western Australia (Swan River) has its race-course; nay, that Sierra Leone has its race-course. For a people who could indulge in horse-racing in that universal sepulchre, the "white man's grave," it must indeed be a necessary of life.

With the dog we contract friendship—for the horse we have a passion. Both can and do serve us well; but the former is a conversible associate, the other wins our love by its stately elegance. One of the first impulses of boys is to scramble on a horse's back—to ride the cart-horse to the water, if no better may be—or even where a horse is not to be had, to practise the art equestrian on some luckless, bridle-less, and saddle-less donkey grazing on a common. The father's earliest wish for his son is to inoculate him with his own taste for horses. Holcroft's father was a poor shoemaker, yet contrived to gratify his love of horses by keeping one or two for hire. He had a favourite pony which "required all my father's strength and skill to hold it," and yet he was determined that the child should mount it, and accompany him whenever he took a ride. "For this purpose my petticoats were discarded; and as he was fonder of me than even his horses, nay, or of his pony, he had straps made, and I was buckled to the saddle with a leading rein fastened to the muzzle of the pony, which he carefully held. These rides, with the oddity of our equipage and appearance, sometimes exposed us to the ridicule of bantering acquaintances." The wild high-spirited boy contrives by scraping acquaintance with ostlers—by engaging to *hold* horses—by all out-of-the-way shifts to get the handling of horses, and at times leave to mount one. In this way Philip Astley (founder of the amphitheatre that bears his name) commenced his career; and a passage in one of Philip's prefaces (for he was an author as well as a performer and *entrepreneur*) expresses the sentiment which familiarity with the horse awakens, as well among us nurslings of civilised routine, as among the unsophisticated children of the desert. "I am extremely fond of such kind of horses, if good tempered, and well put together, with eyes bright, resolute, and impudent, that will look at an object with a kind of disdain." Could he say more for the saucy tenderness of a mistress? The poor man with us loves horses as dearly as the rich. Some gratify their predilection by seeking service as stable-helps, or in any way that will keep them among horses. Some

enlist for the same purpose in a cavalry regiment. And they who are obliged to seek their livelihood by less congenial pursuits have their inborn tastes annually revived by the races—for what district of England is without its race-course? Ten days or a fortnight before the races the horses begin to drop in—at least this has been the case, though railroads are altering the arrangement—and take their evening and morning exercise on the course. The stately elegance of their forms, their glossy coats and beaming eyes, their elastic gait and powerful action, attract a concourse of spectators. The tiny generation of the new-breeched who see them for the first time, skulk after them to the stables, and are happy if they can catch a peep, see how their body-clothes are managed, how they are curried and brushed, how carefully their beds are prepared, their oats sifted and re-sifted. The novelty of the operations, the furtive glimpse obtained of them, are among the things that make an impression for life. Then there is the evening gossip, in which the grown-up exchange reminiscences of former races, and the young crowd round to hear the names of famous runners, and tales of terrible accidents—the amazing cunning of sharpers, and the wild justice exercised on them by the crowd when detected—the tumult of the crowd, the eager cries of the betters, the difficulty of keeping the course clear, the danger of being too near it, the gaming and drinking in the booths, and the whole variety of delightful commotion. And when the great day comes, the reality exceeds even these high-coloured retrospects and anticipations. The holiday in the free air is itself a delight. The gliding, glancing equipages dashing up to take their station—the curveting and prancing of the high-bred horses beneath their happy riders—the concourse of all possible kinds of hacks, donkeys, coaches, chaises, gigs, and market-carts, with their gay and grinning occupants—the interchange of greetings—the wonder who is who—the throng and the hubbub succeeded by the gathering hush as the bell rings, and sinking into the eager breathless concentration of the multitude's thought and sense on the horses when the start is given, to break out again in a jubilant hurra when the winner comes in, followed by a crossfire of brief hearty ejaculations, angry, joyous, and grieving from winners and losers.

Such scenes keep alive and increase a natural taste to a universal passion; other field-sports give happiness to a select few, but races are our national jubilees. Who that has seen all London jumping out of the windows on the morning of the Derby-Day—or towards evening the thronging groups congregated in the streets to receive the "express" news of victory or loss—but must feel that, though the Porter's man in Henry VIII. was mistaken when he spoke of sleeping on May-day morning as a thing "which will never be," yet there can be no mistake in prophesying that there will be races as well as cakes and ale, and ginger heating the mouth, while Englishmen and England exist. And the people of England, in these days of drudgery, will be all the better of it.

"But then the gambling and immorality." Thank you, most long and sour-visaged sir, for the interruption: it is the very point we wished to touch upon. The gambling—that is the systematic traffic in betting—the "making of books"—is no natural or necessary part of horse-racing. It is not a "national institution," did not come in with William the Conqueror. We can place our finger on the date of its introduction. "One anecdote," says Holcroft, speaking of the year 1761 or 1762, "which John Watson, who was no babbler, told his brother Tom, and which Tom was eager enough to repeat, struck me for its singularity and

grandeur; as it appeared to me, who knew nothing of vast money speculations, and who know little at present. In addition to matches, plates, and other modes of adventure, that of a sweepstakes had come into vogue; and the opportunity it gave to deep calculators to secure themselves from loss, by *hedging* their bets, greatly multiplied the betters, and gave uncommon animation to the sweepstakes made. In one of these Captain Vernon [his master] had entered a colt or filly; and as the prize to be obtained was great, the whole stable was on the alert, it was prophesied that the race would be a severe one; for, though the horses had none of them run before, they were all of the highest breed; that is, their sires and dams were in the first list of fame. As was foreseen, the contest was, indeed, a severe one; for it could not be decided—it was a dead-heat; but our colt was by no means among the first. Yet so adroit was Captain Vernon in hedging his bets, that if one of the two colts that made it a dead-heat had beaten, our master would, on that occasion, have won ten thousand pounds: as it was, he lost nothing, nor would in any case have lost anything. In the language of the turf he stood ten thousand pounds to nothing." This systematic gambling was new in the beginning of the reign of George III. It is an excrescence on racing. It is only another form of gambling—that spirit which can find vent in any way—in swimming sticks on a stream, or drawing straws from a rick. "Book-making" is no more a necessary part of racing than South-Sea Bubbles and Mississippi Schemes are of finance—time-bargains in the funds of honourable commerce—or rouge et noir tables of a modern London club. All these, and book-making among them, are varieties of the pursuits of trading gamesters, a numerous and permanent body in European society. Some respectable men are, and have been, of this class, but taken in the lump, they are a moral nuisance, and it were well if they were "quoited" from society—sent to Coventry *en masse*. They inveigle and corrupt the young and unwary of the upper classes, and the poison of their example contaminates the low. The example of the steady-going "book-making" *gentlemen* corrupts the whole menial circle: nor does the evil stop here. It lends a colour to one of the worst features of pot-house life—the Derby clubs. Taking up on chance the nearest at hand sporting newspaper, we find in its first page no less than fifteen advertisements of these abominations. They emanate from public-houses in all parts of the metropolis—West Smithfield,* High Holborn, the Strand, Pimlico, Hoxton, and the London Road—from Manchester, and from Sheffield. They are illegal lotteries or little-goes—baits set by the cunning publicans (the Duke Hildebrands of modern Alsatias) to catch tippling gulls—traps for the unfledged apprentice and journeyman—the desolation of many a tidy fireside. Why are these filthy and sottish gambling-houses overlooked more than the hells of Regent Street?

But the root of these evils—the corruption of domestics, the conversion of our mechanics into thieves—is in the book-making system which has been engrafted upon horse-racing. This can be put down. Gambling at the clubs and in private houses has, since the days of Charles James Fox, been restricted within comparatively narrow limits: the same may be done, by a resolute effort, with gambling on the turf. Most praiseworthy—and, to an extent which in so

* A house in West Smithfield announces—"A *juvenile* Derby sweep at 10*s*. 6*d*. each." We recommend it to the attention of the police.

short a period could scarcely have been looked for, most successful—efforts are making to purify our provincial race-courses: the attempt should be extended to the whole sporting world of England. And it is in the metropolis that the beginning must be made. The Jockey Club can do little or nothing: it has allowed itself to become the Court of Law in which the "book-makers" carry on their litigation. But the subscription-room at Tattersall's is frequented by the *élite* of the amateurs of the turf: it sets the fashion. If its members were to pass a resolution, and enforce it, that no systematic gambling was to be allowed among them—that the book-makers were to be told to betake themselves to Crockford's and Jonathan's, the proper resorts of gentlemen of their profession—the example would in no long time spread, through the medium of the motley squad which throngs the auction-mart to catch a glimpse of the subscribers and learn to imitate their deportment. Racing would become the pursuit of admirers of the horse exclusively—for the gambler cares not for the horse more than for his dice, or scrip and omnium. There is enough of pleasurable employment—of excitement—in the breeding or acquisition and training of fine horses, and the uncertain contests of the course, without the spice of gambling. The patrons of the turf can keep it, what it has always been, a source of pleasure to themselves, a means of improving the national breeds of horses for all purposes, an annual festival to the whole people of England, and prevent it from continuing what it has been allowed in too great a measure to become, a source of demoralisation to thousands. If they by their example will but diffuse a healthy distaste for gambling through the bulk of sportsmen, the police will deal with the flash Derby-houses: but so long as they allow undetected blacklegs—trading book-makers—buyers and sellers of chances—to associate with and be in common estimation confounded with themselves, there is no possibility of checking the mischief.

[Court Yard, Tattersall's.]

[Royal Institution, Albemarle Street.]

CXLIX.—LEARNED SOCIETIES.

WHEN the character of the present era shall be judged by that calmest and most unerring of tribunals—posterity, there can be little doubt that one especial glory will be assigned to it, enhancing all its other merits, and doing much toward extenuating all its faults; it will be said that then, for the first time in this country, was it practically acknowledged that science, art and literature were no mere appanages of a class, but the common birthright of all; that their mission was not to solace a student's lonely hours, or to sharpen the dulled edge of a rich or a great man's satiety, but, in a word, to make life universally wiser, happier, nobler, more worthy of Him in whose image we are made, and for which lofty object alone religion, philosophy, and common sense, alike teach us such mighty agencies must have been bestowed. The nineteenth century will probably have much to answer for, but if some such epitaph as this may be inscribed upon its tomb, all else will be ultimately forgiven and forgotten. To mark the progress of the mighty revolution thus accomplished were indeed a task of the highest interest, and one for which there were no need to depart from the path marked out by our present subject. We see, for instance, at first

the several streams of knowledge flowing calmly along to one common receptacle —the Royal Society, which, up to the latter half of the last century, may be said to have confined within the circle of its own little but distinguished knot of members a monopoly of the cultivation of learning in England; the only noticeable exceptions being the study of antiquities, which was left to the Society of Antiquaries, and the study of medicine, anatomy, and surgery, which naturally belonged to the College of Physicians, but which was at the same time included among the multifarious and discursive researches of the Royal Society. Then as those streams grow wider and deeper, we see them shaping out new channels and reservoirs; one forming to itself a Society of Arts, another a Royal Academy, a third a Linnæan Society. And thus matters remain up to the close of the century. But within the next forty years the movement progresses with a vastly accelerated pace, and mighty are the changes consequently exhibited. The waters of knowledge, increased and increasing from all quarters, overflow and roll along in directions scarcely less numerous. The Royal Society may now confine itself to matters of science alone, but not the less is it found necessary to let every department of science have its own independent band of disciples: hence the societies—Astronomical, Geographical, and Geological; Zoological, Ornithological, and Entomological; Botanical, Horticultural, and Agricultural; Engineering, Mathematical, and Statistical; Legal and Philological. Next surgery, we perceive, must have its College as well as physic; and when that is obtained, both departments of the healing art demand in addition their Harveian, and Hunterian, their Medical, and Medico-Botanical, and Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies. The Society of Arts finds a helpmate in the Royal Institution. The Royal Academy branches off into various artistical bodies, whilst architecture establishes its own independence in the Architectural Society and in the Royal Institute. Then again, if we may look upon the Antiquarian Society as the oldest literary body, we may compliment it upon an extensive list of successors, of varying degrees of power and usefulness, from the Royal Society of Literature down to the Parker Society for printing the works of the early fathers of the Church, from the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge down to the bodies which rejoice in the prenomen of the Percy, the Camden, the Granger, or the Shakspere. Lastly, clustering round these bodies, and drawing nourishment from them, we find a whole host of societies whose business it is rather to diffuse acquired than to seek new information: such are our London and Russell Institutions for the higher and middling classes of society, our Mechanics' Institutes for the middling and lower; of which last species, since the establishment of the chief one by the excellent Dr. Birkbeck, the growth has been so rapid, that scarcely a metropolitan parish or district of any size is now without its "literary and scientific" institution.

The history of the first of these bodies that we select for separate notice, the Royal Society of Literature, is at once painful and interesting. It originated in a conversation between Dr. Burgess, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and an eminent person of the household of George IV., which took place in 1820, and when it was agreed that among the numerous existing societies one seemed to be wanting for the encouragement of general literature. The substance of this conversation soon reached the King, and his conduct on the matter forms one of

the most honourable features of his life. Bishop Burgess was summoned to the royal presence, and received full powers to make the necessary arrangements for the formation of a society of the kind desired. The first part of the plan that was determined upon, and made public, was the offer of prizes; namely, of a King's premium of one hundred guineas for the best paper on the Age, Writings, and Genius of Homer; of a Society's premium of fifty guineas for the best poem on Dartmoor; and of another Society's premium of twenty-five guineas for the best paper on the History of the Ancient and Modern Languages of Greece. We need only mention the result of the poem-premium: five compositions were sent in, and referred to a sub-committee of seven members, who, at a meeting in the British Museum, adjudged the prize to the poem with the motto "Come, bright Improvement," which was then found to be the production of Felicia Hemans. Many difficulties still attended the permanent settlement of the Society, though friends of the highest rank and influence were numerous. At last, on the 2nd of June, 1823, the promoters were repaid for three years of struggle and doubt by the royal sign-manual being affixed to the constitution and regulations. Subsequently a royal charter was granted, which stated so clearly and simply (most unusual charter-characteristics) the views of the Society that we cannot do better than transcribe the passage. Its object, it appears, is the advancement of literature "by the publication of inedited remains of ancient literature, and of such works as may be of great intrinsic value, but not of that popular character which usually claims the attention of publishers; by the promotion of discoveries in literature; by endeavouring to fix the standard as far as practicable, and to preserve the purity of the English language, by the critical improvement of English lexicography; by the reading at public meetings of interesting papers on history, philosophy, poetry, philology, and the arts, and the publication of such of those papers as shall be approved of; by the assigning of honorary rewards to works of great literary merit, and to important discoveries in literature; and by establishing a correspondence with learned men in foreign countries, for the purposes of literary inquiry and information." This was indeed a goodly programme to put forth to the world, and George IV. showed that he was in earnest when he stamped it with his approval. He placed at the disposal of the Society a sum of 1100 guineas yearly, to be bestowed on ten Associates of the Society for life, each receiving a hundred guineas per annum, and the remaining hundred to be expended in the purchase of two gold medals to be bestowed yearly on persons whose literary merits the Society might consider the most deserving of honour. The choice of persons both for the pension and the medal was a task of serious and delicate responsibility; but it appears to have been performed with justice and discrimination. Among the recipients of the medals have been Mitford, the historian of Greece, Dugald Stewart, Southey, Scott, Crabbe, Archdeacon Coxe, Roscoe, Hallam, and Washington Irving. The ten Associates selected to enjoy the premium of one hundred guineas a-year for life were Coleridge, the Rev. J. Davies, author of 'Celtic Antiquities;' Dr. Jameson, the Scottish lexicographer; T. J. Mathias, author of 'The Pursuits of Literature;' the Rev. J. R. Malthus, the well-known founder of the population theory; Mr. Millengen, of classic fame; Sir William Ouseley, the Persian traveller; Roscoe; the Rev. H. J. Todd, the editor of

the well-known 'Todd's Johnson's Dictionary;' and Sharon Turner. And now comes the painful part of the story. There was certainly no obligation on the future royalty of England to continue the munificent support voluntarily tendered by George IV., but, under all the circumstances, most persons must have considered such support would be continued; and certainly no one could suppose that it would be stopped in the life-times of any of the Associates. But so it was. On the death of George IV. the whole of the pensions ceased. "King William, on his accession, had too many and urgent claims upon his privy purse to continue the grant; and during the present reign, so friendly to literature and the arts, it has not been recommended, nor has it occurred to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to follow, in this way, the illustrious example of the founder, whose 'earnest' endeavour to patronise the literature of England, and conciliate foreign sympathy for pursuits confined to no country, thus, as far as the throne was concerned, concluded with him."* It is to Lord Melbourne's honour that, some years later, he caused the pensions to be indirectly resumed, in connection with the ordinary state pension-list: but, of course, only so far as concerned the existing, not future Associates. In other respects the society enjoys a steadily increasing prosperity. George IV. made them a present of a piece of land opposite St. Martin's Church, and the members voluntarily subscribed 4300*l.* to build a house on it. The ordinary funds have been increased by a legacy of 5000*l.* bequeathed by Dr. Richards. A valuable library has been formed; three quarto volumes of papers read at the meetings have been published; and at the present moment the society has in progress a work of great magnitude, 'The Biography of the Literary Characters of Great Britain,' arranged in chronological order.

It is curious that at the present moment the most important of the works published by the other great and still more useful literary society, that for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, should also be a work of general biography, but not confined to our own country, nor arranged in the same manner. In this, which is intended to rival, if not to surpass, the great Biographical Dictionaries of the Continent, all the important lives are of course on a large scale; but the very universality of the work must still render it unable to discuss at such length as Englishmen must occasionally require the memoirs of Englishmen, consequently the two works may with propriety range side by side on the same shelves. Of the other important and admirable works of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, its Almanacks, its Maps, its Libraries of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, its Penny Magazines, and Penny Cyclopædias, all are too well known to require any lengthened comment upon them here. The success of these publications forms an epoch in the history of literature. The society has proved that high excellence and great expenditure in production may proceed simultaneously with an exceedingly low charge on distribution; and the effects of its success on the trade of bookselling generally, and consequently on the state of English literature, have been of the most important character. The founder of the society was Mr., now Lord, Brougham, who called the first meeting in 1826. The charter was not obtained till 1832. At first the society was supported by the subscriptions of its members; but these were gradually discontinued, as some

* Edinburgh Review; Royal Society of Literature, Oct. 1843.

of the publications became profitable, and afforded means for the preparation of others which were not.

Let us now without ceremony pay an Asmodeus-like visit to two or three of the other societies we have named, stopping with each just so long as we see fit, or think their doings of any interest to us. Here is the Linnæan in Soho Square, held in the house bequeathed to it by Sir Joseph Banks, and in which Sir Joseph himself resided. The society was formed in 1788 by Sir J. E. Smith, and incorporated in 1802, with the object of studying natural history, and more particularly that branch of it for which the great Swede from whom it derives its name was so celebrated. But the society does not possess the name only of Linnæus, but his library and herbarium also, purchased by Sir James Smith, for 1000*l*. The herbarium occupies three small cases, and is as valuable for the determination by its means of the synonyms of the writings of the philosopher, as it is interesting from being the personal relic that was of all other relics of him the most desirable to be preserved. But what are the members doing? Admitting new members, or Fellows, as they are called. This over, the essential business of the evening commences. A flying fish is presented by one member. Another reads a letter giving an account of a flight of locusts recently witnessed in India, that literally darkened the air, and which, though moving at the rate of four miles an hour, took a party travelling in an opposite direction two or three hours to pass through. A paper follows on the echinidæ (sea-eggs, or sea-urchins, as our unphilosophical fishermen call them) of the Ægean Sea, one of which, we learn, delights in waters of some 70 fathoms deep, and climbs up the corals by means of its spines alone. But enough of the Linnæan; let us see what they are doing at the Royal Astronomical Society. Nothing, apparently, of great interest this evening, so let us mention a noticeable anecdote connected with it, and pass on to the Royal Geographical. To ensure accuracy in the calculation of some important astronomical tables, separate computers were employed; and when they had performed their task, two members were chosen to compare the results, when so many errors were detected, that one of the examiners expressed his regret that the labour could not be executed by a machine. The other replied that it *was* possible. The speaker was Mr. Babbage, who, setting to work to develope the idea thus suggested, at last produced one of the most remarkable of scientific wonders, the Calculating Machine.

The evening's business of the Royal Geographical Society is of considerable interest, relating chiefly to that land of romance and terror to all travellers, Africa. During some recent explorations on the north-east coast of Africa, a new and important river has been discovered, rising near the foot of the southern slope of the great Abyssinian plateau, and winding through a country of the richest soil, "well cultivated by a *happy* and hospitable race," where grain ripens all the year, and yields from 80 to 150 fold. Well done, gentlemen travellers! go on, you will no doubt be able to find us the veritable Happy Valley of Rasselas itself, before long! A portion of a letter is also read, to which recent circumstances give still higher value; it comes from Macao, and gives an account of Hong Kong, that new lodgment of the British, from whence our merchants begin to look upon the vast Chinese empire before them, newly opening to their industry

and enterprise, with something like the feeling of the followers of Cortez as expressed in Keats' sonnet, when they—

> "Look'd at each other with a wild surmise,
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

The history of the Royal Geographical Society is of a noticeable character, as may be readily supposed when we state that such expeditions as Captain Alexander's to the Cape of Good Hope, M. Schomburgk's to British Guiana, and Captain Back's to the Arctic Regions, were all sent out by the Society. Then, again, the facilities which our naval officers have of procuring information in all parts of the world, and who are of course happy to communicate it to such a Society, and the number of enterprising and intelligent travellers, who also make it the recipient of their experience by sea and land, combine to render its publications of the highest character for originality and value. The annual contribution of members is but trifling, considering the amount of good effected; each pays two pounds. Leaving the investigations of the Geographers, with the entire surface of the world before them, for examination and discovery, suppose we now step into the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, and hear one of the greatest chemists of the present day, concentrate genius and the learning of a life-time, upon no larger a portion of that world than he can hold in his own hands. That is all he wants to explain and illustrate the new views he is promulgating, "touching electric conduction and the nature of matter," and which lead him to the conclusion that matter consists of centres of fires, around which the forces are grouped; that particles do touch, and that the forces round those centres are melted; that wherever this power extends, there matter is; that wherever the atmospheres of force coalesce, there the matter becomes continuous; lastly, that particles can penetrate each other. Not only in this discourse by Mr. Faraday, but in others announced after its conclusion, by such men as Professors Brande, Owen, and others, we perceive that the Royal Institution desires to keep up the chemical reputation which was raised to so high a pitch by Sir Humphry Davy's exertions in its laboratory. A large portion of that philosopher's history may be called also the history of the Institution, so intimately have they been connected. In 1799 Southey, in a letter to William Taylor of Norwich, thus writes of Davy, whom he had previously praised for his poetry:—"Davy is a surprising young man, and one who, by his unassumingness, his open warmth of character, and his all-promising talents, soon conciliates our affections. He writes me that two paralytic patients have been cured by the gaseous oxyd of azote—the beatific gas, for discovering which, if he had lived in the time of the old Persian kings, he would have received the reward proposed for the inventing a new pleasure." It was in 1801 that Davy came to London at the request of Count Rumford, who had just founded the Institution, and who offered him the appointment of assistant lecturer on chemistry, which was ultimately to be exchanged for that of the sole professorship of chemistry, "with an income," says Davy in one of his letters, "of at least 500*l.* a-year." His principal motive in coming to London was, it is stated, the ampler scope that would be afforded to him in the laboratory of the New Institution, where all the apparatus was to be at his sole and uncontrolled use for private experiments. And seldom has apparatus been kept in more active operation than Davy kept it from

the time of his arrival in London, seldom has laboratory been made memorable by more truly valuable discoveries, than that of the Royal Institution by him. He might well love that laboratory as he did: he might well make it his real home. His brother and biographer has given us a view of the place and of the master spirit's movements in it, which we are tempted to extract:—"The room was spacious, well ventilated, well lighted from above, and well supplied with water. It was divided into two compartments, nearly of equal dimensions; one the laboratory proper, the other provided with rows of seats to be used as a theatre for the accommodation of the students of practical chemistry. The apparatus most conspicuous, and most in use, were a sand-bath for chemical purposes, and for heating the room; a powerful blast-furnace; a moveable iron forge, with a double bellows; a blow-pipe apparatus, attached to a table, with double bellows underneath; a large mercurial trough, and two or three water pneumatic troughs, and various galvanic troughs; not to mention gasometers, filtering stands, and the common necessaries of a laboratory of glass or earthenware, &c.; and not to mention the delicate instruments liable to be injured by acid fumes which were commonly kept in another room, as air-pumps, balances, &c. In brief, in regard to its equipment and appearance, it was altogether a working laboratory, designed for research; there was no finery in it, or fitting up for display; nothing to attract vulgar admiration, no arrangement of apparatus in orderly disposition for lectures, and scarcely any apparatus solely intended for this purpose. It was, indeed, an almost constant scene of laborious research; and the preparation for the weekly lecture, or lectures, was considered not the most important matter, but rather as an interruption to the ordinary course of experimental investigation. In the laboratory, where my brother spent a great portion of every day that he was in town, and at leisure, he was unremittingly engaged in original experiments; and even in his absence the operations were not suspended; they were continued by his assistants, according to the directions which he had given; and, when he returned, he finished the experiments, and examined the results. Nothing was left to memory; an entry was made in a large book, kept for the purpose, of all that had occurred, written either by himself or by an assistant from his dictation; not, indeed, in minute detail, for that would have occupied too much time, but briefly, for aiding the memory, and minutely only in regard to weight and measure, and what was most important and characteristic. In his inquiries there never was any mystery or concealment, but the most perfect openness. The register of experiments was left open; he received his friends in the laboratory, and conversed with them on the objects of inquiry in progress; and however intensely engaged he was always accessible. I can never forget his manner when occupied in his favourite pursuit; his zeal mounted to enthusiasm, which he more or less imparted to those around him. With cheerful voice and countenance, and a hand as ready to manipulate as his mind was quick to contrive, he was indefatigable in his exertions. *He was delighted with success, but not discouraged by failure;* and he bore failures and accidents in experiments with a patience and forbearance, even when owing to the awkwardness of assistants, which could hardly have been expected from a person of his ardent temperament. And his boldness in experimenting was very remarkable: in the operations of the laboratory danger was very much forgotten, and exposure to danger

was an every-day occurrence. Considering the risks run, and the few, if any, precautions taken against accidents, it is surprising how small a number of injuries were received. The only two serious wounds I recollect he sustained, were in the hand and eye; the one from receiving on his hand a quantity of melted potash; the other from the explosion of a detonating compound. Had his constitution been bad, the use of both hand and eye would probably have been impaired; indeed, the eye ever after retained the mark of the wound inflicted on the transparent cornea, and never perfectly recovered its strength."*

Davy gave his first lecture in the Institution in the year 1801, the subject being that which from a very early period had most deeply interested him—galvanism; and in connection with which some of his greatest future triumphs were to be achieved. Sir Joseph Banks, Count Rumford, and other distinguished men were present, and highly pleased with the new lecturer. Dr. Paris speaks of his uncouth appearance; whilst, on the other hand, the ladies, it appears, remarked that his "eyes were made for something besides poring over crucibles." In 1807 he announced that discovery in the Institution of which Dr. Paris says, "Since the account given by Newton of his first discoveries in optics, it may be questioned whether so happy and successful an instance of philosophical induction has ever been afforded as that by which Davy discovered the composition of the fixed alkalis," through the power of decomposing them by galvanism.

[Sir Humphry Davy.]

But to some the history of the Royal Institution presents a feature of greater attraction even than Davy's connection with it. It was within its walls that Coleridge delivered his famous lectures on poetry, and among many other important services rendered to the art and faculty divine, through their medium promulgated those views on Shakspere which have since spread far and wide, and entitle one to hope the great bard will be at last esteemed as *justly* in his own as in foreign countries. From what we have written, the objects of the Royal Institution will be tolerably apparent; in official language, they are "to diffuse the knowledge and facilitate the introduction of useful inventions and improvements; and to

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 256.

teach, by courses of lectures and experiments, the application of science to the common purposes of life." The Institution possesses quite a staff of professors; two of the professorships have been endowed by the munificence of a single individual, and are called by his name, Fullerian. Besides the laboratory, there is a museum and a noble library. Members are admitted by ballot and on payment of an entrance-fee of six guineas, and five guineas yearly.

From the Royal Institution, where Davy fulfilled so long and so honourably the post of Chemical Professor, to the Royal Society, of which he became the President, the thoughts pass by a natural transition. And now, like the traveller who has ascended to the source of some magnificent river, along the banks of which, far away on either side, he has seen the evidences of the fertility that those waters have done so much to create, we rest content, and look upon our literary, as he upon his actual, journey as essentially finished, and resign ourselves to the reflections naturally suggested by such a position. In glancing over the history of the Royal Society, it is this consideration of its relative situation as regards all the other learned bodies of the Metropolis that even more than the intrinsic value of that history, great as it is, makes, and must ever make it most deeply interesting. Boyle, in a letter of the date of 1646, speaks of the Invisible or Philosophical Society, and there can be little doubt but he refers to the meetings from which the Royal Society sprang, and which, being held in all sorts of places, now at the lodgings of one of the members, now at the Gresham College, and now somewhere in the neighbourhood of the latter, were practically *invisible* enough to all but the initiated. Among these members were Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, the author of a 'Discovery of a New World' in the Moon, and of suggestions as to the best way of getting to it; Dr. Wallis, the eminent mathematician; and Dr. Goddard, a physician in Wood Street; all of whom during the Commonwealth obtained appointments at Oxford, and there formed a similar society. In 1659 most of the members of the two societies found themselves met together once more in London, and then, joining with the two Gresham professors of astronomy and geometry, Christopher Wren and Rooke, who were at that time delivering lectures in the college, and with several persons of distinction, the whole met after the lectures in an adjoining room for philosophical conversation. And so matters went on very pleasantly till the resignation of the Protectorship by Richard Cromwell, when the apartments occupied for scientific purposes were converted into quarters for soldiers, and the members of the society for a time dispersed. On the Restoration, however, they met again, and began to form themselves into a regular society. An address was presented to the king, who gave it a very flattering and promising reception; and, two years later, something better still, namely, a charter of incorporation under the name of the Royal Society, also granting the usual privileges of holding lands and tenements, suing and defending in courts of law, having a coat of arms and a common seal. The noble spirit in which the Society commenced operations is attested by the resolutions drawn up at the time, in which it was "agreed that records should be made of all the works of nature and art of which any account could be obtained; so that the present age and posterity might be able to mark the errors which have been strengthened by long prescription, to

[Seal of the Royal Society.]

restore truths which have been long neglected, and to extend the uses of those already known; thus making the way easier to those which were yet unknown. It was also resolved to admit men of different religions, professions, and nations, in order that the knowledge of nature might be freed from the prejudices of sects, and from a bias in favour of any particular branch of learning, and that all mankind might as much as possible be engaged in the pursuit of philosophy, which it was proposed to reform not by laws and ceremonies, but by practice and example. It was further resolved that the Society should not be a school where some might teach and others be taught, but rather a sort of laboratory where all persons might operate independently of one another."* We have already seen what an immense amount of good, direct and indirect, has flowed from the Royal Society; we may now see in this brief outline of its original views that such admirable results have been but the natural consequences of admirable principles. The combined objects and effects of all the learned societies of the present day could hardly be more accurately described than they are in this important document dated nearly two centuries back. And it was no mere flourish of the pen, but a genuine preparation for downright hard labour. The world of knowledge was before the members to choose what paths they would, and with characteristic ardour they chose all, or something very like all; but that was in consequence of the universality of their minds, not through conceit, or presumption; and they went to work with a full consciousness of what would be demanded from them. They divided themselves into committees. In March, 1644, we find no less than eight of these in operation; one to consider and improve all mechanical inventions, a second to study astronomy and optics, a third to study anatomy, a fourth chemistry, a fifth geology, a sixth the histories of trade, a seventh, to collect all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed, and all experiments made and recorded; an eighth, to manage the correspondence; whilst

* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Royal Society.

later in the year we find a ninth constituted, it having been "suggested that there were several persons of the society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes;" which can hardly be questioned when we know that among the members of the society were such men as John Dryden and Edmund Waller, both of whom, with Evelyn and Sprat, were included in the committee then voted. Among the other members of the society at the same time were Dr. Ent, the friend and defender of Harvey; Boyle, the great cultivator of experimental science; Sir Kenelm Digby; the poets Denham and Cowley; Ashmole, Aubrey, Isaac Barrow, Hooke, the distinguished chemist and mechanician, who professed to have anticipated Newton, a somewhat later member of the society, in his grandest discoveries; Spratt, another poet in his way, afterwards Bishop of Rochester; and many others of scarcely less distinction. It is pleasant to have even the driest description of the meetings of such men; and such is afforded to us by an eye-witness, Sorbière, historiographer to Louis XIII., who came to England in 1633, was elected a member of the society, and published a narrative of his adventures, including a tolerably full account of the body he had joined. He notices first the beadle, "who goes before the president with a mace, which he lays down on the table when the society have taken their places." This mace, still in the society's possession, was the gift of Charles II.; it was *the* mace referred to by Cromwell, when he turned the Commons out of the house of Parliament, and bade his soldiers "Take away that bauble." "The room," continues Sorbière, "where the society meets is large and wainscotted; there is a large table before the chimney, with seven or eight chairs covered with green cloth about it, and two rows of wooden and matted benches to lean on, the first being higher than the others, in form like an amphitheatre. The president and council are elective; they mind no precedency in the society, but the president sits at the middle of the table in an elbow-chair, with his back to the chimney. The secretary sits at the end of the table on his left hand; and they have each of them pen, ink, and paper before them. I saw nobody sit in the chairs; I think they are reserved for persons of great quality, or those who have occasion to draw near the president. All the other members take their places as they think fit, and without ceremony; and if any one comes in after the society is fixed, nobody stirs, but he takes a place presently where he can find it, so that no interruption may be given to him that speaks. The president has a little wooden mace in his hand, with which he strikes the table when he would command silence; they address their discourse to him bare-headed till he makes a sign for them to put on their hats; and there is a relation given in a few words of what is thought proper to be said concerning the experiments proposed by the secretary. There is nobody here eager to speak, that makes a long harangue, or intent upon saying all he knows; he is never interrupted that speaks, and differences of opinion cause no manner of resentment, nor as much as a disobliging way of speech; there is nothing seemed to me to be more civil, respectful, and better managed than this meeting; and if there are any private discourses held between any while a member is speaking, they only whisper, and the least sign from the president causes a sudden stop, though they have not told their mind out. I took

special notice of this conduct in a body consisting of so many persons, and of such different nations." And it was worthy of notice, as showing how truly the many remarkable men congregated upon those "wooden and matted benches" had imbibed the calm philosophical spirit in which alone truth can be successfully sought. At the same time one must acknowledge that some of the occupations of this august assembly must excite a smile. Boyle was at one time requested to examine the truth of the notion, that a fish suspended by a thread would turn towards the wind. At another the members of the Society tested by direct experiment the truth of the opinion that a spider could not get out of a sphere enclosed within a circle formed of a powdered unicorn's horn! We should like to have marked the progress of that experiment, carried on, as we may be sure it was, with all the usual formalities and decorum so circumstantially described by Sorbière. As a contrast to this picture suppose we look in upon the Society now. Let us step in here beneath Sir William Chambers's sumptuous archway at Somerset House, and passing through a door on the left, ascend the circular staircase to the apartments of which it enjoys the use through the liberality of the crown. We must not expect to find the vigour that characterised its youth. It was no doubt a consciousness

Royal Society's Apartments, Somerset House.

of some little fallings-off that first prompted Davy, when he became its president, to propose his magnificent scheme of making the Royal Society "an efficient establishment for all the great purposes of science, similar to the college contemplated by Lord Bacon, and sketched in his 'New Atlantis;' having subordinate to it the Royal Observatory at Greenwich for astronomy, the British Museum for natural history in its most extensive acceptation, and a laboratory founded for chemical investigation, amply provided with all the means requisite for original inquiry, and extending the boundaries and the resources of this most important national science." But government was lukewarm, and before Davy could collect funds from the fellows to carry out the scheme in part at least among themselves, he died. Well, if there be, as we have observed, less of the original activity of the Society exhibited now than of yore, we have at all events got rid of the fish-weathercocks and the circle-charmed spiders: but stay; the business of the evening commences, and we shall hear what subjects do now engage attention. A most interesting paper in the form of a letter is read, on that matter which has so often, and hitherto so fruitlessly, engaged attention—the luminous spots occasionally visible on the sea. Captain F. E. Wilmot, it seems, on a recent voyage home from the Cape, observed one of them during a night in spring, when the sea was covered with so brilliant a surface of silver light, that the persons in the ship could see to read, and the shadows of ropes were clearly marked. The ship sailed through it for four hours. Determined to find out at last what these oceanic illuminations meant, whether they belonged to philosophy as but so many animalcula, or to romance as some gala exhibition of the mermaids and mermen of the depths below, they secured a bottle full of the water, which was carefully corked, and brought to England. On examining the water, Mr. Faraday found that though considerable change had taken place in it, so that organic forms could no longer be recognised, there was no doubt that it had been rich in animals or animalcula. But we need not follow farther the proceedings of the evening, which of course depend much upon accident for their value; and will, therefore, instead, notice one of the more important of the matters in which the Society has of late been actively engaged. The recent antarctic expedition under Captain James Ross was undertaken by the Government in consequence, chiefly, of its recommendation. Before the departure of the vessels the Council of the Society formed itself into five distinct committees, consisting of members practically conversant with the sciences in question, in order to draw up an elaborately detailed statement of the inquiries which it was most desirable that the expedition should undertake, so far at least as circumstances permitted; and which embraced the determinations of points of the highest importance in physics, meteorology, mineralogy, geology, botany, and zoology. The results of that expedition formed one of the most gratifying topics of the President's address at the anniversary meeting in November last, when it was stated to have achieved "almost entire success;" and that the "magnetic observations made by Captain Ross and his officers, with so much assiduity and ability, will be the enduring monument of their fame as long as industry and science are held in honour by mankind. The magnetic maps of the South polar regions will be a result which all philosophers must hail with delight, while the

geographer will rejoice in the advancement of our knowledge so far to the southward of all former navigation, and in our acquaintance with a new polar volcano, compared to which Hecla sinks into insignificance." It is at once pleasant and pertinent to be able to add that science on this occasion, whilst requiring so much from the discoverers, did almost everything that was most important for them during their labours, as regards health, comfort, and safety. So admirable were the preparations for the voyage that, during the three years of its duration, but one man of the crews of both ships suffered from disease and died.

At the yearly anniversary to which we have referred, gold medals are conferred upon the authors of the best papers on experimental philosophy, written in the preceding twelve months, and who are often personally present to receive them from the hands of the President, with some suitable remarks on the occasion made in the course of his general address. One honourable feature characterises the grant of these medals—they are conferred indifferently on foreigners and Englishmen. At the last anniversary, for instance, M. Jean B. Dumas received one for his Researches in Organic Chemistry. In former years we find still more distinguished foreign names, such as MM. Biot and Arago. Among the Englishmen who have received this honour at the hands of the Society may be mentioned Dr. Priestley, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Ivory, and Sir John Herschel. But of all the meetings connected with the Royal Society, those of which the public hear the least are by far the most attractive; we allude to those private re-unions of the members for social enjoyment and conversation. During the presidency of Sir Joseph Banks these were of a very brilliant description; and while Sir Humphry Davy resided in Lower Grosvenor Street they were continued with no less spirit under his. His brother gives a graphic account of them. Here were "brought together," he says, "not merely men of science, but also literary men, poets, artists, country gentlemen; and they were very attractive to foreigners. The subjects of interest of the day were there discussed, and curious information obtained from the best source, and knowledge exchanged between individuals, as in a great mart of traffic, each giving and receiving according to his acquirements and wants. There the physiologist and naturalist might collect curious particulars from an African traveller, or Arctic navigator, respecting many objects of his particular inquiries, and give hints for further investigation, or solve questions which might have perplexed the original observer. An evening seldom occurred without some novelty in art, science, or nature being brought forward—as the bones from the Kirkdale cave, or a new chemical compound, or a magnetical experiment, or a recently discovered mineral or some new instrument or apparatus; and a great zest was given by the presence, as was generally the case, of the inventor or discoverer, who was always willing to offer explanation, and to give detailed information to those who were desirous of receiving it. And, moreover, a stimulus was thus imparted—a fresh excitement to the mind to continue and perfect useful investigations; and aids were often given which greatly contributed to the successful termination of scientific labours. In these parties the distinctions of society seemed very much to be lost in the distinctions which science and merit confer. Men of the highest rank in the country mingled with men without any claim to notice, excepting that high one of superior knowledge; and it was a noble thing

to see how much more attractive it was, and more honoured than the highest nobility destitute of this qualification. I remember one evening, when the company was reduced to a small number by the lateness of the hour, and those who remained had collected round the fire, one of the party, I believe it was Dr. Young, observed in playful remark, 'All I perceive here are doctors;' and so it proved; there being two or three doctors of physic—one, I believe, of divinity, and three of civil laws: and of these last, two were baronets, and one was an earl, who, though distinguished for his high bearing on ordinary occasions, on this occasion seemed pleased to be considered of the same grade as the rest."* The number of members or Fellows of the Royal Society is now about 800; these are only admitted by ballot, and after the preliminary recommendations of at least six Fellows, and on their admission ten pounds as entrance-money and four pounds for the first year's subscription are paid. The original regular payment was one shilling weekly, and some very curious matter is recorded in the books of the Society in connection with this point. In 1681-2 we find the advice of counsel taken as to whether an action might not be brought for arrears, who decided in the affirmative. The Society, however, does not appear to have resorted to that expedient, but kept up, instead, a close system of dunning. The poet Waller was among the defaulters, who sent to say that the plague happening some time after the Society was established, and he being perpetually in parliament, had never been able to attend the Society, either to serve them or to receive any advantage thereby; that he was then of a great age, had lost half his fortune for the king, and having a great charge of children, hoped that he should be considered as well as others who had not been able to wait on them any more than himself, and he humbly took leave to consider how he might be able to serve them. Another striking case is that of Newton, afterwards President of the Society; on the 28th of January, 1674-5, he was excused from making the customary payment "on account of his low circumstances, as he alleged." Besides the general advantages attending the right of witnessing and sharing in all the proceedings of the body, Fellows receive a direct return for some portion of their subscription in the current yearly volume of the great publication of the Society, the Philosophical Transactions, of which above 130 volumes have now been issued, and which, in Sir Humphry Davy's words, "remain monuments of all the country has possessed of profound in experimental research, or ingenious in discovery, or sublime in speculative science, from the time of Hooke and Newton to that of Maskelyne and Cavendish."

Of the Society of Antiquaries, which holds its meetings in apartments adjoining those of the Royal Society, and on the same evenings, but at an earlier hour, we need say very little. It was in existence as early as the reign of Elizabeth, when a few distinguished scholars, headed by Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton, formed themselves into a body for the preservation of our national antiquities. From thence to 1617 various attempts were made to obtain a charter of incorporation, but ineffectually, and the society then died away. In 1707 a new body was constituted, comprising Peter le Neve, Madox the Exchequer anti-

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 133.

quary, and others, who met first at the Bear in the Strand, then at the Young Devil in Fleet Street (a rival, we presume, of the famous Old Devil of poetical memory), and then at the Fountain over against Chancery Lane. Here Stukeley, Samuel and Roger Gale, and Browne Willis joined them, and a little later George Vertue, the illustrious engraver, became a zealous member. Many other removals took place; but at last, in 1750, a charter was obtained, and since then of course all has gone on very smoothly. Numerous publications have appeared, some of great value, more particularly the 'Archæologia,' which is to the Antiquarian Society what the 'Philosophical Transactions' are to the Royal, a place of deposit for all the more important communications submitted to its notice. Its members are nearly as numerous as those of the Royal Society, which in all its arrangements for admission, government, &c., it closely resembles.

[Lord Chancellor's Court, Westminster Hall]

CL.—COURTS OF LAW.

THE ancient practice of particular trades confining themselves for the most part to one spot, as in old London, would, in many instances, be about as convenient in London of the present day as a whole street of post-office receiving-houses, or the crowding together of all the members of the medical profession in one neighbourhood. The old custom may, however, still be traced faintly in some cases, and stronger in others; and in a great capital this will always be the case. So long, for instance, as the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange and the Royal Exchange shall exist, their vicinity will necessarily be the centre of the great monetary and commercial interests. Not less distinct and well defined, perhaps even more so, is the law quarter of London. Of the nine thousand attorneys in England who practise in the superior Courts of Law and Equity at Westminster, above two thousand seven hundred reside in London, and one thousand three hundred of them have their offices within half a mile of Lincoln's Inn. Five thousand four hundred and fifty-five country attorneys employ four hundred and eighty out of the above-mentioned one thousand three hundred London attorneys, to transact their court business; and two-thirds of the four hundred and eighty practise within a quarter of a mile of Lincoln's Inn. Again, fifty-one legal firms act as agents for above three thousand country attorneys,

which is not very far from one-half of the whole business of the country attorneys in the kingdom; and these fifty-one firms are all within about four hundred yards of Lincoln's Inn. Or, taking the London attorneys and those of the country for whom they act in the superior courts, their geographical distribution is as follows:—In the district of the Inns of Court, London attorneys, one thousand three hundred and sixty-five; country, five thousand two hundred and thirty-one; making together six thousand five-hundred and ninety-six. Within the boundary of the City, east of the law district, London attorneys, eight hundred and three; country attorneys, one thousand three hundred and twenty-one; together, two thousand one hundred and twenty-four. Allotting to Westminster a district larger in extent than either of the above, there are one hundred and twenty-four attorneys; London, ninety; country, thirty-four. There are less than six hundred London attorneys and their legal country clients to be accounted for out of the total number in England, and these are to be found scattered in the north-east and north-west of London, and on the Surrey side of the river. In whatever part of London an attorney may reside, the law-offices draw him almost daily to the law quarter of the metropolis; and hence, both for convenience and dispatch, it is an important object with him to have his chambers in their vicinity. The offices attached to the Courts of Law are principally in the Temple and Lincoln's Inn; and those of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer chiefly in Chancery-Lane. Not a step can be taken in suits of law without resorting to one or other of these offices. The Judges' chambers, where very important business is transacted before the Judges of each of the superior Common Law Courts, are in Rolls' Gardens, Chancery Lane.

The Courts of Law, though for ages they have sat at Westminster, have not had the effect of drawing the law-offices after them, because it was absolutely necessary that these offices should be situated in the midst of the law district, that is, in or about the Inns of Court. Still, the fact that nine-tenths of the whole court business of the country is conducted in offices a mile and a mile and a half from the Courts at Westminster Hall is a remarkable one. In one respect nothing can be more appropriate than the situation of the Courts of Law at Westminster, the ancient seat of the Kings of England. The origin of these Courts may be traced to a period when the elements of the constitution were in their simplest state, and when legislative, administrative, and judicial functions were discharged more immediately by the Sovereign, assisted by the "wittena-gemote," or assembly of the wise, whom he consulted in each of these departments indiscriminately. After the conquest the King was assisted in a similar way by the Great Council. The Aula Regis, so called from being held in the Hall of the King's Palace, was the great court for dispensing justice and punishing crimes committed against his power. When the Great Council sat in their judicial capacity, they were assisted by the great officers of state, who held situations in the King's household, and the one who, in modern phraseology, is called the Lord High Steward, was not only at the head of the King's Palace, but of all the departments of the state, civil and military, chief administrator of justice, and leader of the armies in war. In the course of time the judicial functions were committed to an officer styled the Chief Justiciary; but to the office of Lord High Steward there still pertain remnants of his ancient authority, and it

is his duty to preside at state-trials in the House of Lords. The Chief Justiciary presided in the Aula Regis, which was the only superior Court of Law. The functions of this tribunal had become gradually separated from the general business of the Great Council. It maintained the former power of the Great Council in punishing offences against the public, in controlling the proceedings of inferior Courts, and in deciding on questions relative to the revenue of the Sovereign, and engrossed besides a great portion of the "common pleas," or causes between party and party. The different nature of the causes of which it took cognizance are styled by our earlier legal writers as pleas of the King, common pleas, and pleas of the Exchequer. The jurisdiction of the Chief Justiciar extended over each class of causes. In the reign of Edward III. (fourteenth century), the Great Council became essentially a legislative body, and as it now exists it is styled the High Court of Parliament, and is the Court of ultimate appeal. The office of Chief Justiciar was abolished in the same reign, and thus not only the connexion of the Aula Regis with the Great Council was destroyed, but the unity of that Court was broken in upon, and separate jurisdiction was given to the three Courts of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. One of the articles of Magna Charta was, that common pleas should not follow the King's Court, but be held in certain places. Previously the poorer class of suitors in cases which concerned neither the King's revenues nor his prerogative of prosecuting offenders on behalf of the public, were compelled, in civil actions between man and man, to attend the frequent and distant progresses of the Court, or to lose their remedies altogether. The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer still retain their peculiar jurisdiction, the former enjoying superiority as the remnant of the Aula Regis, and the latter having cognizance of all cases relating to the revenue. So recently as 1830 the appeal from the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas was by writ of error, to the Justices of the King's Bench. The Court of Exchequer is the lowest in rank of the superior Courts, although formerly one of the first in importance. The Judges are the Chief Baron and four other barons, who are so called from having been anciently chosen from such as were barons of the kingdom or parliamentary barons. Another relic of the original constitution of the superior Courts, before they were carried out of the Aula Regis, appears in the appellation of "My Lord," which is always given to the Judges in their official character. In 1832 an Act was passed for assimilating the practice of the Common Law Courts. Before this time, besides the peculiar jurisdiction exercised by the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas had the exclusive right of trying all causes which related to freehold or realty. The right of practising in this Court in term time was and is confined to Serjeants-at-Law, the attempt to deprive them of this privilege having failed. The great mass of causes may now, therefore, be tried in any of the three courts. The Court of Exchequer consists of two divisions, one having jurisdiction in matters relating to the revenue; and the other is sub-divided into a Court of Common Law, where all personal actions may be brought, and a Court of Equity, where suits in equity may be commenced and prosecuted. In the reign of Edward III. (in 1358) a court was erected, called the Court of Exchequer Chamber, to determine causes upon writs of error from the Common Law side of the Exchequer. An appeal may now be made from each of the three Courts to

this Chamber; and from whichever Court it is brought, it is the Judges of the other two Courts who decide upon it; but an ultimate appeal may be made to the House of Lords. The number of the Judges of England since 1830 has been fifteen, a Chief Justice and four puisne Judges in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and a Chief Baron and four other barons in the Court of Exchequer. There were previously only four Judges in each Court.

The Courts of Equity, which have jurisdiction in cases where an adequate remedy cannot be had in the Common Law Courts, are not confined to Westminster Hall. The Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the Vice-Chancellor, have their Courts there; and they sit at Westminster in term-time; but in the intervals, the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor sit at Lincoln's Inn, and the Master of the Rolls, the second equity judge in point of rank, at the Rolls in Chancery Lane. In 1841 two additional vice-chancellors were appointed by Act of Parliament; and the first vice-chancellor is now distinguished by the title of Vice-Chancellor of England. The Lord High Chancellor was originally a sort of confidential chaplain, or, before the Reformation, confessor to the King, and keeper of the King's conscience. In his capacity of chief secretary he was the adviser of his master in various temporal matters; he prepared and made out royal mandates, grants, and charters, and, when seals came into use, affixed his seal. The appointment to the office takes place by the delivery of the great seal. The authority of Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper were made the same by an Act passed in 1563; and the last Lord Keeper was Lord Henley, in 1757. From a small beginning the office of Lord Chancellor became one of great dignity and pre-eminence, and he now takes rank above all dukes not of the blood-royal, and next to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Before the Reformation the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper was usually an ecclesiastic. The last churchman who filled the office was Williams, Archbishop of York, who was Lord Keeper from 1621 to 1625. In the same century the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was neither an ecclesiastic nor a lawyer, was appointed Lord Chancellor. The jurisdiction with which the Lord High Chancellor is invested originated in the discretionary power of the King, whose special interference, as the fountain of justice, was frequently sought against the decisions of the Courts of Law, and also in matters which were not cognizable by the Common Courts. The Lord Chancellor also exercises important political functions, and has a seat in the cabinet. He resigns office with the party to which he is attached. The Court of Chancery is a name which properly belongs to the Lord Chancellor's Court and the Vice-Chancellor's Court together, but it is most frequently applied to all the Courts of Equity. The office of Vice-Chancellor is only of recent origin, having been created in 1813, and in 1841, as already mentioned, two additional vice-chancellors were appointed. The Master of the Rolls, another of the Judges in Equity, who has a separate Court, is an officer of great antiquity. He takes precedence next to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and before the Vice-Chancellors. The Master of the Rolls has the power of hearing and determining originally the same matters as the Lord Chancellor, with a few exceptions; but his orders or decrees must be signed by the Lord Chancellor before being enrolled. The Vice-Chancellor has nearly the same powers. Appeals (strictly speaking re-hearings) are made both from the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor's Court to the Lord Chancellor, whose court of late years

has chiefly been occupied with such appeals. The property "locked up" in the Court of Chancery amounts to the enormous sum of 40,000,000*l.*

The public entrance to the Courts at Westminster is at the northern end of Westminster Hall. First is the Queen's Bench, next the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, the Lord Chancellor's Court, and the Rolls Court. Few strangers omit paying a visit to the Courts of Law. The Courts themselves are very far from possessing any imposing architectural character; but the interest of the scene is independent of factitious circumstances. This spot has been the seat of justice for nearly a thousand years; and the history of our judicial tribunals, from the period when the sovereign dispensed justice in his great hall to the present time, is full of instruction as well as of interest. But strong as may be the *religio loci* which a visit to the courts may excite, the associations connected with the administration of justice will command respect wherever the tribunal may be fixed. The purity and dignity of our judicial procedure is no longer sullied by the vulgar abuse and clamour of a Jefferies to beat down the defence of an innocent man. The time has gone by since the sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) could say of a criminal that "she would have him racked to produce his authority;" for the practice then existed, even in England, of obtaining confession or evidence by means of torture. In the present day a prisoner, in the language of Erskine, "is covered all over with the armour of the law." Lastly, the judges are completely independent of the sovereign or his ministers. The Courts of Law, therefore, apart from the living realities which they present, exhibit a systematic spirit of tenderness and humanity, united with firmness and the absence of corrupt influence, which constitute the perfection of a judicial tribunal. The ordinary scenes witnessed in a court of justice are so well known as scarcely to need description. In their general appearance the Courts at Westminster do not very much differ from each other. The Lord Chancellor's Court is the smallest, and the Exchequer Court the largest. The Queen's Bench is inconveniently small. Nothing can be worse than the absence of accommodation for counsel, attorneys, jurymen, suitors, and witnesses. A witness has to make his way into the witness-box through the crowd, and, after he has struggled through this difficulty, it is possible that the excitement may have given him the air of a culprit rather than of a witness. There are no waiting-rooms for witnesses attached to any of the Courts, and no means of obtaining refreshment, except from the hotels and coffee-houses at the foot of Westminster Bridge. Scarcely any arrangements exist for facilitating consultations, and they are often held in the passages and avenues, or at one of the adjacent coffee-rooms, where five or six consultations are possibly taking place at the same time.

The profession of the law is one by which a man may rise to the highest stations in this country; and not a few of those who have at last succeeded have been on the point of retiring from the contest, when fortune has unexpectedly smiled upon them. Lord Camden and the Earl of Eldon both experienced a lucky turn in their affairs when they had almost abandoned the hopes of advancement. Some, again, have enjoyed an almost uninterrupted career of success. The sudden illness of a leader has given them an opportunity for the display of their abilities, while but for such an occurrence they might long have remained in obscurity.

Earl Camden, the son of Chief Justice Pratt, was called to the bar in his twenty-fourth year; and continued to wait in vain for clients for nine long years, when he resolved to abandon Westminster Hall for his College Fellowship; but at the solicitation of his friend Henley, afterwards Lord Chancellor Northington, he consented once more to go the Western Circuit, and through his kind offices received a brief as his junior in an important cause. His leader's illness threw the management of the case into Mr. Pratt's hands, and his success was complete. After eight years' lucrative practice he was made Attorney-General, and, three years after, in 1762, raised to the Bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He had entered Parliament in 1749, being then in his forty-sixth year, but did not gain much distinction. The honours of the Senate flowed in upon him at a later period of his life, after he was made Lord Chancellor, in 1766, and raised to the peerage. In 1770 he voted against his colleagues, on Wilkes's case, a circumstance which necessarily led to his removal from the woolsack. During the remaining twenty-four years of his life he was entirely a political character, and upon every occasion the right arm of Lord Chatham, after whose death, in 1778, he rarely took any part in debate. In 1792, when above eighty, he addressed the House in an able and energetic speech on the celebrated measure of Lord Erskine, commonly, though erroneously, says Lord Brougham, called Mr. Fox's Libel Act, which established the right of juries in libel cases in opposition to the slavish doctrines of the day. "Two years after he descended to the grave, full of years and honours, the most precious honours which a patriot can enjoy, the unabated gratitude of his countrymen, and the unbroken consciousness of having through good report and evil firmly maintained his principles, and faithfully discharged his duty." *

[Earl Camden. From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.]

Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn, owed much of his success to the manœuvres of faction, though he was one of the few lawyers who have shone at the least as much in political affairs as in Westminster

* Lord Brougham's 'Statesmen of the Reign of George III.,' i. p. 180.

[Lord Loughborough.]

Hall. He entered parliament as a fierce opponent of Lord North's administration, and joined it when their policy, at the commencement of the war with America, was most questionable. Lord Brougham ascribes to his influence "the fancy respecting the coronation oath which so entirely obtained possession of George III.'s mind, and actuated his conduct during the whole discussion of Irish affairs." The cabinet to which he belonged was broken up, and he was made an earl and laid on the shelf. In the hope of regaining his ascendancy, he took an uncomfortable villa, which had only the recommendation of being in the vicinity of Windsor Castle, and here for three years he was to be seen dancing attendance on royalty, unnoticed and neglected by the king, who, when he heard of his late chancellor's death after an illness of a few hours, having cautiously inquired of the messenger if he were really dead, coldly observed, "Then he has not left a worse man behind him," though the phrase which the king actually used was, says Lord Brougham, less decorous and more unfeeling than the above.

[Lord Thurlow.]

Lord Thurlow's name is much more familiar with the greater part of the public than Lord Loughborough's, from the anecdotes which are current of the surliness of his character, his eccentricities, and his general disregard of judicial decorum. He was called to the bar in 1754, and, according to professional tradition, the circumstance which brought him into notice (the arrangement of the evidence in

the great Douglas cause before the House of Lords) was the result of mere accident. His support of the policy of the government respecting America procured for him a degree of confidence, and even of personal regard on the part of the king which continued undiminished for above twenty years. In 1778 Thurlow was made Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage. When the Rockingham ministry was formed in 1782, he remained in possession of the Great Seal at the express command of the king, who, however, in vain endeavoured to retain him when the coalition ministry was formed between Lord North and Mr. Fox. At the end of the year, when the coalition was dissolved, and Mr. Pitt became prime minister, the Seal was restored to Thurlow, and he held it for nine years afterwards. In 1788 he actively intrigued with the Whigs on the Regency question in opposition to his colleagues; but suddenly discovering from one of the physicians the approaching convalescence of the royal patient, he at one moment's notice deserted the Carlton House party, and, says Lord Brougham, "Came down with an assurance unknown to all besides, perhaps even to himself not known before, and in his place undertook the defence of the king's right against his son and his partisans;" adding, in conclusion, "And when I forget my sovereign may my God forget me!" When, however, Thurlow attempted, in 1792, the same trick with Pitt, whom he cordially hated, which he had played off under a former administration, by voting against his colleagues, the king, on Mr. Pitt's application, at once consented to Lord Thurlow's removal, "without," says Lord Brougham, "any struggle, or even apparent reluctance." As a judge he was accustomed to give his decisions without the reasons on which they rested, a habit much censured by succeeding chancellors. Lord Brougham says Lord Thurlow's place among lawyers is not amongst the highest; but his judgments for the most part gave satisfaction to the profession. It was perilous to try experiments on the limits of his patience by prolixity or endless repetition. Fox was accustomed to say that no man could *be* so wise as Lord Thurlow *looked*. In council he was far from being firm and vigorous, as might have been expected from the character of the man.

[Lord Mansfield.]

Few lawyers have been more tempted than Lord Mansfield to quit their profession for politics. But, either from prudence or timidity, he avoided the dangers of political life. Lord Brougham states that Mansfield's powers as an advocate were great, though not first-rate. He possessed an almost surpassing sweetness of voice, and it was said his story was worth other men's arguments, so clear and skilful were his statements. The very defects which he had betrayed as an advocate

were, says the same authority, admirably calculated for his more exalted station. "His mind and his habits were eminently judicial; and it may be doubted if, taking both the externals and the more essential qualities into the account, that go to form a great judge, any one has ever administered the laws in this country whom we can fairly name as his equal." The regulations which he made for the dispatch of business were calculated to diminish expense and delay. "He restored to the whole bar the privilege of moving in turn, instead of confining this to the last day of the term. He almost abolished the tedious and costly practice of having the same case argued several times over, restricting such re-hearings to questions of real difficulty and adequate importance. . . . . The cases were so speedily and so well dispatched, that the other Courts of Common Law were drained of their business without the channels of the Court of King's Bench being choked up or overflowing."* During the thirty-two years which he presided over this great Court, there were not more than half-a-dozen cases in which the judges differed, and not so many in which the judgments pronounced were reversed. He presided regularly on the bench until his eighty-second year, and finally retired from it in 1788, being then in his eighty-fourth year, having continued, says Lord Brougham, to hold his high office for two or three years longer than he ought to have done, or could discharge its duties, in the hope of prevailing with the ministry to appoint his favourite, Judge Buller, his successor. He lived five years after his retirement. Lord Mansfield's leanings were not towards the popular side. "There is little room for doubt," observes Lord Brougham, "that in trials for libel he leant against the freedom of discussion, and favoured those doctrines long current, but now cried down by statute, which withdrew the cognizance of the question from the jury to vest it in the Court."

Among all the great names who have been the ornament of the Courts of Westminster, few are more popular than that of Erskine. His parliamentary talents have, in Lord Brougham's opinion, been underrated; but it is, he remarks, to the Forum and not the Senate that we must hasten if we would see, in his element and in his glory, this great man, "beyond all comparison the most accomplished advocate and the most eloquent that modern times have produced." † "Juries have declared that they felt it impossible to remove their looks from him when he had riveted and, as it were, fascinated them by his first glance; and it used to be a common remark of men who observed his motions, that they resembled those of a blood-horse; as light, as limber, as much betokening strength and speed, as free from all gross superfluity or incumbrance. Then hear his voice of surpassing sweetness, clear, flexible, strong, exquisitely fitted to strains of serious earnestness, deficient in compass, indeed, and much less fitted to express indignation, or even scorn, than pathos, but wholly free from either harshness or monotony. All these, however, and even his chaste, dignified, and appropriate action, were very small parts of this wonderful advocate's excellence. He had a thorough knowledge of men, of their passions and their feelings; he knew every avenue to the heart, and could at will make all its chords vibrate to his touch." Lord Brougham's sketch of Erskine is so admirably drawn, and presents so completely the *beau ideal* of an advocate, that we are tempted to continue the quotation. "Erskine's argumentative powers," his Lord-

* 'Statesmen,' vol. i. p. 105. † Ib. 236.

ship observes, "were of the highest order; clear in his statements, close in his applications, unwearied and never to be diverted in his deductions, with a quick and sure perception of his point, and undeviating in the pursuit of whatever established it; endued with a nice discernment of the relative importance and weight of different arguments, and the faculty of assigning to each its proper place, so as to bring forward the main body of the reasoning in bold relief, and with its full breadth, and not weaken its effect by distracting and disturbing the attention of the audience among lesser particulars. His understanding was eminently legal: though he had never made himself a great lawyer, yet could he conduct a purely legal argument with the most perfect success; and his familiarity with all the ordinary matters of his profession was abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the Forum. His memory was accurate and retentive in an extraordinary degree; nor did he ever, during the trial of a cause, forget any matter, how trifling soever, that belonged to it. His presence of mind was perfect in action, that is, before the jury, when a line is to be taken upon the instant, and a question risked to a witness, or a topic chosen with the tribunal, on which the whole fate of the cause may turn. No man made fewer mistakes; none left so few advantages unimproved; before none was it so dangerous for an advocate to be off his guard, for he was ever broad awake himself, and was as adventurous as he was skilful, and as apt to take advantage of any the least opening as he was cautious to leave none in his own battle. But to all these qualities he joined that fire, that spirit, that courage, which gave vigour and direction to the whole, and bore down all resistance. No man, with all his address and prudence, ever adventured upon more bold figures, and they were uniformly successful; for his imagination was vigorous enough to sustain any flight; his taste was correct and even severe, and his execution felicitous in the highest degree. . . . His acquaintance with the English tongue was so perfect, and his taste so exquisite, that nothing could exceed the beauty of his diction, whatever subject he attempted." To this admirable account of Erskine's oratorical powers, Lord Brougham appends a notice of his qualifications as a Nisi Prius advocate :—"His speaking was hardly more perfect than his examination of witnesses, the art in which so much of an English advocate's skill is shown; and his examination-in-chief was as excellent as his cross-examination,—a department so apt to deceive the vulgar, and which yet is, generally speaking, far less available, as it hardly ever is more difficult than the examination-in-chief or in reply. In all these various functions, whether of addressing the jury, or urging objections to the Court, or examining his own witnesses, or cross-examining his adversary's, this consummate advocate appeared to fill, at one and the same time, different characters; to act as the counsel and representative of the party, and yet to be the very party himself; while he addressed the tribunal to be also acquainted with every feeling and thought of the judge or the jury; and while he interrogated the witness, whether to draw from him all he knew, and in the most favourable shape, or to shake and displace all he said that was adverse, he appeared to have entered into the mind of the person he was dealing with, and to be familiar with all that was passing within it. It is by such means that the hearer is to be moved and the truth ascertained; and he will ever be the most successful advocate who can approach the nearest to this lofty and difficult position." But the deeds which Erskine did

cast into the shade even his transcendant eloquence. He upheld the liberty of the press and the rights of the people at a time when, but for his dauntless energy and courage, both were endangered. His noblest and most successful efforts were made in behalf of defendants in political prosecutions, which, but for him, would perhaps have ended in persecutions and proscriptions. Like most men of great minds, Erskine was "simple, natural, and amiable; full of humane feelings and kindly affections." The egotism with which he is chargeable was of the best-natured and least selfish kind. Erskine was called to the bar in Trinity Term, 1778, and in the same term at once established his reputation in a prosecution for libel, which was, in fact, instituted by Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, who, it appeared, had abused the munificence of Greenwich Hospital by appointing landsmen as pensioners, to serve his own electioneering purposes. It is said that such was the effect of Erskine's indignant speech, that, before he left the Court, thirty retainers were presented to him. In 1806, on the formation of the Grenville ministry, Erskine was appointed Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage. On the dissolution of this ministry in 1807, he retired from public life, and died in 1823.

[Lord Ellenborough.]

Lord Ellenborough, son of Law, Bishop of Carlisle, first distinguished himself as the leading counsel for Mr. Hastings in his famous trial, and soon after rose to the lead of the northern circuit. He entered parliament as Attorney-General in his fifty-first year. In Westminster Hall he never rose into the first lead, having to contend, amongst other eminent rivals, with Erskine. During eighteen years he presided over the Court of King's Bench. Of his judicial qualifications Lord Brougham, who must have had opportunities of knowing them minutely, thus speaks:—"The chief defect of Lord Ellenborough's judicial character, not unconnected with the hastiness of his temper, also bore some relation to the vigour of his understanding, which made him somewhat contemptuous of weaker men, and somewhat overweening in reliance upon himself. He was not sufficiently patient and passive, as a judge ought habitually to be. He was apt to overlook suggestions, which, though valuable, might be more feebly urged than suited his palate. He was fond of taking the case prematurely into his own hands. He dispatched business with great celerity, and, for the most part, with success. But causes were not sifted before him with that closeness of scrutiny, and parties were not suffered to bring forward all they had to state with that fullness and freedom,

which alone can prevent misdecision, and ensure the due administration of justice. But in banc, where full time has been given for preparation, where the Court can never be taken by surprise, where, moreover, the assistance of three puisne judges is ever at hand to remedy the chief's defects and control his impatience, this hasty disposition and warm temperament were comparatively harmless, and seldom produced mischievous effects to the suitor. At *Nisi Prius* it is far otherwise; for there a false step is easily made, and it may not be easily retraced."

[The Earl of Eldon.]

One of the most remarkable men who ever filled the office of chancellor was Lord Eldon, the peculiarities of whose professional life, as sketched by Lord Brougham, will be read with interest by every one. His lordship says:—"That he had all the natural qualities, and all the acquired accomplishments, which go to form the greatest legal character, is undeniable. To extraordinary acuteness and quickness of apprehension he added a degree of patient industry which no labour could weary, a love of investigation which no harshness in the most uninteresting subject could repulse. His ingenuity was nimble in a singular degree, and it was inexhaustible; subtlety was at all times the most distinguishing feature of his understanding; and, after all other men's resources had been spent, he would at once discover matters which, though often too far refined for use, yet seemed so natural to the ground which his predecessors had laboured and left apparently bare, that no one could deem them exotic and far-fetched, or even forced. When, with such powers of apprehending and of inventing, he possessed a memory almost unparalleled, and alike capable of storing up and readily producing both the most general principles and the most minute details, it is needless to add that he became one of the most thoroughly learned lawyers who ever appeared in Westminster Hall, if not the most learned; for, when it is recollected that the science has been more than doubled in bulk, and in variety of subjects has been increased fourfold, since the time of Lord Coke, it is hardly possible to question his superiority to the great light of English jurisprudence, the only man in our legal history with whom this comparison can be instituted." * Lord Brougham afterwards adds:—"It would be no exaggeration at all to assert that Lord Eldon's judgments were more quickly formed, and more obstinately adhered to, than those of any other judge who ever dealt with such various, difficult, and complicated questions as he had to dispose of." The author of the chapter on 'Constitution, Government, and Laws,' in the 'Pictorial History of England'

* 'Statesmen,' ii., 64.

(George III., vol. iv. p. 642), doubts the accuracy of this opinion, and quotes several cases in proof of the case being quite otherwise, in one of which Lord Eldon surpassed himself by beginning a decision with the remark that "Having had doubts upon this will for twenty years," &c. In another instance he observed that he had "not doubt enough" to postpone the judgment.

[Lord Stowell.]

Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell) was probably more eminent in his department (the Consistorial Courts) than his better-known brother, Lord Chancellor Eldon. Lord Brougham observes that "his judgment was of the highest cast; calm, firm, enlarged, penetrating, profound." His Lordship adds:—"They who deal with such causes as occupied the attention of this great Judge have this advantage, that the subjects are of a nature connecting them with general principles, and the matter at stake is most frequently of considerable importance, not seldom of the greatest interest. The masses of property of which the Consistorial Courts have to dispose, are often very great; the matrimonial rights on which they have to decide are of an interest not to be measured by money at all; but the questions which arise in administering the law of nations comprehend within their scope the highest national rights, involve the existence of peace itself, define the duties of neutrality, set limits to the prerogatives of war."

[Sir William Grant.]

During a part of the time that Lord Eldon sat in the Court of Chancery, the office of Master of the Rolls, the second Judge in Equity, was filled by Sir William Grant. While, generally speaking, the most successful lawyers are little

known in Parliament, the public character of Sir William Grant rested entirely on his successful parliamentary career until he was raised to the Bench. Lord Brougham's notice of him as a parliamentary speaker is as follows:—"His style was peculiar; it was that of the closest and severest reasoning ever heard in any popular assembly; reasoning which would have been reckoned close in the argumentation of the Bar or the dialectics of the schools. It was, from the first to the last, throughout, pure reason, and the triumph of pure reason. All was sterling, all perfectly plain; there was no point in the diction, no illustration in the topics, no ornament of fancy in the accompaniments. The language was choice, perfectly clear, abundantly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to the matter which the words clothed and conveyed. In so far it was felicitous, no further; nor did it ever leave behind it any impression of the diction, but only of the things said; the words were forgotten, for they had never drawn off the attention for a moment from the things; those things were alone remembered. No speaker was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer. Once, Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with a view to making that attempt, was irritated in a way very unwonted to his sweet temper by the conversation of some near him, even to the show of some crossness, and (after an exclamation) sharply said, "Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like THAT?" Lord Brougham's picture of the Rolls Court, in Sir William Grant's time, is interesting as a legal reminiscence, besides conveying in the most skilful manner a correct idea of the presiding Judge:—"The Court in those days presented a spectacle which afforded true delight to every person of sound judgment and pure taste. After a long and silent hearing—a hearing of all that could be urged by the counsel of every party—unbroken by a single word, and when the spectator of Sir William Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose that his mind had been absent from a scene in which he took no apparent share, the debate was closed—the advocates' hour was passed—the parties were in silent expectation of the event—the Hall no longer resounded with any voice—it seemed as if the affair of the day, for the present, was over, and the Court was to adjourn, or to call for another cause. No! the Judge's time had now arrived, and another artist was to fill the scene. The Great Magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed upon the bench. Forth came a strain of clear unbroken fluency, disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the cause, reducing into clear and simple arrangement the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statements, weighing each matter, and disposing of each in succession; settling one doubt by a parenthetical remark; passing over another difficulty by a reason only so decisive that it was condensed; and [illegible] out the whole impression of the case in every material view, upon the Judge's mind, with argument enough to show why he so thought, and to prove him right, and without so much reasoning as to make you forget that it was a judgment you were hearing, by over-stepping the bounds which distinguish a judgment from a speech. This is the perfection of judicial eloquence; not avoiding argument; but confining it to such reasoning as beseems him who has rather to explain the grounds of his own conviction than to labour at convincing others; not rejecting reference to authority, but never betokening a disposition to seek shelter behind other men's names, for what he

might fear to pronounce in his own person; not disdaining even ornaments, but those of the more chastened graces that accord with the severe standard of a Judge's oratory." Sir William Grant was a man of simple habits, and somewhat remarkable for his taciturnity and reserve. As a politician he was more narrow-minded than even several other most distinguished lawyers. With him originated the phrase of "The wisdom of our ancestors." In his time the Rolls Court sat in the evening from six to ten; and Sir William dined after the Court rose; his servant, it is said, when he went to bed, leaving two bottles of wine on the table, which he always found empty in the morning. Sir William Grant lived in the Rolls House, occupying two or three rooms on the ground-floor; and, when showing them to his successor in the Rolls, he said, "Here are two or three good rooms; this is my dining-room; my library and bedroom are beyond; and I am told," he added, "there are some good rooms up-stairs; but I never was there."

The name of Romilly at once commands respect and admiration. His career and merits are too well known to require notice here; but the contrast which Lord Brougham has drawn between the technical and what was contemptuously called the "speculative lawyer," is rendered doubly striking by a reference to Romilly. His Lordship says,—"The great triumph of Sir Samuel Romilly was a sore stumbling-block to technical minds. A free-thinker upon legal matters, if ever any existed; accomplished, learned, eloquent, philosophical; he yet rose to the very head of his profession, and compelled them to believe what Erskine had failed to make them admit—that a man may be minutely learned in all the mere niceties of the law, down to the very meanest details of Court Practice, and yet be able to soar above the higher levels of general speculation, and to charm by his eloquence and enlighten by his enlarged wisdom, as much as to rule the Bench and lead the Bar by his merely technical superiority."*

We have passed over the names of many distinguished men—Hardwicke, Kenyon, Dunning, and others—who have been illustrious at the bar and on the bench, and whose field of fame was the Courts at Westminster Hall. No doubt there would be some violation of the *religio loci* by the removal of these courts to any other site; but it is satisfactory to know that respect and veneration for our judicial tribunals do not depend upon any sentimental feelings, but on the moral influence which attends the righteous discharge of their duties by the judges. Lord Langdale, the present Master of the Rolls, when examined before a parliamentary committee, said,—"I have seen the Vice-Chancellor of England sitting in a dense fog in the council-room of Lincoln's Inn; I have seen him sitting in the auction-room above the Masters' offices, and in different committee-rooms of this house. I have seen the Chief Baron of the Exchequer sitting in a kind of hut erected in Westminster Hall on the site of what was the Court of King's Bench; but I have never known that there was any want of respect for the Judges, nor do I think that the place in which they sit can have any material effect upon their dignity."

Three sites have been mentioned as suitable for a building which should contain under one roof all the Courts of Law and Equity. Each of these sites is of course in the law quarter of the town; one being Lincoln's Inn Fields; another the Rolls Estate, close to Chancery Lane; and the third a space between

* 'Statesmen,' i. 212.

Bell Yard and Clement's Lane. Mr. Barry, the architect of the New Houses of Parliament, made plans at the desire of a number of gentlemen of the legal profession, for Courts adapted for the first of the above sites, Lincoln's Inn Fields, which, with the Gardens and New Square, have an area of about eighteen acres and one-third. According to Mr. Barry's plan the proposed Courts would be fifty feet high, and would cover an area of two acres and one-third, or between one-eighth and one-tenth of the open space alluded to. The accommodation would be for twelve Courts of Law and Equity, with their several appendages, and a Common Hall for the public, nearly equal to the area of Westminster Hall, on the principal floor. Each of the proposed Courts to have an attached room for the Judges, a room for the Judges' clerks, a room for barristers, a room for solicitors, a room for witnesses, and in the Law Courts the means of access to the witness-box, without interruption from the public. On the same floor would also be obtained retiring-rooms for juries, rooms for grand juries, for the grand inquest, for libraries, for refreshments, for consultations, &c. It is also proposed, according to this design, that the whole of the records of the country should be arranged on the ground floor, where sufficient space would be afforded for an increase of about one-third of the present number, and accommodation provided for record offices, examining-rooms, &c.; likewise that the Masters in Chancery should be accommodated in the upper floor of the proposed building; and that rooms should be provided for resident court-keepers, porters, &c. The cost of the proposed building would be about 200,000*l.*

[Lord Chancellor Bathurst and the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery Lane. From Mr. Hawkins' private collection.]

ALPHABETICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Vol.	Page
Admiralty, and the Trinity House, The	V.	145
Advertisements	V.	33
Banks	IV.	17
Barber Surgeons' Hall	III.	177
Beer	IV.	1
Ben Jonson's London, No. 1	I.	365
Ben Jonson's London, No. 2	I.	381
Bermondsey	III.	1
Bermondsey, Modern	III.	17
Billingsgate	IV.	193
Bills of Mortality	VI.	225
Blackfriars Bridge	III.	113
British Museum, The	VI.	161
Buckingham and Old Westminster Palaces	VI.	113
Charities, Endowed and Miscellaneous	VI.	337
Charter House, The	II.	113
Christ's Hospital	II.	329
Churches of London, The, No. 1	V.	161
Churches of London, The, No. 2	V.	177
Churches of London, The, No. 3	V.	193
Civic Government	V.	81
Clean your Honour's Shoes	I.	17
Clerkenwell	III.	129
College of Arms	VI.	81
College of Physicians, The	II.	17
College of Surgeons, The	III.	193
Companies of London, The	V.	113
Corn Exchange, The	III.	353
Courts of Law	VI.	385
Covent Garden	V.	129
Crosby Place	I.	317
Custom House, The	II.	401
Docks, The	III.	65
Doctors' Commons	V.	1
East India House, The	V.	49
Education in London, No. 1	VI.	1
Education in London, No. 2	VI.	17
Ely Place	III.	369
Excise Office, The	V.	97
Exeter Hall		241
Exhibitions of Art		273
Fleet Marriages		49
Fleet Prison, The		33
Foundling Hospital, The		337
Goldsmiths' Hall		385
Guildhall, Its Local Recollec		65

	Vol.	Page
Horse Guards, The	V.	209
Horticultural and Royal Botanic Societies, The	V.	305
House of Commons, The, No. 1	II.	65
House of Commons, The, No. 2	II.	81
Houses of the Old Nobility	VI.	97
Inns of Court, No. 1	IV.	353
Inns of Court, No. 2	IV.	369
Lambeth Palace	I.	257
Learned Societies	VI.	369
London Antiquaries	II.	181
London Astrologers	III.	241
London Booksellers, The Old	V.	225
London Bridge	I.	73
London Burials	IV.	161
London Fires	IV.	177
London Newspapers	V.	337
London Roguories, Old	IV.	145
London Shops and Bazaars	V.	385
Lord Mayor's Show, The	VI.	145
Medical and Surgical Hospitals, and Lunatic Asylums	V.	369
Metropolitan Boroughs, The	VI.	257
Midsummer Eve	I.	97
Military London	VI.	321
Milton's London	II.	97
Mint, The	III.	33
Monument, The	I.	429
Music	VI.	177
National Gallery and Soane Museum, The	VI.	241
Old Bailey, The	IV.	289
Old Jewry, The	VI.	33
Pall Mall	III.	289
Parks, The	I.	205
Parks, The	I.	185
Paul's Cross	I.	33
Piccadilly	I.	297
Post Office, The	III.	273
Prisons and Penitentiaries	V.	321
Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew, The, No. 1	II.	33
Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew, The, No. 2	II.	49
Public Refreshments	IV.	305
Public Statues	VI.	65
Railway Termini	VI.	305

	Vol.	Page
Ranelagh and Vauxhall	I.	397
Reading Room of the British Museum, The	IV.	385
Royal Academy, The, No. 1	III.	209
Royal Academy, The, No. 2	III.	225
Royal Exchange, Old, and its Founder	II.	281
Royal Exchange and the South Sea House	II.	297
Roman London	I.	145
Roman Remains, The	I.	281
Scotsmen in London	III.	321
Silent Highway, The	I.	1
Sketches of the History of Crime and Police in London	IV.	225
Smithfield	II.	313
Society of Arts, &c., in the Adelphi, The	V.	353
Some Features of London Life in the Last Century	II.	345
Somerset House	IV.	273
Something about London Churches at the close of the Fourteenth Century	IV.	209
Spitalfields	II.	385
Spring-Time in London, The Old	I.	169
Squares of London, The	VI.	193
Stationers' Company, The	VI.	209
Stock Exchange	VI.	289
Strand, The, No. 1	II.	149
Strand, The, No. 2	II.	165
Strawberry Hill, Walpole's London, No. 1	III.	97
Strawberry Hill, Walpole's London, No. 2	III.	113
Street Noises	I.	129
Street Sights	I.	413
St. Giles's, Past and Present	III.	257
St. James's Palace	II.	369
St. John's Gate	II.	145
St. Mary Overies	I.	113
St. Paul's, Old, No. 1	IV.	241
St. Paul's, Old, No. 2	IV.	257
St. Paul's, New, No. 1	IV.	321
St. Paul's, New, No. 2	IV.	337
St. Paul's, The Building of	II.	33
Suburban Milestones	I.	241
Tabard, The	I.	57
Tattersall's	VI.	353
Temple Church, The, No. 1	III.	305
Temple Church, The, No. 2	V.	17
Thames Tunnel, The	III.	49
Theatres of London, The	V.	273
Tower, The, No. 1	II.	201
Tower, The, No. 2	II.	217
Tower, The, No. 3	II.	233
Tower, The, No. 4	II.	249
Tower, The, No. 5	II.	265
Trading Companies, Old	VI.	49
Treasury, The	V.	289
Underground	I.	225
Vauxhall, Waterloo, and Southwark Bridges	III.	161
Westminster Abbey, No. 1	IV.	65
Westminster Abbey, No. 2	IV.	81
Westminster Abbey, No. 3	IV.	97
Westminster Abbey, No. 4	IV.	113
Westminster Abbey, No. 5	IV.	129
Westminster Bridge	III.	81
Westminster Hall and the New Houses of Parliament	VI.	129
Whitehall, Old	I.	333
Whitehall, New	V.	257
Zoological Society, Gardens of the	V.	257

THE END.

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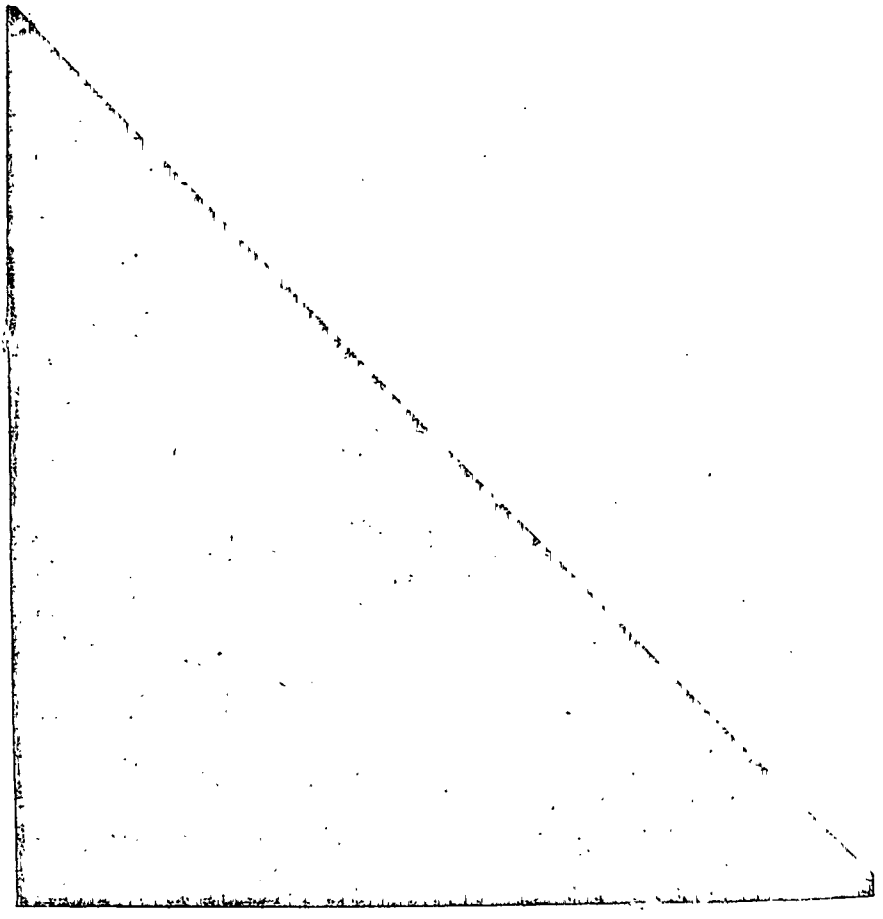

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